THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH of *England*.

Taken from the Writings of
The Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert,
Lord Biſhop of *SARUM*, and others.

K. Burnet (G.)

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE many Attempts that have been lately made in this Kingdom, to pervert the Members of CHRIST*'s true Church, and bring them back again to the* Superſtition *and* Idolatry *of the* Popiſh Religion, *makes it ſeem highly neceſſary, to inform the preſent Age, by what prudent Counſels, and gradual Progreſſions, as well as by what uncommon Incidents, and miraculous Interpoſitions of the Divine Providence, their Forefathers were freed from that Load of Wickedneſs and Folly which the Deſigns of proud, avaritious and cruel Men had laid upon them; and who, under a Shew of what they called* Religion, *not only deſtroyed all* Religion; *but introduced Enormities and Abominations, that were even ſhocking to human Nature. How far therefore from being pleaſing to the great* GOD *of Order and Truth; and how different from the*

Purity

Purity of that Doctrine which they falsly professed!

IT *was with this View only that we first published this Work in small Parcels, thereby to make it more universally read, as it might be come at with a trivial Expence, and not on a Pretence of being able to make any Improvement in the Writings of the learned Prelate, or of others from whom we have borrowed it. And for the same Reason we now publish it together, for the Use of such as are desirous to know the* History *of the* Reformation *of our* Church, *but not able to purchase the three* large *Volumes, made so, by the Collections of original and authentick Papers printed with them, which are indeed very useful and valuable to the Curious; but enhance the Price of the Work too much to those whom we expect to be Readers of this Volume.*

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH of *England*,

BEGAN

In the Reign of King *HENRY* VIII.

THE Kingdom of England had undergone ſuch diſmal revolutions, and felt ſuch frequent and terrible convulſions, from the wars of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, that King Henry the VIIth, was received with great joy by the nation. He being himſelf deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, and having married the heireſs of the houſe of York, the people were delivered from the apprehenſions of any more wars by new pretenders. But his own avarice, and the ſeverity of his Miniſters, with his ill conduct in the affair of Bretagne, and his jealouſy of the houſe of York, gave occaſion to ſeveral impoſtors and inſurrections that were raiſed to diſturb his reign: And he was become ſo odious to the people, that his death was very little lamented.

His ſon Henry the VIIIth came to the throne with all the advantages that could be deſired by the nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretenſions in France, and have a large ſhare again in all the affairs A. D. 1509.

of Europe; from which they had been long excluded by their domeſtick broils. One thing that made his firſt coming to the Crown acceptable was, that the very ſame day that his father died, he ordered Dudley and Empſon, the cruel inſtruments of his deſigns in filling his coffers, to be committed to the Tower: they were in a legal trial found guilty of Treaſon. But the King not thinking this either a ſufficient reparation to his oppreſſed people, or ſatisfaction to juſtice, went farther, and both ordered reſtitution to be made by his father's executors of great ſums of money, which had been extorted from his ſubjects, and in his firſt Parliament not only delivered up Empſon and Dudley, with their reſpective accomplices, to the juſtice of the two houſes, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after gave order for their execution, but alſo gave his royal aſſent to thoſe other laws by which the ſubject was ſecured from the like oppreſſions for the future. And that he might not be ſuſpected of the ſame inclinations with his father, to amaſs treaſure, or from the magnificence of his own temper, he diſtributed his rewards and largeſſes with an unmeaſured bounty to all about him, and was the moſt expenſive of any Prince in chriſtendom, diſſipating in about three years the vaſt wealth his father left him, reckoned no leſs than 1,800,000 *l.*

THOMAS Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, to ſhew how ready he was to comply with the humours of the Princes he ſerved, having been Lord Treaſurer to the father the laſt ſeven years of his life, and continued in the ſame office by the ſon, did as dexterouſly yield to the prodigality of the latter, as he had before to the ſparingneſs of the other.

THE courtiers, who taſted ſo liberally of the King's bounty, much magnified him every where, though his expences afterwards proved heavier to the ſubject than his father's avarice: but in the beginning of his reign, till the ill effects of it appeared, it did much endear him to the court and nation, there being a freer circulation of money, by which trade was encouraged.

THE credit of this King was very much raiſed by the great eſteem he was in beyond ſea, both for his wiſdom and power; in all treaties of peace and war being much conſidered, and always purſuing that great maxim of Princes of *holding the balance*, and ſtill as it grew heavier, whether in the ſcale of France or Spain, he governed himſelf and them as a wiſe Arbiter. The ſucceſſes of LEWIS the XIIth in Italy, made him engage as a party in the wars with the Crown of Spain, and going over in perſon,
1513. he did both defeat the French army, and take Terwin and Tournay: the former he demoliſhed; the latter he kept. In theſe exploits he had unuſual honour done him; for *Maximilian* the Emperor took his pay and rode in his troops, and upon all publick ſolemnities gave the King the precedence; but Spain having conquered Navarre, and weakened, on that ſide, the King of France, whoſe affairs alſo declined in Italy, King HENRY, finding him ſo much leſſened, thought proper, agreeable to the above-mentioned maxim, to make peace with him. Upon which the French King married his younger ſiſter Mary; but he dying ſoon after, new Counſels were to be taken. *Francis* the firſt ſucceeding, renewed his pretenſions upon Italy; HENRY would not engage early in the war, till the ſucceſſes had diſcovered which ſide was the weaker, and moſt needed his aſſiſtance.

CHARLES, Archduke of Auſtria by his father, and heir to the houſe of Burgundy by his grand-mother, and to the Crown of Spain by his mother, now began to make a great figure in the World. His grand-father *Maximilian* dying, *Francis* and he were co-rivals for the Empire; but *Charles* being preferred, there followed, on that and other accounts, laſting wars between them. And thoſe two great monarchs, as they eclipſed moſt other Princes about them, ſo they raiſed this King's glory higher, both courting him by turns, not only by earneſt addreſſes, but often by unuſual ſubmiſſions; in which, knowing how great an ingredient vanity was in his temper, they were never deficient when their affairs required it. The Emperor came in perſon to England, without the diſtruſtful precaution of a paſsport, and ſo prevailed with him, and his great favourite Cardinal Wolſey, by the promiſe of the popedom, that notwithſtanding an interview followed between FRANCIS and him, yet he joined with the Emperor; for though CHARLES had great dominions, yet they lay at ſuch a diſtance, that France alone was a ſufficient counterpoiſe to him; but if FRANCIS could keep Milan, recover Naples, Burgundy, and Navarre, to all which he was preparing, he would be an uneaſy neighbour to himſelf.

CHARLES the Vth, to make himſelf ſure of Cardinal Wolſey, gave him hopes of the popedom, which ſeemed to be at a great diſtance. Pope Leo the tenth being then but a young man; but he died ſooner perhaps than was expected, upon which Adrian, who had been the Emperor's tutor, was then 1521.
choſen, and Cardinal Wolſey had the promiſe to ſucceed him: But a ſecond vacancy happening two years after, the Emperor broke his word a ſecond time; the Cardinal was ſo much offended at this, that he reſolv'd to revenge himſelf; but he diſſembled his reſentments ſo artificially, that in a congratulation he wrote to Pope Clement, "He proteſted his election was matter of "ſuch joy, both to the King and himſelf, "that nothing had ever befallen them which "pleaſed them better, and that he was the "very perſon whom they had wiſhed to ſee "raiſed to that greatneſs.

THE battle of Pavia, in which FRANCIS the Iſt was taken priſoner, and carried into Spain, gave a great turn to affairs, for the Emperor being offended with the Pope for rejoyning with FRANCIS, turned his arms againſt him, and ſo ſucceſsfully, that he beſieged and took Rome, and kept the

Pope

Pope ſix months priſoner. The Cardinal finding the publick intereſts concur ſo happily with his private reſentments, engaged the King to take part with France, and afterwards with the Pope, againſt the Emperor, whoſe greatneſs now became the terror of Chriſtendom; for being lifted up with his ſucceſſes, he began to think of no leſs than an univerſal empire. And in the firſt place, to unite all Spain together, he preferred a match with the Infanta of Portugal, to that which he had contracted with the Lady MARY, King HENRY's Daughter, when he had been a ſecond time in perſon in England to be inſtalled Knight of the Garter. He thought it not enough to break off his ſworn alliance with the King, but did it with an heavy imputation on the Lady MARY: It being ſaid in his Council that ſhe was illegitimate, being born in an unlawful marriage, ſo that no advantage could be expected from her title to the ſucceſſion. Beſides, though the King of England had gone deep in the charge, he would give him no ſhare in the advantages of the war, much leſs the aſſiſtance he had promiſed to recover his antient inheritance in France. The King being irritated by this manifold ill uſage, and led on by his own intereſts, and by the offended Cardinal, joined himſelf to the intereſts of France.

THEN followed the famous Clementine League betwen the Pope and FRANCIS, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza Duke of Milan, who all declared the King of England Protector of the League. FRANCIS was now ſet at liberty, but having given his ſons as hoſtages in Spain, was ſlow in his proceedings, though he was the perſon moſt concerned in the league. And the King of England would not openly break with the Emperor, but ſeemed to reſerve himſelf to be arbiter between the Princes. So that the Colonna's, being of the imperial faction, with three thouſand men, entered Rome, and ſack'd a part of it, forcing the Pope to fly into the caſtle of St. Angelo, and to make Peace with the Emperor; but their Troops being drawn out of Rome, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their lands; and by a creation of fourteen Cardinals for money, he was enabled to proſecute the War. But the Duke of Bourbon, who upon ſome diſcontent given him in France, had gone over to the Emperor's ſervice, came to Rome, and giving the aſſault, in which he received his mortal wound, the City was taken by ſtorm, and plundered for ſeveral days; about five thouſand being killed. The Pope, with ſeventeen Cardinals, fled to the caſtle St. Angelo, but was forced to ſurrender his perſon, and pay four hundred thouſand ducats to the army.

GREAT offence was given by this to all the Princes of Chriſtendom, except the Lutherans of Germany; but none reſented it more loudly than King HENRY, who ſent over Cardinal Wolſey to make a new treaty with FRANCIS, which was chiefly intended for ſetting the Pope at liberty. Thus both the Pope and King of France, who by very unuſual accidents had been taken priſoners, acknowledged that their liberty was chiefly due to the endeavours that King HENRY had uſed for procuring it.

AS for Scotland, the near alliance between him and JAMES the IVth, King of Scotland, did not take away the ſtanding animoſities between the two nations, nor interrupt the alliance between France and Scotland: for when he made his firſt War with France, in the fourth year of his reign, the King of Scotland came with a great army into the north of England, but was totally defeated by the Earl of Surrey in Floudon-field; and himſelf either killed in the battle or ſoon after: From which time the Kingdom was, for many years, under a Prince not of age, and therefore much diſtracted by factions, which, being the ſureſt way to keep them from making inroads into England, were kept up by the money ſent by King HENRY to the Malecontents; ſo that both the Courts of France and England, by the penſions they gave, kept the ſeveral parties there in pay, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguiſhing theſe quarrels, both Crowns being ſet on one head.

AS for domeſtick affairs in the Government of England, the King left matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different parties, headed by Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Lord Treaſurer, who was Duke of Norfolk: Fox always complaining of the Lord Treaſurer, for ſquandering away ſo ſoon that vaſt maſs of treaſure, left by the King's Father; the other juſtified himſelf, in that what he did was by the King's warrants, which he could not diſobey: But Fox ſaid that he was too eaſy to anſwer, if not to procure theſe Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. But the Treaſurer's party, under a bountiful King, muſt always be ſtrongeſt, both in the Court and Council.

IN the firſt Parliament, the juſtice done upon Empſon and Dudley, gave ſo great ſatisfaction, that all things went as the Court deſired. In the ſecond Parliament, which was in the third year of HENRY's reign, there was conſidered the brief that Pope Julius the ſecond wrote complaining of LEWIS the XIIth; it was firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then carried down by the Lord Chancellor, (Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and ſome other Lords, to the Houſe of Commons, and read there; upon which money was granted for a War with France. At this time Fox, to ſtrengthen his party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, finding Thomas Wolſey to be a likely man to get into the King's favour, uſed all his endeavours to raiſe him. He was of mean extraction, but had great parts, and a wonderful dexterity in inſinuating himſelf into mens favours. He had waited upon the King over into France, and was ſo well liked by him, that he quickly found a way to engroſs his favour to himſelf; and for fifteen years together was the moſt abſolute favourite that had ever been ſeen in England:

Cardinal Wolſey's Riſe.

all

all foreign treaties and places of truſt at home were at his ordering. Having got into ſuch powers, he obſerved the King's inclinations exactly, and followed his intereſts cloſely: for though he made other Princes retain him with great preſents and penſions, yet he never brought the King into any alliance, but what was for his advantage. He ſoon became ſo obnoxious to Parliaments, that he tried but one during his miniſtry, where the ſupply was granted ſo ſcantily, that afterwards he choſe rather to raiſe money by loans and benevolences, than by the gift of the people in parliament. And indeed, when he is looked upon as a Miniſter of State, he was a very extraordinary perſon; but as he was a Churchman, he was the diſgrace of his profeſſion. He not only ſerved the King in all his ſecret pleaſures, but was lewd and vicious himſelf; ſo that his having the French-Pox, which in thoſe days was a matter of no ſmall infamy, was ſo publick, that it was brought againſt him in parliament when he fell into diſgrace. He was a man of moſt extravagant vanity, as appears by the great ſtate he lived in; and to feed that, his ambition and covetouſneſs were proportionable.

HE was firſt made Biſhop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, which Biſhoprick he parted with, and was promoted to the See of York, and had both the Abby of St. Alban's, and the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells in Commendam: the laſt he exchanged for Durham, and, upon Fox's death, quitted it for Wincheſter. Beſides all that he had in his own hands, the King granted him a full power of diſpoſing of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in England, which brought him in as much money as all the Places he held; ſo that in effect he was the Pope of this other World. Being made a Cardinal, and ſetting up a legatine Court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the Great Seal likewiſe, that there might be no claſhing between thoſe two juriſdictions.

DURING the whole reign of HENRY the VIIIth, the Dukes of Norfolk, Father and Son, were Treaſurers; the laſt managed his intereſt ſo dexterouſly, that he ſtood in all the changes that followed, and continued Lord Treaſurer till near the end of this reign, when he fell through jealouſy rather than guilt: But the chief favourite in the King's pleaſures, was Charles Brandon, who, from the degree of a private Gentleman, was advanced to the higheſt honours. The ſtrength of his body, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, contributed more to his riſe, than his dexterity in affairs, or the endowments of his mind: for the greateſt proof he gave of his underſtanding was, that knowing he was not fit for buſineſs, he did not pretend to it; a temper not common in the creatures of favour. The frame and ſtrength of his body made him a fit match for the King at juſts and tiltings, which was the manly diverſion of that time; and the King taking much pleaſure in it, being of a robuſt body, and very expert at it, he, who was ſo able to ſecond him in theſe courſes, grew mightily in his favour; ſo that he made him firſt Viſcount Liſle, and ſome months after, Duke of Suffolk. His perſon was ſo acceptable to the ladies, that the Lady MARY, the King's Siſter, liked him; and being but ſo long married to King *Lewis*, as to make her Queen Dowager of France, ſhe reſolved to chuſe her ſecond husband herſelf, and caſt her eye on the Duke of Suffolk, who was then ſent over to the Court of France. Her brother had deſigned the marriage between them, yet would not openly conſent to it: but ſhe, by an odd kind of making love, prefixed him the term of four days to gain her conſent to marry him, and aſſured him if he did not prevail in that time, he might for ever deſpair: after ſuch a declaration he was not like to meet with much difficulty. She married him in France, and, after a ſhew of ſome diſpleaſure, the King was pacified, and continued his favours to him, not only during his Siſter's life, but to the laſt, and in all the revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Miniſter fell by turns. There needs little to be ſaid of any other perſon, more than will hereafter occur.

Marries the King's Siſter.

Charles Brandon's advancement.

THE King did not deny himſelf any pleaſures, but he declared no miſtreſs but one Elizabeth Blunt, and owned no iſſue but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of Richmond, and intended to have put him in the ſucceſſion of the Crown after his other children; but that his death prevented him.

HE took great care to keep a good underſtanding with his Parliaments, eſpecially the Houſe of Commons, by which means he ſeldom failed to carry matters as he pleaſed among them; only in the Parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his reign, the demand of the ſubſidy towards the War with France, being ſo high as eight hundred thouſand pounds, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great oppoſition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir Thomas More, who was then ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons; and finding not above half of what was asked offered, he went himſelf to the Houſe, and deſired to hear the reaſons of thoſe who oppoſed his demands, that he might anſwer them; but they told him the order of their Houſe was to reaſon only among themſelves; which made him go away much diſſatisfied. And after that he found other means of ſupplying the King without Parliaments. Biſhop Burnet next opens the ſtate of affairs in reference to religious and ſpiritual concerns.

King Henry VIII's Education.

KING HENRY was bred with more care than, before his time, had been uſually beſtowed on the education of Princes, who had been only trained up to thoſe exerciſes that prepared them for war; and if they could read and write, it was all that was expected from them: but learning was now in its dawn, after a night of long and groſs ignorance; and as the Houſe of Medici in Florence had great honour by the protection it gave to learned men, ſo other Princes every where cheriſhed the Muſes.

King

King HENRY the VIIth, though illiterate himſelf, yet took care to have his children inſtructed in learning, not with any deſign to make his younger ſon, Prince HENRY, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as has been commonly reported, for at the death of his brother Arthur he was not full eleven years of age, when he became Prince of Wales; and that was too early for him to have made any great progreſs: But HENRY the VIIth feeling the prejudices of his own education, was the more careful to have his ſon better taught; or it may be he did it to amuſe him, and keep him from looking too early in matters of ſtate. From hence it was that his ſon was the moſt learned Prince who had been in the World for many ages, and deſerved the Title of Beau Clerc, on a better account than his predeceſſor who had long before carried it. The learning then in moſt credit, was the ſcholaſtical divinity, which, by a ſhew of ſubtilty, recomended itſelf to curious perſons; and, being very ſuitable to a vain and contentious temper, was what beſt agreed with his diſpoſition; he delighted to read often in Thomas Aquinas: And this made Cardinal Wolſey more acceptable to him, who was chiefly converſant in that kind of learning. He loved the purity of the Latin tongue, underſtood philoſophy, and was ſo great a maſter of muſick, that he compoſed well, among other things, two whole maſſes. He was a great patron to learned men, particularly to Eraſmus and Polydore Virgil; though neither of theſe made their court dexterouſly with the Cardinal, who often intercepted the King's favour to them; ſo that one left England, and the other was uſed but coarſly in it: But he ſufficiently revenged himſelf on the Cardinal's memory.

The King being thus inclined to learning, was much courted by the hungry Scholars, who from all parts of Europe dedicated their books to him, which he undoubtedly received well, being out of meaſure fond of flattery, and particularly to be extolled for his learning and underſtanding. The writers contended who ſhould moſt exceed in ſetting forth his praiſes, and in ſuch a ſtile as was ſcarce fit to be uſed to any creature. The Clergy carried it; for as he had deſerved moſt at their Hands, by eſpouſing the intereſts of the papacy, and by entering the liſts with Luther, ſo they were as little aſhamed of indecently magnifying him as he was to receive their groſs commendations. He had a deſign to entail theſe praiſes on his memory; for no King of England had ever cheriſhed the Churchmen more than he did; he courted the Pope with a conſtant ſubmiſſion, and upon all occaſions made his intereſt his own, and made peace and war as they deſired him. So that had he died before the nineteenth year of his reign, he could hardly have eſcaped canonization, notwithſtanding all his faults; for he abounded in thoſe virtues which had ſainted Kings for near a thouſand years together, and had done more than any of them, by writing a book for the Roman faith.

THE manner of promotion to his Biſhopricks and Abbies, was originally by the delivery of the paſtoral Ring and Staff, by the Kings of England, but this power, after ſome oppoſition, was wrung out of their hands; yet they retained another thing, which upon the whole was much the ſame. Upon a vacancy the King ſeized on all the temporalities, and granted a licence for an election, with a ſpecial recommendation of the perſon, upon which Bulls were expeded at Rome; and ſo by a warrant from the pope he was conſecrated, and inveſted in the Spiritualities of the See, but was to appear before the King either in perſon or by proxy; and renounce every clauſe in his letters and bulls, that were or might be prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the laws of the land, and was to ſwear fealty and allegiance to the King, and then the temporalities were reſtored. Nor could Bulls be ſued out at Rome without a licence under the great ſeal; ſo that the Kings of England had reſerved the power to themſelves of promoting to eccleſiaſtical benefices, notwithſtanding all the invaſions of the Pope's on the temporal power of princes.

THE immunity of eccleſiaſtical perſons was a thing that occaſioned great complaints: it being common for perſons after the greateſt crimes to get into orders; and then not only what was paſt muſt be forgiven them, but they were not to be queſtioned for any crime till they were firſt degraded by the ſpirituality: This occaſioned the only conteſt that was in the beginning of this reign between the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical courts. A conteſt about eccleſiaſtical immunity.

KING HENRY VII, in his fourth Parliament, did a little leſſen the privileges of the Clergy, it being enacted, that Clerks convicted ſhould be burnt in the Hand. But this not proving a ſufficient reſtraint, a temporary law was alſo made in the beginning of this reign, that murderers and robbers, not being Biſhops, Prieſts or Deacons, ſhould be denied the benefit of the clergy; purſuant to which many had ſentence paſſed upon them to the ſatisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to ſuffer their immunities to be leſſened.

THE Abbot of Winchelcomb preached ſeverely againſt, and in a Sermon at Paul's Croſs, ſaid openly, That the act was contrary to the law of God, and to the liberties of the holy Church, and that all who aſſented to it, as well ſpiritual as temporal perſons, had, by ſo doing, incurred the cenſures of the Church. And to confirm his opinion, he publiſhed a book to prove, That all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower orders, were ſacred, and exempted from all temporal puniſhment by the ſecular judge, even in criminal caſes. This made great noiſe, and all the temporal Lords, with the Commons, addreſſed the King, deſiring him to repreſs the inſolence of the Clergy. There was a hearing of the matter before the King, with all the judges and the King's temporal council.

Doctor Standiſh, a Franciſcan, afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph, argued againſt the immunity, and proved, that, by the law, Clerks had been conſtantly convened and judged in the King's Court for civil crimes, and that there was nothing either in the laws of God, or the Church inconſiſtent with it; and that the publick good of ſociety, which was the chief intent of all laws, and ought to be preferred to all things, required that crimes ſhould be puniſhed. The Abbot of Winchelcomb, being counſel for the Clergy, ſaid, "It was contrary to a decree of the Church, and was a ſin in itſelf." Standiſh, upon this, turned to the King and ſaid, "God forbid that all the decrees "of the Church ſhould bind. It ſeems the "Biſhops think not ſo, for though there "is a decree that they ſhould reſide at "their Cathedrals all the feſtivals of the "year, yet the greater part of them do it "not": Adding, that no decree could have any force in England, till it was received there; and that this never had been received, but that as well ſince the making it, as before, Clerks had been tried for crimes in the Civil Courts.

AFTER the matter was fully argued, all the Laity were of opinion that the Friar was too hard for the Abbot, and moved the King that the Biſhops might be ordered to make him preach a recantation ſermon at Paul's Croſs. This they flatly refuſed to do, and ſaid they were bound by the Laws of the holy church to maintain the Abbot's opinion in every point of it. Great heats followed upon this, during the ſitting of the Parliament, and a very partial entry was made in the journal of the Houſe of Lords, in theſe Words: "In this Parliament and Convocation there were moſt "dangerous contentions between the Clergy and ſecular power, about the eccleſiaſtical liberties; one Standiſh a minor "Friar being the inſtrument and promoter "of all that miſchief". The clerk of the parliament, who made this entry, was Doctor Tyler, doctor of the Canon Law, and at the ſame time ſpeaker of the lower Houſe of Convocation.

An accident fell out, that made this matter more fully proſecuted in the Michaelmas Term. One Richard Hunn, a Merchant in London, was ſued by his pariſh prieſt for a mortuary in the legate's Court, upon which Hunn was adviſed, by his Counſel, to ſue the Clerk in a Premuniri, for bringing the king's ſubjects before a foreign and illegal Court. This incenſed the Clergy ſo much, that they contrived his deſtruction; and hearing that he had Wickliffe's bible, he was attached for Hereſy, and put into the Lollard's Tower at Paul's and examined upon ſome articles objected to him by Fitz James, then Biſhop of London. He confeſſed ſome things and ſubmitted to mercy; upon which, according to law, he ought to have been enjoined ſome penance, and diſcharged, this being his firſt crime; but he, not being to be prevailed upon to drop his ſuit in the temporal court, had his neck broke, one Night, with an iron chain, and ſeveral Wounds were found in other parts of his Body. Doctor Horſey, Chancellor to the Biſhop of London, with the other officers, who had the charge of the priſon, gave it out that he had hang'd himſelf; but the Coroner's Inqueſt, by examining the Body and other Evidences, and particularly by the confeſſion of the Sumner, gave their verdict that he was murdered by the Biſhop's Chancellor, the Sumner, and the Bell-ringer.

Hunn impriſoned for Hereſy.

Murder'd.

AS the Inqueſt proceeded in this Trial, the Biſhop began a new proceſs againſt the dead Body, and charged Hunn with all the Hereſy in Wickliffe's preface to the bible, becauſe it was found in his poſſeſſion; ſo he was condemned for an Heretick, and his body delivered to the ſecular power. When Judgment was given, the Biſhops of Durham and Lincoln, with many Doctors both of Divinity and the Canon-Law, ſate with the Biſhop of London, ſo that it was look'd upon as an act of the whole Clergy. On the 20th of December 1514, his body was burnt in Smithfield.

And his body burnt.

THIS produced an effect very different from what they expected; for the Clergy were in hopes, that by his being proved an Heretick, no body would appear for him more; but on the contrary, it occaſioned a great out-cry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his neighbours: So that the City of London was never after well affected to the popiſh Clergy, but inclined to follow any body that ſpoke againſt them. All exclaimed againſt their cruelty, their keeping a man in ſevere impriſonment, only for ſuing a Clerk according to law, afterwards to murder him; and then, to burn that body which they had ſo handled, was thought ſuch a complication of cruelties, as few barbarians had ever been guilty of. The fury of the people was ſo great, that the Biſhop of London complained he was not ſafe in his own houſe. The Cardinal did all he could to ſtop the progreſs of the affair, but in vain: For the Biſhop's Chancellor, and Sumner, were indicted as principals in the murder; the thing being too foul and too evident to be huſhed up. In the Parliament an act paſſed for reſtoring Hunn's children; but the Commons ſent up a bill concerning his murder, which was laid aſide by the Lord's Houſe, where the Clergy had the majority.

THE Convocation that was then ſitting, finding ſo great a ſtir made, and that all their liberties were now ſtruck at, reſolved to call Doctor Standiſh to an account for what he had ſaid, and argued on that matter, for they look'd upon this as what gave riſe to Hunn's firſt ſuit; ſo the convocation cited him to anſwer for his carriage; but he claimed the King's Protection, ſince he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's name. But the Clergy made their excuſe to the King, that they did not proſecute him for any thing he had ſaid as the King's Counſel; but for ſome lectures he read at St. Paul's, and elſewhere, contrary to the law of God, and liberties of the holy church, which they were bound to maintain;

maintain; and desired the king's assistance according to his coronation oath; but the temporal lords, the judges, and the commons also prayed the king to maintain the laws, according to his coronation oath, and give Standish his protection.

THE king upon this was in great perplexity, and calling for doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, and afterwards bishop of Exeter, he charged him, upon his allegiance, to declare to him the truth in that matter. His opinion was against the immunity, and he said, upon his faith, conscience, and allegiance, he did think, that the convening of clerks before the secular judge, which had been always practised in England, might well consist with the law of God, and the true liberties of the holy church. This gave great satisfaction to the king, so another publick hearing was appointed, and the bill against Standish read, which consisted of six articles that were objected to him. First, "That he had said that the "lower orders were not sacred. Secondly, "That the exemption of clerks was not "founded on a divine right. Thirdly, "That the laity might coerce clerks "when the prelates did not their duty. "Fourthly, That no positive ecclesiastical "law binds any, but those who receive it. "Fifthly, That the study of the canon-law "was needless. Sixthly, That the whole "volume of the Decretum, so much as a "man could hold in his fist, and no more, "did oblige christians." Of these he denied some, and justified others. Vesey, being required to give his opinion, alledged, "That the laws of the church did not bind "any but those who received them:" As the laws of the celibate of the clergy, received in the west, did not bind the Greek churches, which had never received them; so the exemption of the clerks not being received, did not bind in England. The judges gave their opinion, "That all those "of the convocation who did award the ci-"tation against Standish were in a premu-"niri:" And so they broke up. But not long after all, all the lords spiritual and temporal, with many of the house of commons, and all the judges and the kings counsel, were called before the kiug to Baynard's Castle, where the cardinal kneeling down before the king, said, in the name of the clergy, "That none of them intended to "do any thing that might derogate from "his prerogative, and least of all, himself, "who owed his advancement only to the "king's favour. But this matter of con-"veening of clerks, did seem to them all "to be contrary to the law of God, and "the liberties of the church, which they "were bound by their oaths to maintain, "according to their power; therefore de-"sired the matter might be referred to the "pope." The king said, "That he "thought Standish had answer'd them fully." The bishop of Winchester replied, "That "Standish would not abide by his opinion "at his Peril." Upon which, the doctor asked, "What one poor friar could do alone, "against all the bishops and clergy of England?" The archbishop of Canterbury said, "Some of the fathers of the church had "been martyrs on that account:" But Fineux, the lord chief justice, replied, "That "many holy kings had maintain'd that law, "and many holy bishops had obey'd it, which "it is to be presumed they would not have "done, had they known it to be contrary to "the law of God;" and he desired to know by what law bishops could judge clerks for felony, it being a thing only determined by the temporal law; so that it was either not at all to be tried, or it was in the temporal court; and therefore clerks might either do as they pleased, or be tried in the civil courts. To this no answer being made, the king in conclusion declared, That he would maintain his rights, and not submit them to the decrees of the church, otherwise than as his ancestors had done. But Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, made most humble instance, that the matter might be so long respited, til they could get a resolution from the court of Rome, which they should procure at their own charge; and if it did consist with the law of God, they should conform themselves to the law of the land. To this the king made no anfwer; but a temper was found. Horsey was appointed to be brought to his trial for the murder of Hunn, and upon his pleading not guilty, no evidence was to be brought, and so he was dismissed, and went and lived at Exeter, and either thro' fear, or shame, never return'd more to London.

The people, upon this said, That the judges were more concerned to maintain their jurisdiction, than to do justice upon so horrid a murder; the discontent given by it was very high, and the crime of a few murderers was now transferred to the whole clergy, who had been so much concerned in their preservation, and the laity was hereby much disposed to all that was done afterwards to pull down ecclesiastical tyranny.

FOR the first eighteen years of king Henry VIII's reign, this was the only thing that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy. In all other points he was constantly in the pope's interest, who sent him a golden rose, with a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, to deliver it; and tho' such presents might seem only fit for children, yet the king was much delighted with it, and to shew his gratitude, made the defence of the popedom an article in his leagues with other princes; and pope Julius, having called a general council to the Lateran, in opposition to that, which by Lewis the XIIth's. means was held at Pisa; the king sent the bishops of Worcester and Rochester, the prior of St. John's, and the abbot of Winchelcomb, to represent the church of England, thereby to give the greater authority to a pack'd meeting of Italian bishops and abbots, priors, and other inferior dignified clergymen, brought together to confirm whatever the popes had a mind to enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the world, as the decrees and decisions of the holy universal church assembled in a general council.

THERE

THERE was as good an underſtanding between the king and pope Leo the Xth, who ſucceeded Julius, and likewiſe ſent him the preſent of the roſe; but no compliment wrought ſo much on the king's vanity, as the title of Defender of the Faith, ſent him in a pompous letter ſigned by the pope and twenty-ſeven cardinals, upon his preſenting the pope with a book he had wrote againſt Luther, concerning the ſacraments.

THE cardinal governing all temporal affairs as he did, there is no doubt but his authority was abſolute in eccleſiaſtical matters, which ſeemed naturally to lie within his province; yet Warham made ſome oppoſition to him, and complained to the king of his encroaching too much in his legantine courts, upon his juriſdiction; which being clearly made out, the king chid the cardinal ſharply for it, who ever after hated Warham, but proceeded more warily for the future.

THE hatred of the clergy was drawn chiefly on the cardinal by a bull, which impowered him to viſit all the monaſteries of England; and to diſpenſe with all the laws of the church for a Year: The preamble to this bull was full of ſevere reflections upon the manners and ignorance of the clergy, who were ſaid in it to be delivered over to a reprobate mind. As this was a publick defamation, they all thought, how true ſoever it might be, that it was unbecoming the cardinal, whoſe vices were more notorious than any of theirs.

HE lived in great luxury and magnificence, not only in his habit, being the firſt clergyman in England, who wore ſilk, but in his family, having, among his domeſticks, men of the firſt rank, even dukes and earls, to give him the water and the towel. He intended to ſuppreſs many monaſteries, and thought the way to do it, with leaſt ſcandal, was firſt to viſit them, and then expoſe their corruptions; but he was afterwards diverted from this; yet he had communicated his deſign to the king; and his ſecretary Cromwell, underſtanding it, was inſtructed thereby how to proceed afterwards, when they went about the total ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries.

THE ſummoning convocations he aſſumed by virtue of his legantine power. Theſe were of two ſorts, the firſt called by the king, when parliaments were called, as has been the uſe of late, only the king did not then prefix a day, but left that to the archbiſhops. Others were called by the archbiſhops in their ſeveral provinces, upon great emergencies, to meet and treat of things relating to the church, and were provincial councils; but theſe were very few. The cardinal pretended that the ſummoning all convocations, belong'd to him, as legate, ſo that when Warham had called one, he diſſolved it after it was met, and ſummoned it anew. In that convocation, a great ſupply was granted to the king, of half a year's rent, of all benefices payable in five Years, to aſſiſt him in his wars with France and Scotland. The cardinal told them how much the king had merited from the church, both by ſuppreſſing the ſchiſm that was like to have been in the papacy in pope Julius's time, and by protecting the ſee of Rome from the French tyranny; but moſt of all, for that excellent book written by him in defence of the faith againſt hereticks; and that therefore it was fit, on ſo great an occaſion, that his clergy ſhould appear ſenſible of their happineſs in having ſuch a king; which they ought to expreſs in granting ſomewhat, that was as much beyond all former precedents, as the king had merited more from them than all former kings had ever done.

THE biſhops of Wincheſter and Rocheſter oppoſed this: for they both hated the cardinal. The laſt thought him ungrateful to him who raiſed him, and the other being himſelf a man of a ſtrict life, hated him for his vices. Theſe ſpoke againſt it as an unheard-of tax, that would oppreſs the clergy, and become a precedent to after times; but it was agreed to at laſt, a clauſe being put into the act, "That it ſhould be "no precedent for the future:" But this was laught at by ſome, who thought that the grant was more likely to become a precedent, than this proviſo to be ſecurity againſt it.

ALL the natives of England, who had any eccleſiaſtical benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their livings in five years; and all foreigners, who were beneficed in England, were to pay a whole year's rent in the ſame time: out of which number were excepted the biſhops of Worceſter, and Landaff, Polydore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Eraſmus of Rotterdam, Silveſter Darius, and Peter Vannes, who were to pay only like natives. This increaſed the hatred of the clergy to the cardinal; but he deſpiſed them, eſpecially the Monks, whom he looked upon as idle mouths, that did no ſervice to church or ſtate, but were by their ſcandalous lives a reproach to one, and a burthen to the other; therefore he reſolved to ſuppreſs many of them, and change them into another inſtitution.

FROM the days of king Edgar the ſtate of monkery had been ſtill growing in England; for moſt of the ſecular clergy being then married, and refuſing to put away their wives, Dunſtan, and other monks, taking advantage of that prince's vices, perſuaded him to make compenſation for them by founding of monaſteries, which he did to the number of 47, and intended to increaſe them to 50. The former incumbents were to be for ever excluded from all pretenſions to their benefices, becauſe they had choſe rather, with the danger of their order, and the prejudice of the eccleſiaſtical benefice, to adhere to their wives, than to ſerve God chaſtly and canonically.

THE monks being thus ſettled in moſt cathedrals in England, gave themſelves up to idleneſs and pleaſure; and the reſtorers of learning, ſuch as Eraſmus, Vives, and others, did not ſpare them, but expoſed their ignorance and ill manners to the world; for, being every were poſſeſſed of the beſt church benefices, they were looked upon by all learned men with an evil eye, having in their hands the chief encouragements of learn-

learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they on the contrary decrying and diſparaging it, as what would introduce hereſy.

KING Henry the VIIIth naturally loved learning, and therefore the cardinal, either to do a thing which he thought would be acceptable to him; or becauſe it was agreeable to his own inclinations, reſolved to ſet up ſome colleges, in which there ſhould be great encouragement for eminent ſcholars to proſecute their ſtudies, and good ſchools alſo for training up youth. He knew it would be a great honour to him to be look'd upon as a patron of learning; and therefore ſet his heart much on it. He deſigned two noble foundations, one at Oxford, and the other at Ipſwich, the place of his birth, well conſtituted and endowed; and for that end he procured a bull for ſuppreſſing divers monaſteries, which he could eaſily do, being at that time regarded at Rome as a pope of another world. Theſe houſes being ſuppreſſed, belonged to the king; who thereupon made them over to the cardinal by new and ſpecial grants; and ſo he went on with his foundations and brought them to perfection: that at Oxford in the 18th year, and that at Ipſwich in the 20th year of the king's reign.

The firſt Beginning of the Reformation in England

AS to the ſtate of religion in England. From the days of Wickliff, there were many who differed from the doctrines commonly received. The clergy were at that time very hateful to the people, and Wickliff being much encouraged by the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Piercy, the biſhops could not proceed againſt him in his lifetime; but after his death he was condemned, and his body taken up and burnt. Many opinions are charged upon him, but whether he held them or not, is not known, but by the teſtimonies of his enemies, who write of him with ſo much paſſion, as diſcredits all they ſay. He tranſlated the bible into Engliſh, with a long preface to it, in which he reflected ſeverely on the corruptions of the clergy, and condemned the worſhipping of ſaints and images, and denyed the corporeal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and exhorted all people to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, which laſt was thought the moſt criminal of all by the clergy; for there ſuch teſtimonies of their corruptions were to be found, as they would not have had produced if they could help it.

THE followers of Wickliff were not men of letters; but being wrought on by the eaſy conviction of plain ſenſe and reaſon, were by them determined in their perſuaſions. They formed not themſelves into any body or aſſociation; and were ſcattered over the kingdom, holding theſe opinions in private, without making any publick profeſſion of them. The clergy ſought them out every where, and after conviction delivered them to the ſecular arm, that is, to the fire.

IN the primitive church, tho' in their councils they were not backward to paſs anathematiſms on every thing that they judged hereſy, yet all capital proceedings againſt hereticks were condemned; and when two biſhops proſecuted Priſcillian, and his followers, before the emperor Maximus, upon which they were put to death, they were generally blamed for it, and many refuſed to hold communion with them. Baniſhments and fines, with ſome incapacities, were the higheſt ſeverities, even upon the greateſt provocations; only the Manichees who were a ſtrange mixture betweeen heatheniſm and chriſtianity, were to ſuffer death for their errors. The biſhops in thoſe days, particularly in Africk, doubted much, whether upon the inſolencies of hereticks, or ſchiſmaticks, they might deſire the emperor to execute the laws for fining, baniſhing, and other reſtraints: and St. Auſtin was not eaſily prevailed on to conſent to it; but at length the Donatiſts were ſo intolerable, that after ſeveral conſultations, they were forced to conſent to thoſe inferior penalties, but ſtill condemned the taking away of their Lives. And even in the execution of the laws in theſe inferior puniſhments, always interpoſed to moderate the ſeverity of the prefects and governors. The firſt inſtance of ſeverity of mens bodies that was not cenſured by the church, was in the fifth century, under Juſtine the firſt, who ordered the tongue of Severus to be cut out. In the eighth century Juſtinian the ſecond burnt all the Manichees in Armenia: and in the end of the eleventh century the Bogmoli were condemned to be burnt by the patriarch and council of Conſtantinople. But in the end of the 12th, and beginning of the 13th century, a company of ſimple and innocent perſons in the ſouthern parts of France, being diſguſted with the corruptions both of the popiſh clergy, and the publick worſhip, ſeparated from their aſſemblies; and then Dominick, and other preachers, who came among them to convince them, finding their preaching did not prevail, betook themſelves to that way which they were ſure would ſilence them; and perſuaded the civil magiſtrates to burn all ſuch as were judged obſtinate hereticks. That they might do this by a law, the fourth council of Lateran decreed, that all hereticks ſhould be deliver'd to the Secular Power to be extirpated; and if they did it not, they were to be excommunicated; and after that, if they ſtill refuſed to do their duty, they were to deny it at their utmoſt perils. For not only the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, but anathema's were thought too feeble a puniſhment for this omiſſion. Therefore a cenſure was found out, as ſevere upon the prince, as burning was to the poor heretick. "He "was to be depoſed by the pope, his ſub- "jects to be abſolved from their oaths of "allegiance, and his dominions to be given "away, to any other faithful ſon of the "church, ſuch as pleaſed the pope beſt." And all this by the authority of a ſynod, that paſſed for a Holy General Council. This was terrible to all princes, who thereupon; to ſave themſelves, delivered up their ſubjects to the mercy of the eccleſiaſtical courts.

BURNING agreed beſt with their cruelty, being the moſt terrible ſort of death; and bearing ſome reſemblance to everlaſting burnings in hell; ſo they would have damned

the Souls of the hereticks, and burnt their bodies, if the firſt had been as much in their power as the latter. The canons of that council being received in England, the proceedings againſt hereticks grew to be a part of the common law, and a writ for burning them was iſſued out upon their conviction.

THERE was no occaſion for the execution of this law in England till the days of Wickliff; and the favour he was in among ſome great men ſtopt proceedings againſt him. But in the fifth year of king Richard the IId, a bill paſſed the houſe of lords, and was aſſented to by the king, and publiſhed for an act of parliament, tho' never ſent to the houſe of commons. By this pretended law it appears, Wickliff's followers were then very numerous; that they had a certain habit, and did preach in many places, both in churches, church-yards, and markets, without licence from the ordinary; and did preach ſeveral doctrines both againſt the faith, and the laws of the land, as had been proved before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the other biſhops, prelates, doctors of divinity, and of the civil and canon law, and others of the clergy; that they would not ſubmit to the admonitions, nor cenſures of the church; but by their ſubtil ingenious words, did draw the people to follow them and defend them by ſtrong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was ordained, that upon the biſhops certifying into the Chancery the names of ſuch preachers and their abettors, the chancellor ſhould iſſue forth commiſſions to the ſheriffs and other the kings miniſters, to hold them in arreſt and ſtrong priſon, 'till they ſhould juſtify themſelves according to the law and reaſon of holy church.

THE cuſtom at that time was to engroſs copies of all the acts of parliament, and ſend them with a writ under the great ſeal to all the ſheriffs of England to be proclaimed by them; but the year following, in the next parliament, the commons complained that that act was publiſhed, to which they had never conſented; ſo an act paſſed declaring the former null; yet this was ſuppreſſed, and the former was ſtill eſteemed a good law.

WHEN Richard the IId was depoſed, and Henry the IVth uſurp'd the crown, he owing it in a great meaſure to the help of the clergy, paſſed an act againſt all who preached without the biſhop's licence, or againſt the faith, That all tranſgreſſors of that ſort ſhould be impriſoned, and within three months be brought to a trial. If upon conviction they offered to abjure, and were not relapſes, they were to be impriſoned and fined at pleaſure; but if they refuſed to abjure, or were relapſes, they were to be delivered to the ſecular arm, and the magiſtrates were to burn them in ſome publick place. Tho' by this ſtatute no mention is made of ſending out a writ for execution; yet that continued ſtill to be practiſed: and that ſame year, when William Sautre, who was the firſt that was put to death upon account of hereſy, was judged relapſe by Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a convocation of his Province, and thereupon was degraded from prieſthood, and left to the ſecular power, a writ was iſſued out to burn him, which in the writ is called, The Cuſtomary Puniſhment, relating it is like to the cuſtoms of other nations.

IN the beginning of Henry the Vth's reign, there was a conſpiracy, as was pretended, by Sir John Oldcaſtle, and ſome others againſt the king and the clergy; upon which many were impriſoned, and twenty-nine were both attainted of treaſon, and condemned for hereſy, ſo they were both hanged and burnt. But Hall, an Hiſtorian, who lived in the following age, ſays, "Certain affirmed that "theſe were but feigned cauſes, ſurmized of "the ſpirituality more of diſpleaſure than "truth." That Conſpiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a ſevere act againſt thoſe hereticks, who were then beſt known by the name of Lollards. By which act all officers of ſtate, judges, juſtices of the peace, mayors, Sheriffs, and Bailiffs, were to be ſworn when they took their Employments, to uſe their whole power and diligence to deſtroy all hereſies and errors, called Lollardies, and to aſſiſt the ordinaries and their commiſſaries in their proceedings againſt them; and that the Lollards ſhould forfeit all the Lands they held in fee-ſimple, and their goods and chattels to the king.

THE clergy, according to the genius of that religion, having their authority fortified with ſuch ſevere laws, were now more cruel and inſolent than ever: and if any man denied them any part of that reſpect, or of thoſe advantages to which they pretended, he was preſently brought under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, and vexed with impriſonments, and articles were brought againſt him.

UPON which great Complaints being made, the judges interpoſed, and examined the grounds of their commitments, and, as they ſaw cauſe, bailed, or diſcharged the priſoners; and took upon them to declare what opinions were hereſies by law, and what not. Thus the people ſought for ſhelter, under their protection, and found more mercy at the hands of common lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the paſtors of their ſouls, and the publiſhers of the moſt merciful religion that ever was.

THUS, when one Keyſer (who was excommunicated by Thomas Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the ſuit of another) ſaid openly, "That that ſentence was not to be "feared"; for tho' the archbiſhop, or his commiſſary, had excommunicated him, "yet "he was not excommunicated before God"; he was upon this committed by the archbiſhop's warrant, as one juſtly ſuſpected of hereſy: but the judges upon his moving for an Habeas Corpus, granted it; and the priſoner being brought to the bar, with the warrant for his impriſonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the ſtatute, and firſt bailed him, and after that they diſcharged him. One Warner, of London, having ſaid, "That he was not "bound to pay tythes to his curate", was alſo impriſoned by Edward Vaughan, at the command of the biſhop of London; but he eſcaped out of priſon, and brought his action

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of falſe impriſonment againſt Vaughan. Whereupon Vaughan pleading the ſtatute of Henry the IVth, and that his opinion was an hereſy againſt the determination of the catholick faith; the court of the common pleas judged, "That the words were not "within the ſtatute, and that his opinion "was an error, but no hereſy.

IN the beginning of this reign, there were ſeveral Perſons brought into the biſhops court for hereſy, before Warham. Forty-eight were accuſed: but of theſe forty-three abjured, twenty-ſeven men, and ſixteen women, moſt of them of Tenterden; and five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned, ſome as obſtinate hereticks, and others as relapſes: and againſt the common ties of nature, the woman's husband, and her two ſons, were brought witneſſes againſt her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the archbiſhop to the chancery: upon which, ſince there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them muſt have gone out of courſe, and the execution of them is little to be doubted; for the clergy were ſeldom guilty of much mercy in ſuch caſes.

THE articles objected to them were, Firſt, That the ſacrament of the altar is not the body of Chriſt, but material Bread. Secondly, That the ſacraments of baptiſm, and confirmation, are not neceſſary, nor profitable for mens ſouls. Thirdly, That confeſſion of ſins ought not to be made to a prieſt. Fourthly, That there is no more power given by God to a prieſt than to a layman. Fifthly, That the Solemnization of matrimony is not profitable, nor neceſſary for the good of man's ſoul. Sixthly, That the ſacrament of extreme unction is not profitable nor neceſſary for man's ſoul. Seventhly, That pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's ſoul. Eighthly, That images of ſaints were only ſtocks and ſtones, and not to be worſhipped. Ninthly, That a man ſhould pray to no ſaint, but only to God. Tenthly, That holy water and holy bread be not better after the benediction made by the prieſt, than before.

THOSE who abjured, did ſwear to diſcover all who held theſe Errors, or were ſuſpected of them; and they were enjoined to carry a faggot in proceſſion, and to wear on their cloaths the repreſentation of one in flames, as a publick confeſſion that they had deſerved to be burnt. There were alſo four in London, that abjured almoſt the ſame opinions; and Fox ſays, that ſix were burnt in Smithfield, who might perhaps be thoſe whom Warham had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the Regiſters of London. By all this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive thoſe doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther began firſt to oppoſe indulgences.

The progreſs of Luther's doctrine.

THE firſt beginnings and progreſs of Luther's doctrine are ſo well known, that it need only be told, how upon publiſhing of indulgences in Germany in ſo groſs a manner, that for a little money any man might both preſerve himſelf and deliver his friends out of purgatory, many were offended at this merchandize againſt which Luther wrote: but it concerning the ſee of Rome in ſo main a point of their prerogative, which would alſo cut off a great branch of their revenue, he was proceeded againſt with extreme ſeverity. So ſmall a ſpark as that colliſion made, could never have raiſed ſo great a fire, if the world had not been ſtrongly diſpoſed to it, by the juſt prejudices they had conceived againſt the popiſh clergy, whoſe ignorance and lewd lives had laid them ſo open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would ſet himſelf againſt them, could not but be kindly looked on by people. They had engroſſed the greateſt part both of the riches and power of Chriſtendom, and lived at their eaſe, and in much wealth; and the corruptions of their worſhip and doctrine were ſuch, that a very ſmall proportion of common ſenſe, with but a ſlight looking over the New Teſtament, diſcovered them: nor had they any other varniſh to colour them by, but the authority and traditions of the church. But when ſome ſtudious men began to read the antient fathers and councils (tho' there was then a great mixture of ſophiſticated ſtuff that went under the antient names, and was joined to their true works, which criticks have ſince diſcovered to be ſpurious) they found a vaſt difference between the firſt five ages of the chriſtian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the laſt ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning, only a little miſguided devotion was retained for ſix of theſe ages; and in the laſt four, the reſtleſs ambition and uſurpation of the popes were ſupported by the ſeeming holineſs of the begging fryars, and the falſe counterfeits of learning, which were among the canoniſts, ſchoolmen and caſuiſts. So that it was incredible to ſee, how men, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the princes every where made to the progreſs of theſe reputed new opinions, and the great advantages by which the church of Rome both held and drew many into their intereſts, were generally inclined to theſe doctrines. Thoſe of the clergy, who at firſt preached them, were of the begging orders of fryars, who, having fewer engagements on them from their intereſts, were freer to diſcover and follow the Truth; and the auſtere diſcipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter thoſe difficulties that lay in their way: and the laity, who had long look'd on their paſtors with an evil eye, did receive theſe opinions very eaſily; which did both diſcover the impoſtures with which the world had been abuſed, and ſhewed a plain and ſimple way to the kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and ſuch other inſtructions about religion, as were ſincere and genuine. The clergy, who at firſt deſpiſed theſe new preachers, were at length much allarmed, when they ſaw all people running after them, and receiving their doctrines.

As theſe things did ſpread much in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, ſo their Books came over into England, where

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there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived againſt the corrupt clergy, but by the opinions of the Lollards, which had been now in England ſince the days of Wickliff for about 150 years; between which opinions and the doctrine of the reformers, there was great affinity; and therefore, to give the better vent to the books that come out of Germany, many of them were tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickned the proceedings againſt the Lollards, and the enquiry became ſo ſevere, that great numbers were brought into the toils of the biſhops and their commiſſaries. If a man had ſpoken but a light word againſt any of the conſtitutions of the church, he was ſeized on by the biſhops officers, and if any taught their children the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the apoſtles creed in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the Stake, as it did ſix men and a woman at Coventry in the paſſion-week, 1519, being the 4th of April. Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that were ſuſpected of hereſy in his dioceſe; ſeveral of whom abjured, and ſome were burnt.

BUT all That did not produce what they deſigned by it. The clergy did not correct their own faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of guilt, and of a weak cauſe; ſo that the method they took, wrought only on peoples fears, and made them more cautious and reſerved, but did not at all remove the cauſe, nor work either on their reaſons or affections.

UPON all this, the king to get himſelf a name, and to have a laſting intereſt with the clergy, thought it not enough to aſſiſt them with his Authority, but would needs turn their champion, and write againſt Luther in defence of the ſeven ſacraments. This book was magnified by the clergy as the moſt learned work that ever the ſun ſaw, and he was compared to king Solomon, and to all the chriſtian emperors that had ever been; and it was the chief ſubject of flattery for many years, beſides the glorious title of Defender of the Faith, which the pope beſtowed on him for it; and it muſt be acknowledged, that conſidering the Age, and that it was the work of a king, it did deſerve ſome commendations. But Luther was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himſelf upon it, that ſo great a king had entered the liſts with him, and anſwered his book: And he replied, not without a large mixture of acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great reſpect that is due to the perſons of ſovereign princes.

TINDAL'S tranſlation of the New Teſtament, with ſome notes added to it, drew ſevere condemnation from the clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Sir Thomas Moor ſeconded the king, and employed his pen in the ſervice of the clergy, but mixed too much gall with his ink. The cardinal's behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing againſt the new preachers, but when ſome biſhops moved for a viſitation of the univerſities, upon a report of the ſpreading of hereſy in them, he ſtopp'd it; yet afterwards he called a meeting of ſeveral biſhops, abbots, and divines, before whom, two preachers, Bilney and Arthur, were brought, and articles of hereſy being objected to them and proved by witneſſes, they for a while reſolved to ſeal their doctrines with their blood; but what thro' fear, and thro' Perſuaſion, they were prevailed on (firſt Arthur, and Bilney five Days after) to abjure; but tho' Bilney was a relapſe, yet the cardinal was gentle to him, and the biſhop of London enjoined him penance and diſcharged him. For Tonſtall being a man both of good learning and an unblemiſh'd life, theſe Virtues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, viz. great moderation, which was ſo eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in blood. Geoffrey Loni, and Thomas Gerard, alſo abjured for having had Luther's books, and defending his opinions.

THESE were the proceedings againſt hereticks, in the firſt half of his reign; and hitherto king Henry lived at eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſures: he made war with much honour, and that always produced a juſt and advantageous peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his affairs, except about getting money, and even in that the cardinal eaſed him. But now a domeſtick trouble aroſe, which perplexed all the reſt of his government, and drew after it conſequences of a high nature.

HENRY the VIIth, upon wiſe and good conſideration, reſolved to link himſelf in a cloſe confederacy with Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Arragon, and with the Houſe of Burgundy, againſt France, which was looked on as the laſting and dangerous enemy of England: and therefore a match was agreed on between his ſon prince Arthur, and Katharine the infanta of Spain, whoſe eldeſt Siſter Joan was married to Philip, then duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders; out of which aroſe a tripple alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, againſt the king of France, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200,000 ducats, the greateſt portion that had been given for many ages with any princeſs, which made it not the leſs acceptable to king Henry the VIIth.

THE Infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of November was married at St. Paul's to the prince of Wales. They lived together as man and wife, till the 2d of April following, and not only had their bed ſolemnly bleſt when they were put into it, on their wedding night, but alſo were ſeen publickly in bed for ſeveral days after, and went down to live at Ludlow caſtle in Wales, where they ſtill bedded together. But prince Arthur, altho' a ſtrong and healthful youth when he married her, yet died ſoon after, which ſome thought was haſtened by his too early marriage. The Spaniſh ambaſſador had, by his maſter's order, taken proofs of the conſummation of the marriage, and

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ſent them into Spain; the young prince alſo himſelf had, by many expreſſions, given his ſervants cauſe to believe that his marriage was conſummated the firſt night, which in a youth of ſixteen years of age, who was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged ſtrange. It was ſo much believed, that when he died, his younger brother, Henry duke of York, was not called prince of Wales, for ſome conſiderable time; ſome ſay for one month, ſome for ſix months: and he was not created prince of Wales till 10 months were elapſed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his brother's wife was not with child by him.

THESE things were afterwards looked upon as a full demonſtration that the princeſs was not a virgin after prince Arthur's death; but there being ſtill the ſame reaſon of ſtate for keeping up the alliance againſt France, and king Henry the VIIth having no mind to let ſo great a revenue as ſhe had in jointure be carried out of the kingdom, it was propoſed that ſhe ſhould be married to the younger brother Henry, now prince of Wales. The two prelates that were then in greateſt eſteem with the king, were Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Fox biſhop of Wincheſter. The former delivered his opinion againſt it, and told the king, that he thought it was neither honourable nor well pleaſing to God. The biſhop of Wincheſter perſuaded it; and for the objections that were againſt it, and the murmurings of the people, who did not like a marriage that was diſputable, leſt out of it new Wars ſhould ariſe about the right of the crown, the pope's diſpenſation was thought ſufficient to anſwer all; and his authority was then ſo undiſputed, that it did it effectually. So a bull was obtained on the 6th of December, 1503, to this effect: "That the pope, according "to the greatneſs of his authority, having "received a petition from prince Henry "and the princeſs Katharine, bearing, That "whereas the princeſs was lawfully married "to prince Arthur (which perhaps was con-"ſummated by the Carnalis Copula) who "was dead without any Iſſue; but they be-"being deſirous to marry for preſerving the "peace between the crowns of England and "Spain, did petition his holineſs for his "diſpenſation; therefore the pope, out of "his care to maintain peace among all ca-"tholick kings, did abſolve them from all "cenſures under which they might be, and "diſpenſed with the impediment of their "affinity, notwithſtanding any apoſtolical "conſtitutions or ordinances to the contrary, "and gave them leave to marry, or if they "were already married, he confirming it, "required their confeſſor to enjoin them "ſome healthful penance for their having "married before the diſpenſation was ob-"tained.

IT was not very much to be wondered at, that the pope did readily grant this; for tho' many cardinals and divines did then oppoſe it, yet the intereſt of the papacy, which was preferred to all other conſiderations, required it. For as that pope being a great enemy to the French king, Lewis the XIIth would have done any thing to make an Alliance againſt him firmer; ſo he was a warlike pope, who conſidered religion very little, and therefore might be eaſily perſwaded to confirm a thing that muſt needs oblige the kings of England to maintain the papal authority, ſince from it they derived their title to the crown; little thinking that by a ſecret direction of an over-ruling providence, that deed of his would occaſion the extirpation of the papal power in England.

UPON this bull a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the ſame day on which he came of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a proteſtation that he retracted and annulled the marriage. Henry the VIIth, at his death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehenſive of ſuch a return of confuſion upon a controverted ſucceſſion to the crown, as had been during the wars of the houſes of York and Lancaſter; but upon his death, Henry the VIIIth, being then eighteen years of age, married her: ſhe bore him two ſons, who died ſoon after they were born, and a daughter Mary, that lived to reign after him; but after that the queen contracted ſome diſeaſes that made her unacceptable to the king; ſo that all hope of any iſſue failing, ſeveral matches were propoſed for his daughter: the firſt was with the Dauphin, then ſhe was contracted with the Emperor, and after that a propoſition was made for the king of Scotland; and laſt of all, a treaty was made with Francis the Iſt, either for himſelf, he being then a widower, or for his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleance, to be determined at his option; upon which the biſhop of Tarbe was ſent over Ambaſſador to conclude it. He made an exception that the marriage was doubtful, and the lady not legitimate; which had been likewiſe made by the cortes of Spain, by whoſe advice the Emperor broke the contract upon that very account, ſo that other princes moving ſcruples againſt a marriage with his daughter, the heir of ſo great a crown, the king began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh them; for he ſaid afterwards, that he had them ſome years before.

IT is ſurmiſed, that the king, or the cardinal, ſet on the French to make this exception publickly, that ſo the king might have a better colour to juſtify his ſuit of divorce. For, if upon a marriage propoſed, of ſuch advantage to France, as that would be with the heir of the crown of England, they nevertheleſs made exceptions, and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reaſonable to expect, that after the king's death, other pretenders would have diſputed her title in another manner.

TO ſome it ſeemed ſtrange, that the king ſhould offer his daughter to ſuch great princes as the Emperor and the king of France, to whom, if England had fallen in her right, it muſt have been a province; for tho' in the laſt treaty with France, ſhe was offered either to the king, or his ſecond ſon, by which either the children which the king might have by her, or the children of the duke of Orleance, ſhould have been heirs to the

crown of England, and thereby it would ſtill have continued divided from France, yet this was full of hazard, for if the duke of Orleance by his brother's death ſhould become king of France, as it afterwards fell out, or if the king of France had been once poſſeſſed of England, then according to the maxim of the French government, that whatever their king acquires, he holds it in the right of his crown. England was ſtill to be a province to France, unleſs they freed themſelves by arms. Others judged, that the king intended to marry her to France, the more effectually to ſeclude her from the ſucceſſion, conſidering the averſion his ſubjects had to a French government, that ſo he might the more eaſily ſettle his baſtard ſon the duke of Richmond, in the ſucceſſion of the crown.

DURING the time of this treaty, the king's ſcruples about his marriage began to take vent. It is ſaid, that the cardinal did firſt infuſe them into him, and made Longland biſhop of Lincoln, that was the king's confeſſor, poſſeſs the king's mind with them in confeſſion. If it was ſo, the king had, according to the religion of that time, very juſt cauſe of ſcruple, when his confeſſor judged his marriage ſinful, and the pope's legate was of the ſame mind. It is alſo ſaid, that the cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the king and him, and unite the king to the French intereſts, deſigned this out of ſpite, and that he was alſo diſſatisfied toward the queen, who hated him for his lewd and diſſolute life, and had often admoniſhed and check'd him for it: And that he therefore, deſigning to engage the king to marry the French king's ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Alençon, did (to make way for that) ſet this matter on foot. But there being no authority for all this, except the queen's ſuſpicions, who afterwards charged the cardinal as the cauſe of all her troubles, it is moſt likely that the king's ſcruples were much antienter; for the king declared to Simon Grineus, four years after this, That for ſeven years he had abſtained from the queen upon theſe ſcruples, ſo that by that, it ſeems, they had been received into the king's mind three years before this time.

WHAT the king's ſecret motives were, and the true grounds of his averſion to the queen, are known only to GOD, but he ſeemed to lay the greateſt weight on the prohibition in the Levitical law of marrying the brother's wife; and being converſant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, found that he and the other ſchoolmen look'd on thoſe laws as moral, and for ever binding, and that, by conſequence, the pope's diſpenſation was of no force, ſince his authority went not ſo far as to diſpenſe with the laws of GOD. All the biſhops of England (Fiſher of Rocheſter only excepted) declared under their hands and ſeals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill conſequences of war, that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were alſo much conſidered, or at leaſt pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the king's affections to any other gave the riſe to all this; for ſo prying a courtier as Wolſey was, would have diſcovered it, and not have projected a marriage with Francis's ſiſter, if he had ſeen the king prepoſſeſſed. It is more probable, that the king conceiving himſelf upon the point of being diſcharged of his former marriage, gave a free ſcope to his affections, which, upon that, came to ſettle on Anne Bolleyn. The king had reaſon enough to expect a quick and favourable diſpatch of his buſineſs at Rome, where diſpenſations, or divorces, in favour of princes, uſed to paſs, rather with regard to the merits of the prince that deſired them, than of the cauſe itſelf. His alliance ſeemed then neceſſary to the pope, who was at that time in captivity. Nor could the Emperor, with any good colour, oppoſe his ſuit, ſince he had broke his contract with his daughter, upon the account of the doubtfulneſs of the marriage.

THE cardinal had alſo given him full aſſurances of a good anſwer from Rome, whether upon the knowledge he had of that court, and of the pope's temper, or upon any promiſe made him, is not certain. The reaſons gathered by the Canoniſts for annulling the bull of diſpenſation, upon which the divorce was to follow in courſe, were grounded upon ſome falſe ſuggeſtions in the bull, and upon the proteſtation which the king had made when he came to be of age. In a word, they were ſuch, that a favourable pope, left to himſelf, would have yielded to them without any ſcruple.

Anne Bolleyn was born in the year 1507, and went to France at ſeven years of age, and returned twelve years after to England. She was much admired in both courts, and continued to live without any blemiſh, till her unfortunate fall gave occaſion to ſome malicious writers to defame her in all the parts of her life. She was more beautiful than graceful, and more chearful than diſcreet: ſhe wanted none of the charms of wit or perſon, and muſt have had extraordinary attractives, ſince ſhe could ſo long manage ſuch a king's affection, in which her being with child, ſoon after the marriage, ſhews, that in the whole courſe of ſeven years ſhe kept him at a due diſtance. Upon her coming to England, the lord Piercy, being then a domeſtick of the cardinal's, made love to her, and went ſo far, as to engage himſelf ſome way to marry her; and that being entertained by her, ſhews ſhe had then no aſpiring to a crown. But the cardinal having underſtood ſomewhat of the king's ſecret intentions, did ſo threaten him, that he made him (tho' not without great difficulty) break off his addreſſes to her.

THE king reſolving to put the matter home to the pope, ſent Doctor Knight, ſecretary of ſtate to Rome, with ſome inſtructions to prepare the pope to it, and to obſerve what might be the beſt method, and who the fitteſt tool to work by. At that time the family of the Caſſali, being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both in Rome, Venice, and other places. Sir Gregory Caſſali was then his ordinary ambaſſador at Rome: to him was the

firſt

firſt full diſpatch about this buſineſs directed by the cardinal, the original whereof is yet extant, dated the 5th of December, 1527, of which the following are the heads:

" AFTER great and high compliments, and " aſſurances of rewards to engage him to follow the buſineſs very vigorouſly, and with " great diligence, he writes, that he had before opened the king's caſe to him, and " that partly by his own ſtudy, partly by " the opinion of many divines, and other " learned men of all ſorts, he found that he " could no longer, with a good conſcience, " continue in that marriage with the queen, " having GOD and the quiet and ſalvation of " his ſoul chiefly before his eyes: and that " he had conſulted both the moſt learned " divines and canoniſts, as well in his " own dominions as elſewhere, to know " whether the pope's diſpenſation could " make it good, and that many of them " thought the pope could not diſpence in " this caſe, of the firſt degree of affinity, " which they eſteemed forbidden by a divine, moral, and natural law; and all " the reſt concluded, that the pope could " not do it, but upon very weighty reaſons, " and they found not any ſuch in the bull. " Then he laid out the reaſons for annulling " the bull which were touched before; upon " which they all concluded the diſpenſation " to be of no force; that the king looked " upon the death of his ſon as a curſe from " GOD; and to avoid further judgments, he " now deſired help of the apoſtolick ſee, to " conſider his caſe, to reflect on what he " had merited by the ſervices he had done " the papacy, and to find a way, that he, " being divorced from his queen, might marry another wife, of whom, by the bleſſing " of GOD, he might hope for iſſue male; " therefore the ambaſſador was to uſe all " means poſſible to be admitted to ſpeak to " the pope in private, and then to deliver " him theſe letters of credency, in which " there was a moſt earneſt clauſe added " with the king's own hand. He was alſo " to make condolance of the miſeries the " pope and cardinals were in, both in the " king's name, and the cardinal's, and to " aſſure the pope they would uſe all the " moſt effectual means that were poſſible " for ſetting him at liberty, in which the " cardinal would employ as much induſtry " as if there was no other way to come to " the kingdom of heaven, but by doing it. " Then he was to open the king's buſineſs " to the pope, the ſcruples of his conſcience, " the great danger of cruel wars upon ſo " diſputable a ſucceſſion, the intreaties of " all the nobility and the whole kingdom, " with many other urgent reaſons, to obtain " what was deſired. He was alſo to lay " before the pope the preſent condition of " chriſtendom, and of Italy, that he might " conſider of what importance it was to his " own affairs, and to the apoſtolick ſee, to " engage the king ſo firmly to his intereſts " as this would certainly do: and to move, " that the pope, without communicating " the matter to any perſon, would freely " grant it, and ſign the commiſſion which " was therewith ſent engroſſed in due form; " and ready to be ſigned, by which the cardinal was authorized, with the aſſiſtance " of ſuch as he ſhould chuſe, to proceed in " the matter, according to ſome inſtructions " which were alſo ſent fairly written out for " the pope to ſign. A diſpenſation was alſo " ſent in due form, and if theſe were expeded, he might aſſure the pope, that as the " king had ſent over a vaſt ſum to the " French king, for paying his army in Italy, " ſo he would ſpare no travel or treaſure, " but make war upon the emperor in Flanders, with his whole ſtrength, till he forced " him to ſet the pope at liberty, and reſtore " the ſtate of the church to its former power " and dignity. And if the pope was already " at liberty, and had made an agreement " with the emperor, he was to repreſent to " him how little cauſe he had to truſt much " to the emperor, who had ſo often broke " his faith, and deſigned to do all he could " towards the depreſſing the eccleſiaſtical " ſtate; and the pope was to be remembered, that he had diſpenſed with the emperor's oath, for marrying the king's daughter without communicating the matter to " the king. How much more might the " king expect the like favour, who had always paid him a moſt filial duty? or if " the pope would not grant the commiſſion " to the cardinal to try the matter, as a perſon that being the king's chief miniſter, " was not indifferent enough to judge in any " of the king's concerns; he was by all " means to overcome that, and aſſure the " pope, that he would proceed in it as a " judge ought to do: but if the pope ſtood " upon it, and would by no means be perſwaded to ſign the commiſſion for the cardinal, then he was to propoſe Staphileus " dean of the Rota, who was then in England; and was to except againſt all foreigners, if the pope chanced to propoſe " any other. He was alſo to repreſent to " the pope, that the king would look upon " a delay as a denial, and if the pope inclined to conſult with any of the cardinals about it, he was to divert him from " it all that was poſſible: but if the pope " would needs do it, then he was to addreſs " himſelf to them, and partly by informing " them of the reaſons of the king's cauſe, " partly by rewarding the good offices they " ſhould do, he was to engage them for the " king. And with this diſpatch letters were " ſent to cardinal Pucey, Sanctorum Quatuor, " and the other cardinals, to be made uſe of " as there ſhould be occaſion for it; and becauſe money was like to be the moſt powerful argument, eſpecially to men impoveriſhed by a captivity, 10,000 ducats " were remitted to Venice, to be diſtributed " as the king's affairs required, and he was " empowered to make further promiſes as " he ſaw cauſe for it, which the king would " faithfully make good; and in particular, " they were to be wanting in nothing that " might abſolutely engage the cardinal datary to favour the king's buſineſs.

KNIGHT being come to Rome, found it impoſſible to be admitted to the pope's preſence;

ſence; but, by corrupting ſome of his guards, ſent him the ſum of the king's demands, and had a very favourable anſwer; for the pope promiſed frankly to diſſolve the marriage: but another promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperor's name, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great ſtraits; not ſo much out of regard to his promiſes, (for he had ſo engaged himſelf, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his intereſts; he was then at the Emperor's mercy, ſo he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was diſtruſtful of him, and had no mind to loſe the king of England; therefore he ſtudied to gain time, and promiſed, that if the king would have a little patience, he ſhould not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

THE cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor made ſome ſcruples concerning the bull that was demanded, till he had raiſed the price, and and got a great preſent, and then the pope ſigned both a commiſſion for Wolſey to try the cauſe, and judge in it, and alſo a diſpenſation, and put them in Knight's hands; but with tears prayed him, that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperor was put out of a capacity of executing his revenge upon him, and whenever that was done, he would own this act of juſtice which he did in the king's favour. For tho' the pope on publick occaſions uſed to talk in the language of one that pretended to be St. Peter's ſucceſſor; yet in private treaties he minded nothing but his own ſecurity, and the intereſts of his family. And being a very crafty man, he propoſed an expedient, which if the king had followed, it had put a quicker and eaſier end to the proceſs. He found his ſending bulls, or a legate to England, would become publick, and draw the emperor upon him, and muſt admit of delays, and be full of danger; therefore he propoſed, if the king was ſatisfied in his own conſcience, in which he believed no doctor could reſolve him better than himſelf; then he might without more noiſe make judgment be given in England; and upon that, marry another wife, and ſend over to Rome for a confirmation; which would the more eaſily be granted, if the thing were once done. This the pope deſired might be repreſented to the king as the advice of the cardinals, and not as his own. But the king's counſellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a proceſs; for if upon the king's ſecond marriage, a confirmation ſhould be denied, then the right of ſucceſſion by it, ſhould ſtill be very doubtful; ſo they would not venture on it.

THE pope was not at this time well pleaſed with cardinal Wolſey; for he unſtood, that during his captivity, he had been in an intrigue, to get himſelf choſe vicar of the papacy, and was to have ſat at Avignon, which might have poduced a new ſchiſm. Staphileus, dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promiſe of a biſhoprick, and a recommendation to a cardinal's hat, to promote the king's affair, and by him the cardinal wrote to the pope, in a moſt earneſt ſtrain, for a diſpatch of this buſineſs; and he deſired, that an indifferent and tractable cardinal might be ſent over, with a full commiſſion to join with him, and to judge the matter, propoſing to the king's ambaſſadors, Campegio, as the fitteſt man; when a legate ſhould be named, he ordered preſents to be made him, and that they ſhould haſten his diſpatch, and take care that the commiſſion ſhould be full. But upon the arrival of the couriers, that were ſent from Rome, Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and Fox, the king's almoner, the one a canoniſt, and the other a divine, were ſent thither with letters, both from the king and cardinal to the pope, and they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any arguments they could offer) to make great preſents to the cardinals. They carried with them a draught of a bull, containing all the clauſes could be invented, to make the matter ſure; one clauſe was to declare the iſſue of the marriage good, as being begotten bona fide, which was perhaps put in to make the queen more eaſy, ſince by that it appeared, that her daughter ſhould not ſuffer, which way ſoever the matter went.

THE cardinal in his letters to Caſſali offered to take the blame on his own ſoul, if the pope would grant this bull; and with an earneſtneſs, as hearty and warm as can be expreſſed in words, he preſſed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the pope continued inexorable, the king would proceed another way.

THESE intreaties had ſuch effects, that Campegio was declared legate, and ordered to go for England, and join in commiſſion with Wolſey for judging this matter. Campegio was biſhop of Salisbury, and having a ſon whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable man; but to raiſe his price the higher, he moved many ſcruples, and ſeemed to enter upon this employment with great fear and averſion. Wolſey, who knew his temper, preſt him vehemently to make all the haſte he could, and gave him the aſſurances of great rewards from the king: for whatever was to be made uſe of publickly for form's ſake, theſe were the effectual arguments that were moſt likely to convince a man of his temper; in which Wolſey was ſo ſincere, that in a letter he wrote to him, that of a good conſcience being put among other motives to perſwade him, in the firſt draught, the cardinal ſtruck it out, as knowing how little it would ſignify. Campegio ſet out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull, for annulling the marriage which was truſted to him, and he was authorized to ſhew it to the king and Wolſey, but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them. At this time Wolſey was taken with the ſweating ſickneſs, which then raged in England; and by a compliment which both the king and Anne Bolleyn writ him, on the ſame piece of paper, it appears he was then privy to the king's deſign of marrying her, and intended to advance himſelf yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the crown.

The cardinal colleges finished.

AT this time the cardinal having finiſhed his foundations at Oxford and Ipſwich, and finding they were acceptable to the king and clergy, reſolved to go on and ſuppreſs more monaſteries, and erect new biſhopricks, turning ſome abbies to cathedrals. This was propoſed in the conſiſtory, and granted, as appears by a diſpatch of Caſſali's. He alſo ſpoke to the pope about a general viſitation of all monaſteries; and on the 4th of November, the bull for ſuppreſſing ſome was expected, a copy whereof is yet extant, but written in ſuch a hand, that three words together are not to be read in any part of it. This the pope did with ſome averſion; but when Gardiner told him plainly it was neceſſary, and it muſt be done, he pauſed a little, and ſeemed unwilling to give any further offence to religious orders: but ſince he found it ſo uneaſy to gratify the king in ſo great a point, as the matter of his divorce, he judged it the more neceſſary to mollify him by a compliance in all other things; ſo there was a power given to the two legates to examine the ſtate of the monaſteries, and to ſuppreſs, as they thought fit, and convert them into biſhopricks and cathedrals.

WHILE matters went thus between Rome and England, the queen was as active as ſhe could be, to engage her two nephews, the emperor, and his brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the king, but more of the cardinal: ſhe alſo gave them notice of all the exceptions that were made to the bull, and deſired both their advice and aſſiſtance. They having a mind to perplex the king's affairs, adviſed her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a religious life; and gave her aſſurance, that by their intereſt at Rome, they would ſupport her, and maintain her daughter's title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their agents at Rome, to ſerve her concerns, ſo they conſulted with the canoniſts about the force of the exceptions to the bull: the iſſue of which was, that a breve was found out, or forged, that ſupplied ſome of the moſt material defects in the bull: for whereas in the bull, the preamble bore, that the king and queen had deſired the pope's diſpenſation to marry, that the peace might continue between the two crowns without any other cauſe given. In the preamble of this breve mention is made of their deſire to marry, "Becauſe "otherwiſe it was not likely that the peace "would be continued between the two "crowns; and for that and divers other "reaſons they asked the diſpenſations," which in the body of the breve, is granted, bearing date the 26th of December, 1503. Upon this they pretended, that the diſpenſation was granted upon good reaſons; ſince by this petition it appeared, that there were fears of a breach between the crowns; and that there were alſo other reaſons made uſe of, tho' they were not named. But there was one fatal thing in it; in the bull it is only ſaid, that the queen's petition bore, "That "perhaps ſhe had conſummated her mar-"riage with prince Arthur by the Carnalis "Copula." But in this perhaps is left out, and 'tis plainly ſaid, That they had conſummated their marriage. This the king's council, who ſuſpected that the breve was forged, made great uſe of when the queſtion was argued, whether prince Arthur knew her or not? tho' at this time, 'twas ſaid, the Spaniards did put it in on deſign, knowing it was liked to be proved, that the former marriage was conſummated: which they intended to throw out of the debate, ſince by this it appeared, that the pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the breve, and that therefore there was to be no more enquiry to be made into that, which was already confeſſed; ſo that all that was now to be debated, was the pope's power of granting ſuch a diſpenſation, in which they had good reaſon to expect a favourable deciſion of Rome.

BUT there appeared great grounds to reject this breve, as a forged writing. It was neither in the records of England, nor Spain, but ſaid to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, who had been the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England at the time of concluding the match. So that if he only had it, it muſt have been caſſated, otherwiſe the parties concerned would have got it into their hands; or elſe it was forged, ſince many of the names were written falſe, which was a preſumption that it was lately made by ſome Spaniards, who know not how to write the names true. For Sigiſmund, who was ſecretary when it was pretended to have been ſigned, was an exact man, and no ſuch errors were found in the breve at that time. But that which ſhewed it a manifeſt forgery was, that it bore date the 26th of December, anno 1503, on the ſame day that the bull was granted. It was not to be imagined, that in the ſame day a bull and a breve ſhould have been expedited in the ſame buſineſs, with ſuch material differences in them. And the ſtile of the court of Rome had this ſingularity in it, That in all their breves they reckon the beginning of the year from Chriſtmas-day, which being the nativity of our LORD, they count the year to begin then; but in their bulls, they reckon the year to begin at the feaſt of the annunciation: ſo that a breve dated the 26th of December, 1503, was in the vulgar account in the year 1502. Therefore it muſt be falſe; for neither was Julius the IId, who granted it, then pope, nor was the treaty of the marriage ſo far advanced at that time, as to admit of a breve ſo ſoon. But, allowing the breve to be true, they had many of the ſame exceptions to it, that they had to the bull, ſince it bore that the king deſired the marriage, to avoid a breach between the crowns, which was falſe. It likewiſe bore, that the marriage had been conſummated between the queen and prince Arthur, which the queen denied was ever done; ſo that the ſuggeſtion in her name being, as ſhe ſaid, falſe, it could have no force, tho' it were granted to be a true breve: And they ſaid, it was plain, the Imperialiſts were convinced the bull was of no force, ſince they betook themſelves to ſuch arts to fortify their cauſe.

Campegio comes into England.

IN October, Campegio came into England; and after the firſt compliments were over, he firſt adviſed the King to give over the proſecution of his ſuit; and then counſelled the queen in the pope's name, to enter into a religious life, and make vows; but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an Impartiality, almoſt loſt both ſides. But he in great meaſure pacified the king, when he ſhewed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the king, nor the cardinal; upon which great inſtances were made at Rome, that Campegio might be order'd to ſhew it to ſome of the king's counſellors, and to go on and end the buſineſs, otherwiſe Wolſey would be ruined and England loſt. Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty pope, who knew it was intended once to have the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the king would leave him to the emperor's indignation: but tho' he poſitively refuſed to grant that, yet he ſaid, he left the legates in England, free to judge as they ſaw cauſe, and promiſed that he would confirm their ſentence.

THE Imperialiſts at Rome preſſed him hard, to inhibit the legates, and to recall the cauſe, that it might be heard before the conſiſtory. The pope declined this motion; and to mollify the king, he ſent Campana, one of his bed-chamber, over to England, with compliments too high to gain much credit. He aſſured the king, that the pope would do for him all he could, not only in juſtice and equity, but in the fulneſs of his power: and that tho' he had reaſon to be very apprehenſive of the emperor's reſentments, yet that did not divert him from his zeal for the king's ſervice; for if his reſigning the popedom would advance it, it ſhould not ſtick at that. He was alſo ordered to require the legates, to put a ſpeedy end to the buſineſs; but his ſecret inſtructions to Campegio were of another ſtrain, he charged him to burn the bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delays he could invent. Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes were diſpatched to Rome, with new propoſitions, to try, whether, if both the king and queen took religious vows, ſo that their marriage were upon that annulled, the pope would engage to diſpenſe with the king's vow, or grant him a licence for having two wives. Wolſey alſo offered, in the king's name, to ſettle a pay for 2000 men, that ſhould be a guard to the pope, and to procure a reſtitution of ſome of his towns on which the Venetians had ſeized. But the pope did not care to have his guards paid by other princes; which he looked on as a putting himſelf in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new calamity upon him,

The pope reſolves to unite with the emperor.

and was now reſolved to unite himſelf firmly with the emperor, by whoſe means only he hoped to re-eſtabliſh his Family at Florence, and ever after this, all the uſe he made of the king's earneſtneſs in his divorce, was only to draw in the emperor to his intereſts, on the better terms. The emperor was alſo then preſſing him hard for a general council; of which, beſides the averſion that the court of Rome had to it, he had particular Reaſon to be afraid; for, being a baſtard, he was threatened with depoſition, as uncapable by the canons of the church, to hold ſuch a dignity. The pope propoſed a journey incognito to Spain, and deſired Wolſey to go with him for obtaining a general peace; but in ſecret, he was making up with the emperor, and gave his agents aſſurances, that tho' the legates gave ſentence he would not confirm it. So the king's correſpondents at Rome wrote to him, to ſet on the war more vigorouſly againſt the emperor, for he could expect nothing at Rome, unleſs the emperor's affair declined.

THE pope went on with cajoling the king's agents in Italy: For when Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes came to Bononica, the protonotary Caſſali was ſuprized to hear that the buſineſs was not already ended in England; ſince, he ſaid, he knew there were ſufficient powers ſent about it, and that the pope aſſured him he would confirm their ſentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the legates between him, and the envy or odium of it, and the granting a bull, by which the judgment ſhould ariſe immediately from himſelf. This his beſt friends diſſwaded, and he ſeemed apprehenſive, that in caſe he ſhould do it, a council would be called, and he ſhould be depoſed for it: and any ſuch diſtraction in the pyracy, conſidering the footing which hereſy had already gotten, would ruin the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and the church. The pope inclined more to the diſſolving the marriage by the queen's taking vows, as that which could be beſt defended, but the cardinal gave him notice, that the queen would never be brought to that, unleſs her nephews had adviſed it. 1529.

AN unlooked for accident put a ſtop to all the proceedings in the court of Rome: for on epiphany day the pope was taken extream ill at maſs, and a great ſickneſs followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his diſtemper did ſoon abate, yet it returned again, and his phyſicians ſuſpected that he was poiſoned; upon which followed all the ſecret caballings and intrigues, which are ordinary in that court upon ſuch an occaſion. The Collonna's and other Imperialiſts were very buſy, but the cardinal of Mantua oppoſed them; and Farneſe, who was then at his houſe in the country, came to Rome and joined with Mantua; and theſe of that faction, reſolved, that if the Spaniſh army marched from Naples towards them, they would diſpenſe with that bull, which provides that the ſucceeding pope ſhould be choſen in the ſame place where the former died, and would retire to ſome ſafe place. Some of the cardinals ſpoke highly in favour of cardinal Wolſey, whom (if the ambaſſadors did not flatter and lie groſly in their letters,) they reverenced as a deity. And the cardinal of Mantua, it ſeems, propoſing him as a pattern, would needs have a particular account of his whole courſe of life, and expreſſed great eſteem for him. When Gardiner was

The Pope ſickens.

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come as far as Lyons he wrote the cardinal word, that there went a prophecy, that an Angel ſhould be the next pope, but ſhould die ſoon after. He alſo gave advice, that if the pope died, the commiſſion for the legates muſt needs expire with him, unleſs they made ſome ſtep in their buſineſs, by a citation of parties, which would keep it alive; the cardinal's ambition was now fomenting ſtrongly, and he reſolved to lay his project for the popedom better than he had done before. His letter about it to Gardiner, and the king's inſtructions to his ambaſſadors, are printed by Fox, and the originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote alſo another letter to the ambaſſadors: but becauſe the inſtructions ſhew what were the methods in chooſing popes in thoſe days, by which it may be eaſily gathered, how ſuch an election muſt needs recommend a man to infallibility, ſupremacy, and all the other appendages of of CHRIST's vicar on the earth: here follows a ſhort ſummary of them.

"BY his letter to his confident Gardiner, "he commits the thing chiefly to his care, "and orders him to employ all his parts, to "bring it to the deſired iſſue; ſparing neither preſents nor promiſes; and that as "he ſaw mens inclination or affections led "them, whether to publick or private concerns, ſo he ſhould govern himſelf towards "them accordingly. The inſtructions bear, "that the king thought the cardinal the "fitteſt perſon to ſucceed to the papacy; "(they being advertiſed that the pope was "dead:) that the French king did alſo "of his own motion offer his aſſiſtance to "him in it, and that both for publick and "private ends, the cardinal was the fitteſt. "Therefore the ambaſſadors are required "with all poſſible earneſtneſs and vigour, "to promote his election; a ſchedule of the "cardinals names is ſent them with marks "to every one, whether he was like to be "preſent or abſent, favourable, indifferent, "or oppoſite to them. It was reckoned "there could be but 39 preſent, of which "26 were neceſſary to chooſe the pope. "Of theſe the two kings thought themſelves ſure of 20. So ſix was all the number that the ambaſſadors were to gain, and "to that number they were firſt to offer "them good reaſons, to convince them of "the cardinals fitneſs for the papacy. But "becauſe humane frailty was ſuch, that "reaſon did not always take place, they "were to promiſe promotions, and ſums of "money, with other good rewards, which "the king gave them commiſſion to offer, "and would certainly make them good: "beſides all the great preferments which "the cardinal had, that ſhould be ſhared "among thoſe who did procure his election. "The cardinals of their party were firſt to "enter into a firm bond, to exclude all o-"thers. They were alſo to have ſome creatures of theirs to go into the conclave, to "manage the buſineſs. Sir Gregory Caſſali "was thought fitteſt for that ſervice. And "if they ſaw the adverſe party too ſtrong "in the conclave, ſo that they could carry "nothing, then Gardiner was to draw a "proteſtation, which ſhould be made in the "name of the two crowns; and that being "made, all the cardinals of their faction "were to leave the conclave. And if the "fear of the emperor's forces over-awed "them, the ambaſſadors were to offer a "guard of 2 or 3000 men to ſecure the "cardinals. And the French king ordered "his armies to move, if the Spaniſh troops "did move either from Naples, or Milan. "They were alſo to aſſure them, that the "cardinal would preſently upon his election "come and live at Rome, and were to uſe "all endeavours to gain the cardinal de "Medici to their faction; but at the ſame "time to aſſure the Florentines, that Wolſey would aſſiſt them to exclude the Medici's out of the Government of their town "and ſtate. They were alſo to have a ſtrict "eye upon the motions of the French factions, leſt if the cardinal were excluded, "they ſhould conſent to any other, and refuſe to make the proteſtation as it was "deſired. But to oblige Campegio the "more, it was added, that if they found "all hopes of raiſing the cardinal of York "to vaniſh, then they ſhould try if Campegio could be elected; and in that caſe "the cardinals of their faction were to "make no proteſtation.

THESE intrigues were put an end to, at this time, by the pope's recovery, which when the cardinal heard of, he wrote another long letter to the ambaſſadors, "to "keep all their inſtructions about a new "pope very ſecret, to be gaining as many "cardinals as they could, and to take care "that the cardinals ſhould not go into the "conclave, unleſs they were free, and ſafe "from any fears of the imperial forces. But "if the pope recovered, they were to preſs "him to give ſuch orders about the king's "buſineſs, that it might be ſpeedily ended: "and the cardinal would come and wait on "the pope over to Spain, as he had propoſed. And for the apprehenſions the "pope had of the emperor's being highly "offended with him, if he granted the "king's deſire, or of his coming into Italy, "he needed not fear him. They knew "whatever the emperor pretended about "his obligation to protect his aunt, it was "only for reaſon of ſtate: but if he was "ſatisfied in other things, that would be "ſoon paſſed over. They knew alſo that "his deſign of going into Italy was laid "aſide for that year; becauſe he apprehended that France and England would make "war on him in other places. There were "alſo many precedents found, of diſpenſations granted by popes in like caſes: and "lately there had been one granted by pope "Alexander the VIth, to the king of Hungary, againſt the opinion of his cardinals, "which had never been queſtioned: and "yet he could not pretend to ſuch merits "as the king had.

Freſh propoſitions about the Divorce.

THE Imperialiſts were ſo ſtrong at Rome, that they could not hope to prevail, if the emperor was not firſt gained, ſo there was a ſecret negotiation ſet on foot with him, but

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it had no other effect than only to give great jealouſy, both on the pope, and the king of France, another diſpatch was ſent to Rome, to procure a commiſſion, with fuller powers in it to the legates, and a promiſe under the pope's hand to confirm their ſentence: the latter was granted, but the former was refuſed. For the pope was reſolved to go no further in that matter, tho' Wolſey wrote to Rome, that if juſtice were denied the king, not only England, but France likewiſe, would withdraw their obedience from the apoſtolick ſee; becauſe by that it would be inferred, that the emperor had ſuch influence at Rome, as to oblige the pope to be partial, or favourable, as he pleaſed. At this time the cardinal was cheapening his bulls for Wincheſter, which were rated at 15000 ducates; but ſince it was a tranſlation from Durham, ſo that a new compoſition would come in for that vacancy, he refuſed to pay above a third of what was demanded.

THE emperor's ambaſſador made a proteſtation at Rome in the queen's name againſt the legates, as partial in the king's favour, which the pope received. Gardiner, who was a man of great craft, and could penetrate well into ſecrets, wrote to the king, aſſuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the pope, who was reſolved to offend neither the emperor nor him; and therefore he adviſed him to get the legates to give ſentence with all poſſible haſte; and then when it ſhould come to the emperor's turn to ſollicit the pope for bulls againſt the king, the pope would be as backward as he was now. He was ſo fearful, and under ſuch irreſolution, that he could be brought to do nothing with vigour: this Gardiner deſired might not be ſhewn to the cardinal; for he was now ſetting up for himſelf, and had a private correſpondence with Anne Bolleyn, who in one of her letters to him, as a token of ſpecial favour, ſent him ſome cramp rings that the king had bleſſed, of which the office is extant; and Gardiner in one of his letters ſays, They were much eſteemed for the virtue that was believed to be in them. In the promiſe which the pope ſigned to confirm the ſentence that ſhould be given by the legates, ſome clauſes were put, by which he could eaſily be let looſe from it; ſo he endeavoured to get another in fuller terms, by this artifice: he told the pope, that the courrier had met with an accident in paſſing a river, by which the promiſe was ſo ſpoiled with water, that it could not be made uſe of. But the pope, inſtead of being catched with this, to give a new one, ſeemed glad that it was ſpoiled, and poſitively refuſed to renew it. And a long and earneſt letter which the legates wrote to the pope, preſſing him to end the matter roundly by a decretal bull, aſſuring him it was only ſcruple of conſcience that wrought on the king, and no deſire of a new wife, and that the whole nation was much offended with the delays of this matter, in which they were all ſo much concerned, wrought nothing on him, for he conſidered that as done by them only in compliance with the king, who thought he had entirely gained Campegio, and the ſcandals of his life were ſo publick, that the motives of intereſt were likely to prevail on him more than any other: but by all the arts that were uſed, they were not able to over-reach the pope; who, whatever he might be in his deciſions, ſeemed infallible in his ſagacity and jealouſy. The queen's agents preſſed hard for an avocation, but the pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finiſhed his treaty in all other points with the emperor; and he began to complain much of the cold proceedings of the confederates, and that they expoſed him ſo much, not only to the emperor's mercy, but to the ſcorn of the Florentines: by this it was viſible, he was ſeeking a colour for caſting himſelf into the emperor's arms. Great objections were made to the motion for an avocation: it was contrary to the king's prerogative to be cited to Rome, and it was ſaid he would ſeek juſtice of the clergy of England, if the pope denied it. It was alſo contrary to the promiſe under the pope's hand, and his faith, often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by Campana, to recal the legate's commiſſion. But verbal promiſes did not bind the pope much, they vaniſhed into air; and Campana ſwore, that he had not made any; and for the written promiſe, there was a clauſe put in it, by which he could eſcape, ſo that he was at liberty from all engagements, but thoſe he had privately given in diſcourſe, and to theſe he was no ſlave.

THE legates began the proceſs in England, after the neceſſary preliminaries: the queen appeared, and proteſted againſt them as incompetent judges. Endeavours were uſed to terrify her into ſome compliance; it was given out that ſome had intended to kill the king or the cardinal, and that ſhe had ſome hand in it, that ſhe carried very diſobligingly to the king, and uſed many incident arts to be popular; that the king was in danger of his life by her means, and ſo could no more keep her company, neither in bed nor at board: but ſhe was a woman of ſo reſolute a mind, that no threatnings could daunt her. When both the king and ſhe were together in the court, the queen inſtead of anſwering to the legates, kneeled down before the king, and ſpoke in a manner that raiſed compaſſion in all that were preſent; ſhe ſaid, ſhe had been his wife theſe twenty years; had borne him ſeveral children, and had always ſtudied to pleaſe him, therefore ſhe deſired to know wherein ſhe had at any time offended him. As for their marriage it was made by both their parents, who were eſteemed wiſe princes, andhad no doubt good counſellors when their match was agreed on; but at preſent ſhe neither had indifferent judges, nor could ſhe expect that her lawyers, being his ſubjects, durſt ſpeak freely for her, and therefore ſhe could not expect juſtice there; ſo ſhe went out of the court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the king gave her a great character for her extraordinary qualities, and proteſted, he was actuated by no other principles, than that of conſcience. He added, that Wolſey did not ſet

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him on to this ſuit, but had oppoſed it long: that the firſt moved the matter in confeſſion to the biſhop of Lincoln, and had deſired the archbiſhop of Canterbury to procure him the reſolution of the biſhops of England, in his caſe; and that they all under their hands declared, that his marriage was unlawful. The biſhop of Rocheſter denied he had ſigned it, but Warham pretended he gave him leave to make another write his name to it. Fiſher denied this, and it was no way probable.

THE legates went on according to the forms of law, tho' the queen appealed from them to the pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers: yet they pronounced her contumax, and went on to examine witneſſes; chiefly, to that particular of the conſummation of her marriage with prince Arthur. But now ſince the proceſs was thus going on, the emperor's agents preſt the pope vehemently for an avocation; and all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the king's agents to hinder it; they ſpared nothing that would work on the pope; either in the way of perſuaſion, or threatning: it was told him, that there was a treaty ſet on foot between the king, and the Lutheran princes of Germany; and that upon the pope's declaring himſelf ſo partial as to grant the avocation, he would certainly imbark in the ſame intereſts with them. But the pope thought the king ſo far engaged in honour in the points of religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's followers; ſo he did not imagine, that the effects of his granting the avocation, would be ſo diſmal, as the cardinal's creatures repreſented them: he thought it would probably ruin him, which might make his agents uſe ſuch threatnings, and he did not much conſider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in concluſion, after the emperor had engaged to him, to reſtore his family to the government of Florence; he reſolved to publiſh his treaty with him: but that the granting the vocation, might not look like (what indeed it was) a ſecret article, he reſolved to begin with that; and with great ſigns of ſorrow, he told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that he was forced to it; both becauſe all the lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not reſiſt the emperor's forces, which ſurrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays, were as fruitleſs as their other arts had been; for on the 15th of July, the pope ſigned it, and on the 19th ſent it by an expreſs meſſenger to England.

THE legates, Campegio in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At laſt, it being brought to that, that ſentence was to be pronounced, Campegio, inſtead of doing it, adjourn'd the court till October, and ſaid, that they being a part of the conſiſtory, muſt obſerve their times of vacation. This gave the king and all his court great offence, when they ſaw what was like to be the iſſue of a proceſs, on which the king was ſo much bent; and in which he was ſo far engaged both in honour and intereſt. Campegio had nothing to loſe in England, but the biſhoprick of Salisbury, for which the pope, or the emperor, could eaſily recompence him; but Wolſey was under all the terrors that an inſolent favourite is liable to, upon a change in his fortune; none being more abject in misfortune, than thoſe that are lifted up with ſucceſs. When the avocation was brought to England, the king was willing that the legates ſhould declare their commiſſion void, but would not ſuffer the letters citatory to be ſerved, for he looked upon it as below his dignity to be cited to appear at Rome. The king governed himſelf upon this occaſion, with more temper than was expected; he diſmiſſed Campegio civilly, only his officers ſearched his coffers, when he went beyond ſea, with deſign, as was thought, to ſee if the decretal bull could be found. Wolſey was now upon the point of being diſgraced, tho' the king ſeemed to treat him with the ſame confidence he had formerly put in him; it being uſual for princes to hide their deſigns of diſgracing their favourites, with higher expreſſions of kindneſſes than ordinary, till their ruin breaks out the more violently, becauſe it is not foreſeen.

Cranmer's Propoſition about the King's Divorce.

AT this time Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus college in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox, the king's ſecretary and almoner, at Waltham, the whole diſcourſe of England being then about the divorce, theſe two courtier's knowing Cranmer's learning and ſolid judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a ſhorter and ſafer way once to clear it well, if the marriage was unlawful in itſelf, by virtue of any divine precept: for if that were proved, then it was certain, that the pope's diſpenſation could be of no force to make that lawful, which GOD had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought, that inſtead of a long fruitleſs negotiation at Rome, it were better to conſult all the learned men, and the univerſities of Chriſtendom; for if they once declared it in the king's favour, then the pope muſt needs give judgment, or otherwiſe the bull being of itſelf null and void, the marriage would be found ſinful, notwithſtanding the pope's diſpenſation. This ſeemed a very good motion, which they reſolved to offer to the king; ſo next night when he came to Greenwich, they propoſed it to him, but with this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it paſs for their own contrivance; but Fox, who was of a more ingenuous nature, told the king from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, as ſoon as he heard it, and ſaid, had he known it ſooner it would have ſaved him a vaſt expence, and much trouble, and would needs have Cranmer ſent for to court, ſaying, in his coarſe way of ſpeaking, That he had the ſow by the right ear. So he was ſent for to court, and being brought before the king, he carried himſelf ſo, that the king conceived an high opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preſerved to his death, and ſtill paid a reſpect to him, beyond all the other churchmen that were

about him: and tho' he made more uſe of Gardiner in his buſineſs, whom he found a man of great dexterity and cunning; yet he never had any reſpect for him, but for Cranmer, tho' the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being ſo impatient of contradiction, he always reverenced him.

Wolſey's diſgrace.

HE was ſoon looked on as a riſing churchman, and the rather, becauſe the cardinal was now declining; for in the following Michaelmas term, the king ſent for the great ſeal, which the cardinal at firſt was not willing to part with: but the next day the king wrote to him, and he preſently delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was offered back again to Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he being very old, and foreſeeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excuſed himſelf. So it was given to Sir Thomas More, who was not only eminent in his own profeſſion, but in all other learning; and was much eſteemed for the ſtrictneſs of his life, and his contempt of money; he was alſo the more fit to be made uſe of, having been in ill terms with the cardinal. Soon after, Hales the attorney-general, put in an information againſt the cardinal, in the king's bench, bearing, that notwithſtanding the ſtatute of Richard the IId, againſt the procuring bulls from Rome, under the pains of premunire, yet he had procured bulls for his legantine power, which he had for many years executed; and ſome particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more. To this he put in his anſwer, by his attorney, and confeſſed the indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the ſtatute, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king's mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he was out of the king's protection, and that he had forfeited his goods and chattels to the king, and that his perſon might be ſeized on. Then was his rich palace of York-houſe (ſince Whitehall) with all that vaſt wealth, and royal furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been ſeen in England before) ſeized on for the king. But it ſeems the king had not a mind to deſtroy him outright, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the pope. Therefore on the 21ſt of November, the king granted him firſt protection, and then his pardon, and reſtored him to the archbiſhoprick of York, and the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and gave him back in money, goods, and plate, that which amounted to 6374 l. 3 s. 7 d. and many kind meſſages were ſent him, both by the king, and Anne Bolleyn.

AS he had carryed his greatneſs with moſt extravagant pride, ſo he was no leſs baſely caſt down with his misfortune; and having no ballaſt within himſelf, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up, or caſt down, as the ſcales of fortune turned; yet his enemies had gone too far ever to ſuffer a man of his parts or temper, to return to favour. And therefore they ſo ordered it, that an high charge of many articles was brought againſt him, into the houſe of lords, in the parliament that ſat in November following; and it paſſed there, where he had but few friends, and many and great enemies. But when the charge was ſent down to the houſe of commons, it was ſo managed, by the induſtry of Cromwell, who had been his ſervant, that it came to nothing. The heads of it have been often printed; they related chiefly to his legantine power, contrary to law, to his inſolence and ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as deſtroy him.

ALL theſe things did ſo ſink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his ſpirits. The king ſent him frequent aſſurances of his favour, which he received with extravagant tranſports of joy, falling down on his knees in the dirt, before the meſſenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which ſhewed how mean a ſoul he had, and that, as himſelf afterward acknowledged, he preferred the king's favour to GOD ALMIGHTY'S: but the king found they took little notice of him at Rome; the emperor hated him, and the pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almoſt equal to himſelf in Power; and tho' they did not love the precedent to have a cardinal ſo uſed, yet they were not much troubled at Rome, to ſee it fall on him. So in Eaſter-week he was ordered to go North, tho' he had a great mind to have ſtayed at Richmond, which the king had given him in exchange for Hampton-court, that he had alſo built; but that was too near the court, and his enemies had a mind to ſend him further from it. Accordingly he went to Cawood in Yorkſhire, in which journey it appears that the ruins of his ſtate were conſiderable, for he travelled thither with 160 horſe in his train, and 72 carts following him with his houſhold ſtuff.

TO conclude his ſtory all at once, he was, in November the next year, ſeized on by the earl of Northumberland, who attached him for high treaſon, and committed him to the keeping of the lieutenant of the Tower, who was ordered to bring him up to London. And even then he had gracious meſſages from the king; but theſe did not work much on him; for, whether it was that he knew himſelf guilty of ſome ſecret practices with the pope, or with the emperor, which yet he denied to the laſt, or whether he could no longer ſtand under the king's diſpleaſure, and that change of condition, he was ſo caſt down, that on his way to London he ſickened at Sheffield-park, in the earl of Shrewsbury's houſe, from whence by ſlow journies he went as far as Leiceſter, where, after ſome days languiſhing, he died, and at the laſt made great proteſtations of his having "ſerved the king faithfully, and that he had "little regarded the ſervice of GOD, to do "him pleaſure; but if he had ſerved GOD, "as he had done him, he would not have "given him over ſo as he did, in his grey "hairs." And he deſired the king to reflect on all his paſt ſervices, and in particular, "in his weighty matter (for by that "phraſe they meant uſually the king's di-"vorce) and then he would find in his con-

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" ſcience, whether he had offended him or " not ". He died the 28th of November, 1530, and was the greateſt Inſtance that ſeveral ages had ſhewn of the variety and inconſtancy of human things, both in his riſe and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatneſs, and deſerved what he ſuffered. But to conclude, all that is to be ſaid of him, thus the writer of his life finiſhes his account of him, " Here " is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; " for I aſſure you, in his time he was the " haughtieſt man in all his proceedings alive, " having more reſpect to the honour of his " perſon, than he had to his ſpiritual pro- " feſſion, wherein ſhould be ſhewn all meek- " neſs and charity.

THE change of this great miniſter, was followed by a change of counſels; and therefore the king reſolved to hold a parliament, that he might meet his people, and eſtabliſh ſuch a good underſtanding between himſelf and them, that he might have all ſecured at home, and then he reſolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no parliament for ſeven years; but the blame of that, and of every other miſcarriage falling naturally on the diſgraced miniſter, he did not doubt, that he ſhould be able to give his people full ſatisfaction, in that, and in every thing elſe. So a parliament was ſummoned to meet the third of November: and there, among ſeveral other laws that were made for the publick good of the kingdom, there were bills ſent up by the houſe of commons, againſt ſome of the moſt exorbitant abuſes of the clergy: one was againſt the exactions for the probates of Wills; another was for the regulating of mortuaries; a third was about the plurality of benefices, and non-reſidence; and churchmen, being farmers of Lands. In the paſſing theſe bills there were ſevere reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from men that favoured Luther's doctrine in their hearts.

WHEN theſe bills were brought up to the houſe of lords, the biſhop of Rocheſter ſpeaking to them, did reflect on the Houſe of commons, ſaying, that they were reſolved to bring down the church, and he deſired they would conſider the miſerable ſtate of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which it was reduced by hereſy; and ended, " That all " this was for lack of faith ". But this being afterwards known to the houſe of commons, they ſent their ſpeaker Sir Thomas Audley, with thirty of their members, to complain to the king of the biſhop of Rocheſter, for ſaying, that their acts flowed from the want of faith, which was an high imputation on the whole nation, when the repreſentative of the commons was ſo charged, as if they had been infidels and heathens. This was ſet on foot by the court, to mortify that biſhop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering ſo firmly to the queen's cauſe. The king ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſix other biſhops, and before them, told the complaint of the commons. But the biſhop of Rocheſter excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he only meant of the kingdom of Bohemia, when he ſaid all flowed from the want of faith, and did not at all intend the houſe of commons. This explanation the king ſent by the treaſurer of his houſhold, Sir William Fitz-Williams.

BUT tho' the matter was paſſed over, yet they were not at all ſatisfied with it, ſo that they went on, laying open the abuſes of the clergy.

IN the houſe of peers, great oppoſition was made to the bills, and the clergy, both within and without doors, did defame them, and ſaid, theſe were the ordinary beginnings of hereſy, to complain of abuſes, and pretend reformation, on purpoſe to diſgrace the clergy, from which hereſy took its chief ſtrength: and the ſpiritual lords did generally oppoſe them, the temporal lords being no leſs earneſt to have them paſſed. The cardinal was admitted to ſit in the houſe, where he ſhewed himſelf as ſubmiſſive in his fawning, as he had formerly done in his ſcorn and contempt of all who durſt oppoſe him. But the king ſet the bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the lords, and had the royal aſſent.

THE king intended by this, to let the pope ſee what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him, if he went to extremities. He did alſo endear himſelf much to the people, by relieving them from the oppreſſions of the clergy. But the clergy loſt much by this means; for theſe acts did not only leſſen their preſent profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their oppoſing of this, and all other motions for reformation, did very much encreaſe the prejudices that were conceived againſt them: whereas if ſuch motions had riſen from themſelves, or had at leaſt been cheriſhed by them, their adverſaries had not perhaps been ſo favourably heard; ſo fatally did they miſtake their true intereſt, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abuſe, and corruptions.

THERE paſt another bill in this parliament, which bore in a preamble the higheſt flattery that could be put in paper, of the great things the king had done for the church and nation, in which he had been at vaſt charges, and that divers of the ſubjects had lent great ſums of money, which had been all well employed in the publick ſervice: and whereas they had ſecurity for their payment, the parliament did offer all theſe ſums ſo lent to the king; and diſcharged him of all the obligations or aſſignations made for their payments, and of all ſuits that might ariſe thereupon.

THIS was brought into the houſe by the king's ſervants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of the nation, notwithſtanding the wars, the king always making his enemies country the ſcene of them; and ſhewed, that for fourteen years the king had but one ſubſidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpoſe but only to be diſcharged of a debt contracted for the publick, the accounts whereof were ſhewn, by which they might ſee to what

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uſes the money ſo raiſed had been applied. But there were ſeveral ends in paſſing this bill; thoſe of the court did not only intend to deliver the king from a charge by it, but alſo to ruin all the cardinal's friends and creatures, whom he had cauſed every where to advance great ſums, for an example to others. Some in the houſe who were convinced that the act was unjuſt in itſelf, yet did eaſily give way to it, that they might effectually, for the future, diſcredit that way of raiſing money by loans, as judging it to be the publick intereſt of the kingdom, that no ſums of money ſhould be raiſed but by parliament: ſo this act paſſed, and occaſioned great murmurings among all them that ſuffered by it. But to qualify the general diſcontent, the king gave a free pardon to his ſubjects for all offences, ſome capital ones only excepted, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; and to keep the clergy under the laſh, all tranſgreſſions of proviſors and præmunire were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this pardon, not fit to be omitted; the one is of the pulling or digging down croſſes on the highways, which ſhews what a ſpirit was then ſtirring among the people: the other is of the forfeitures that accrued to the king by the proſecution againſt cardinal Wolſey, that is, the cardinal's college in Oxford, with the lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which the dean and canons reſigned their lands belonging to the king, the original of which is ſtill extant. But the king founded the college a-new ſoon after. All this was done both to keep the clergy quiet, and to engage them to uſe what intereſt they had in the court of Rome, to diſpoſe the pope to uſe the king better in his great ſuit. After theſe acts were paſſed, on the 17th of December, the parliament was prorogued 'till April following, yet it did not ſit 'till January after that, being continued by ſeveral prorogations.

THERE had been great induſtry uſed in carrying elections for the parliament, and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the king was reſolved to continue it for ſome time. This great buſineſs being happily over, the king's thoughts turned next to affairs beyond ſea. The whole world was now at peace. The pope and emperor (as was ſaid before) had made an alliance on terms of ſuch advantage to the pope, that as the emperor did fully repair all paſt injuries, ſo he laid new aud great obligations on him; for he engaged that he would aſſiſt him in the recovery of his towns, and that he would reſtore his family to the government of Florence, and inveſt his nephew in it, with the title of Duke, to whoſe ſon he would marry his own natural daughter; and that he would hold the kingdom of Naples of the papacy. Theſe were the motives that directed the pope's conſcience, ſo infallibly in the king's buſineſs. Not long after that, in Auguſt, another peace was made in Cambray, between the emperor and the French king, and lady Margaret, the emperor's aunt, and regent of Flanders, where the king firſt found the hollowneſs of the French friendſhip and alliance; for he was not ſo much conſidered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that Francis would not embroil his own affairs, to carry on his divorce.

THE emperor went over to Italy and met the pope at Bononia, where he was crowned with great magnificence. The pope and he lodged together in the ſame palace, and there appeared ſuch ſigns of a familiar friendſhip between them, that the king's ambaſſadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The emperor did alſo, by a rare mixture of generoſity and prudence, reſtore the dutchy of Milan, to Francis Forſa. By this he ſettled the peace of Italy, nothing holding out but Florence, which he knew would be ſoon reduced, when there was no hope of ſuccour from France, and accordingly after eleven months ſiege, it was taken, and within a year after, Alexander de Medici was made duke of it. About the time that the emperor came to Bononia, news was brought that the Turks was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Vienna, ſo that all things concurred to raiſe his glory very high. At Bononia he would needs receive the two crowns of the Roman empire, that of Milan and that of Rome, which was done with all the magnificence poſſible, the pope himſelf ſaying maſs both in Latin and Greek. There is one ceremony of the coronation fit to be taken notice of in this work, that the emperor was firſt put in the habit of a canon of Sancta Maria de la Torre in Rome, and after that in the habit of a deacon, to make him be look'd on as an eccleſiaſtical perſon. This had riſen out of an extravagant vanity of the court of Rome, who deviſed ſuch rites to raiſe their reputation ſo high, that on the greateſt ſolemnity, the emperor ſhould appear in the habit of the loweſt of the ſacred orders, by which he muſt know, that biſhops and prieſts are above him. When the pope and he firſt met, the ceremony of kiſſing the pope's foot was much look'd for, and the emperor very gently kneeled to pay that ſubmiſſion, but the pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more ſeaſonable to expect ſuch complements, or more ſignally to oblige the emperor) did humble himſelf ſo far, as to draw in his foot, and kiſs his cheek.

THE king now intending to proceed in the method propoſed by Cranmer, ſent to Oxford and Cambridge to procure their concluſions. At Oxford it was referred, by the major part of the convocation, to thirty-three doctors aud batchelors of divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were impowered to determine the queſtion, and put the ſeal of the univerſity to their concluſions: and they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife, was contrary both to the laws of GOD and nature. At Cambridge the convocation was unwilling to refer it to a ſelect number; yet it was after ſome days practice obtained, but with great difficulty, that it ſhould be referred to thirty-nine; of which number two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the ſeal of the univerſity to their determination.

The univerſities declare againſt the King's marriage.

mination. Theſe agreed in opinion with thoſe of Oxford. The jealouſy that went of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheraniſm, made, that the popiſh party oppoſed every thing in which he was engaged. They were alſo afraid of Anne Bolleyn's advancement, who was believed to be tinctured with thoſe opinions. Crook, a learned man in the greek tongue, was employed in Italy, to procure the reſolutions of divines there; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that beſides the great diſcoveries he made in ſearching the manuſcripts of the greek fathers, concerning their opinion in this point, he engaged ſeveral perſons to write for the king's cauſe, and alſo got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory: yet when a brother died without iſſue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preſerving their families and ſucceſſion; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The ſtate of Venice would not declare themſelves, but ſaid, they would be neutrals; and it was not eaſy to perſuade the divines of the republick, to give their opinions, 'till a brief was obtained of the pope, permitting all divines, and canoniſts, to deliver their opinions according to their conſciences, which was not granted but with great difficulty. Crook was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his letters, of the great want he was in; and he was in ſuch ill terms with John Caſſali, the king's ambaſſador at Venice, that he complained much of him to the king, and was in fear of being poiſoned by him. The pope abhorred this way of proceeding, tho' he could not decently oppoſe it, but he ſaid, in great ſcorn, that no friar ſhould ſet limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make any promiſes 'till they had freely delivered their opinions, which as he writ, he had ſo carefully obſerved, that he offered to forfeit his head, if the contrary was found true. Fifteen or twenty crowns was all the reward he gave, even to thoſe that wrote for the king's cauſe; and a few crowns he gave to ſome of thoſe that ſubſcribed. But (the emperor rewarded thoſe that wrote againſt the divorce, with good benefices; ſo little reaſon there was to aſcribe the ſubſcriptions he procured, to corruption, the contary of which, appears by his original accounts, yet extant. Beſides many divines and canoniſts, not only whole houſes of religious orders, but even the univerſity of Bononia, tho' the pope's town declared, that the laws in Leviticus, about the degrees of marriage, were parts of the law of nature, and that the pope could not diſpence with them. The univerſity of Padua, determined the ſame, as alſo that of Farrara. In all, Crook ſent over to England, an hundred ſeveral books and papers, with many ſubſcriptions, all condemning the king's marriage, as unlawful in itſelf. At Paris, the Sorbon made their determination with great ſolemnity; after a maſs of the holy ghoſt, all the doctors took an oath, to ſtudy the queſtion, and to give their judgement according to their conſciences; and after three weeks ſtudy, the greater part agreed on this, that the king's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope could not diſpenſe with it. At Orleans, Angiers, and Tholouſe, they determined to the ſame purpoſe. Eraſmus had a mind to live in quiet, and ſo he would not give his opinion, nor offend either party. Grineus, was employed to try what Bucer, Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius thought of the marriage. Bucer's opinion was, that the laws in Leviticus did not bind, and were not moral; becauſe GOD, not only diſpenſed, but commanded them to marry their brother's wife, when he died without iſſue. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were of another mind, and thought theſe laws were moral; but were of opinion, that the iſſue by a marriage de facto, grounded upon a received miſtake, ought not to be illegitimated.

CALVIN thought the marriage was null, and they all agreed that the pope's diſpenſation was of no force. Oſiander was employed to engage the Lutheran divines, but they were afraid of giving the emperor new grounds of diſpleaſure.

MELANCTHON thought the law in Leviticus was diſpenſable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that in thoſe matters, ſtates and princes might make what law they pleaſed; and tho' the divines of Leipſick, after much diſputing about, did agree, that thoſe laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to juſtify the divorce, with the ſubſequent marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done, and that the king appeared very inclinable to receive their doctrine; ſo ſteadily did they follow their conſciences, even againſt their intereſts: But the pope was more compliant; for he offered to Caſſali, to grant the king a diſpenſation for having another wife, with which the imperialiſts ſeemed not diſſatisfied.

THE king's cauſe being thus fortified by ſo many reſolutions in his favour, he made many members of parliament, in a prorogation time, write a letter to the pope, which was ſigned by the cardinal, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, four other biſhops, twenty-two abbots, forty-two peers, and eleven commoners. The contents of the letter, and the pope's anſwer were:

"THAT their near relation to the king, "made them addreſs thus to the pope. The "king's cauſe was now in the opinion "of the learned men, and univerſities, both "in England, France, and Italy, found "juſt, which ought to prevail ſo far with "the pope, that tho' none moved in it, and "notwithſtanding any contradiction, he "ought to confirm their judgment, eſpe-"cially it touching a king and kingdom, "to whom he was ſo much obliged. But "ſince neither the juſtice of the cauſe, nor "the king's moſt earneſt deſires had pre-"vailed with him, they were all forced to "complain of that ſtrange uſage of their "king; who by his authority, and with his "pen, had ſupported the apoſtolick ſee, "and the catholick faith, and yet was now "denied juſtice. From which they appre-"hended great miſchief and civil wars, "which could only be prevented by the "king's

" king's marrying another wife, of whom " he might have iſſue. This could not " be done, 'till his preſent marriage " was annulled. And if the pope would " ſtill refuſe to do this, they muſt conclude " that they were abandoned by him, and ſo " ſeek for other remedies. This they moſt " earneſtly prayed him to prevent, ſince " they did not deſire to go to extremities, " 'till there was no more to be hoped for at " his hands.

To this the pope made anſwer, the 27th of September. " He took notice of the " vehemency of their letter, which he for- " gave them, imputing it to their great af- " fection to their king, they had charged " him with ingratitude and injuſtice; two " grievous imputations. He acknowledged all " they wrote of the obligations he owed to " their king, which were far greater than they " called them, both on the apoſtolick ſee, " and himſelf in particular. But in the " king's cauſe he had been ſo far from de- " nying juſtice, that he was oft charged, as " having been too partial to him. He had " granted a commiſſion to two legates to " hear it, rather out of favour, than in ri- " gour of law; upon which the queen had " appealed: he had delayed the admitting " of it, as long as was poſſible, but when " he ſaw it could not be any longer denied " to be heard, it was brought before the " conſiſtory, where all the cardinals, with " one conſent, found that the appeal, and " an avocation of the cauſe muſt be granted. " That ſince that time, the king had never " deſired to put it to a trial, but on the " contrary, by his ambaſſadors at Bononia, " moved for a delay: and in that poſture it " was ſtill, nor could he give ſentence in a " thing of ſuch conſequence, when it was " not ſo much as ſought for. For the con- " cluſions of univerſities and learned men, " he had ſeen none of them from any of the " king's ambaſſadors. It was true ſome of " them had been brought to him another " way; but in them there was no reaſons " given, but only bare concluſions, and he " had ſeen very important things for the " other ſide; and therefore he muſt not pre- " cipitate a ſentence, in a cauſe of ſuch high " importance, till all things were fully heard " and conſidered. He wiſhed their king " might have male iſſue, but he was not in " GOD's ſtead to give it. And for their " threatenings of ſeeking other remedies, " they were neither agreeable to their wiſ- " dom, nor to their religion. Therefore he " admoniſhed them to abſtain from ſuch " counſels; but minded them that it is not " the phyſicians fault if the patient will do " himſelf hurt. He knew the king would " never like ſuch courſes; and tho' he had " a juſt value for their interceſſion, yet he " conſidered the king much more, to whom, " as he had never denied any thing that he " could grant with his honour, ſo he was " very deſirous to examine this matter, and " to put it to a ſpeedy iſſue, and would do " every thing that he could without offend- " ing GOD.

THE king either ſeeing the pope reſolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that ſome bull might be brought into England, in behalf of the queen, or the diſgraced cardinal, did, on the 19th of September, put forth a proclamation againſt any who purchaſed any thing from Rome, or elſewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative and authority, or ſhould publiſh or divulge any ſuch thing, requiring them not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, impriſonment, and other puniſhments on their perſons. This was founded on the ſtatutes of proviſors and premunires: but that being done, he reſolved next to publiſh to the world, and to his ſubjects the juſtice of his cauſe. Therefore ſome learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on it, and out of all the tranſcripts of the manuſcripts, of fathers and councils, to gather together whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. There were three of theſe manuſcripts in the Cotton library, of which one contains a large vindication of theſe authorities, from ſome exceptions made to them; another is an anſwer to the biſhop of Rocheſter's book for the queen's cauſe; a third digeſts the matter into twelve articles. But all theſe, and many more, were ſumm'd up in a ſhort book, and printed firſt in Latin, then in Engliſh, with the determinations of the Univerſities before it. Theſe are of ſuch weight and importance, and give ſo great a light to the whole matter, that the reader will not be ill pleaſed to have a ſhort abſtract of them laid before him.

An ABSTRACT of thoſe things which were written for the Divorce.

THE law of marriage was originally given by GOD to Adam in the ſtate of innocence, with this declaration, That man and wife were one fleſh; but being afterwards corrupted by the inceſtuous commixtures of thoſe which were of kin, in the neareſt degrees, the primitive law was again revived by Moſes: and he gives many rules and prohibitions about the degrees of kindred and affinity, which are not ſo looked on as new laws, and judiciary precepts, but as a reſtoring of the law of nature originally given by GOD, but then much corrupted. For as the preface, which is ſo oft repeated before theſe laws, " I am the LORD", inſinuates that they were conform to the divine nature; ſo the conſequences of them ſhew they were moral and natural; for the breaches of them are called wickedneſs and abomination, and are ſaid to defile the land; and the violation of them is charged on the Canaanites, by which the land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the inhabitants. From whence it muſt be concluded, that theſe were not poſitive precepts, which did only bind the Jews, but were parts of the law of mankind and nature; otherwiſe thoſe nations could contract no guilt by their violating them. Among the forbidden degrees, one is, " Thou ſhalt not diſcover the nakedneſs " of thy brother's wife; it is thy brother's " nakedneſs." And it is again repeated, " If a man ſhall take his brother's wife, it " is an unclean thing; he hath uncovered

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" his brother's nakedneſs; they ſhall be " childleſs." Theſe are clear and expreſs laws of GOD; which therefore muſt needs oblige all perſons of what rank ſoever, without exception.

IN the New Teſtament, St. John Baptiſt ſaid to Herod, " It is not lawful for thee to " take thy brother's wife;" which ſhews, that theſe laws of Moſes were ſtill obligatory. St. Paul alſo, in his epiſtle to the Corinthians, condemns the inceſtuous perſon for having his father's wife, which is one of the degrees forbidden by the law of Moſes, and calls it a fornication, not ſo much as named among the Gentiles. From whence it is inferred, that theſe forbidden degrees are excluded by the law of nature, ſince the Gentiles did not admit them. St. Paul alſo calls it by the common name of fornication, within which, according to that place, all undue commixtures of men and women are included: therefore thoſe places in the New Teſtament, that condemn fornication, do alſo condemn marriages in forbidden degrees. Our SAVIOUR did alſo aſſert the foundation of affinity, by ſaying, That man and wife were one fleſh.

BUT in all controverted things, the ſenſe of the Scriptures muſt be taken from the tradition of the church, which no good catholick can deny; and that is to be found in the decrees of popes and councils, and in the writings of the fathers and doctors of the church; againſt which, if any argue from their private underſtanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of hereſy, and ſavours of Lutheraniſm. The firſt of the fathers, who had occaſion to write of this matter, was Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apoſtles. He, in expreſs words, ſays, " That the " law of not marrying the brother's wife, " did ſtill oblige Chriſtians.

THE firſt pope, whoſe deciſion was ſought in this matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Auſtin, the apoſtle of England, wrote for his reſolution of ſome things, in which he deſired direction; and one of theſe is, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife? (who in the language of that time was called his kinſwoman.) The pope anſwered negatively, and proved it by the law of Moſes, and therefore defined, That if any of the Engliſh nation, who had married within that degree, and were converted to the faith, he muſt be admoniſhed to abſtain from his wife, and to look on ſuch marriage as a moſt grievous ſin. From which it appears, that that good pope did judge it a thing, which by no means could be diſpenſed with, otherwiſe he had not preſſed it ſo much under ſuch circumſtances; ſince in the firſt converſion of a nation to the chriſtian faith, the inſiſting too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the chriſtian religion, who were otherwiſe well inclined to it. Calixtus Zacharias, and Innocent the IIId, have plainly aſſerted the obligation of theſe precepts in the law of Moſes; the laſt, particularly, who treats about it with great vehemency; ſo that the apoſtolick ſee has already judged the matter.

SEVERAL provincial councils have alſo declared the obligation of the precepts, about the degrees of marriage in Leviticus, by the council at Neoceſarea. If a woman had been married to two brothers, ſhe was to be caſt out of the communion of the church, till her death; and the man that married his brother's wife was to be anathematized, which was alſo confirmed in a council held by pope Gregory the IId. In the council of Agde, where the degrees that make a marriage inceſtuous are reckoned, this of marrying the brother's wife is one of them: and there it was decreed, that all marriages within theſe degrees were null, and the parties ſo contracting, were to be caſt out of the communion of the church, and put among the catechumens, till they had ſeparated themſelves from one another. And in the ſecond council of Toledo, the authority of the Moſaical prohibitions about the degrees of marriage is acknowledged. It was one of Wickliff's errors, that the prohibition of marriage within ſuch degrees was without any foundation in the law of GOD; for which, and other points, he was condemned firſt in a convocation at London, then at Oxford, and laſt of all at the general council of Conſtance, theſe condemnations were confirmed. So formerly had the church in many provincial councils, and in one that was general, decided this matter.

NEXT to theſe, the opinions of the fathers were to be conſidered. In the Greek church Origin firſt had occaſion to treat about it, writing on Leviticus, and Chryſoſtome after him, but moſt fully St. Baſil the great, who do expreſsly aſſert the obligations of the precepts. The laſt particularly, refuting at great length the opinion of ſome, who thought the marrying two ſiſters was not unlawful, lays it down as a foundation, That the laws in Leviticus about marriage, were ſtill in force. Heſychius alſo writing upon Leviticus, proves that theſe prohibitions were univerſally obligatory, becauſe both the Egyptians and Canaanites are taxed for marrying within theſe degrees; from whence he infers, they are of moral and eternal obligation.

FROM the Greek they went to the Latin fathers, and alledged, as was already obſerved, that Tertullian held the ſame opinion, and with him agreed the three great doctors of the Latin church, Ambroſe, Jerom and St. Auſtin, who do plainly deliver the tradition of the church about the obligation of thoſe laws, and anſwer the objections that were made, either from Abraham's marrying his ſiſter, or from Jacob's marrying two ſiſters, or the law in Deuteronomy, for the brother's marrying his brother's wife, if he died without children.

THEY obſerved, that the ſame doctrine was alſo taught by the fathers and doctors in the latter ages. Anſelm held it, and pleads much for marrying in remote degrees, and anſwers the objection from the deciſion in the caſe of the daughters of Zelophehad. Hugo Cardinalis, Radulphus Flaviacenſis, and Rupertus Tuiſienſis do agree, that theſe precepts are moral and of perpetual obligation, as alſo Hugo de Sto. Victore, Hilde-

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bert biſhop of Mans, being conſulted in a caſe of the ſame nature with what is now controverted, plainly determines that a man may not marry his brother's wife, and by many authorities ſhews that by no means it can be allowed. And Ivo Carnotenſis being deſired to give his opinion in a caſe of the ſame circumſtances, of a king marrying his brother's Wife ſays, ſuch a marriage is null, as inconſiſtent with the law of GOD, and that the king was not to be admitted to the communion of the church, till he put away his wife, ſince there was no diſpenſing with the law of GOD, and no ſacrifice could be offered for thoſe that continued willingly in ſin. Paſſages alſo to the purpoſe are in other places of his epiſtles.

FROM theſe doctors and fathers, the inquiry deſcended to the ſchoolmen, who had with more niceneſs and ſubtlety examined things. They do all agree in aſſerting the obligation of theſe Levitical prohibitions. Thomas Aquinas does it in many places, and confirms it with many arguments. Altiſiodorenſis ſays, they are moral laws, and part of the law of nature. Petrus de Palude is of the ſame mind, and ſays, that a man's marrying his brother's wife, was a diſpenſation granted by GOD, but could not be now allowed, becauſe it was contrary to the law of nature. St. Antonine of Florence, Johannes de Tabia, Jacobus de Lauſania, and Aſtexanus, were alſo cited for the ſame opinion. And thoſe who wrote againſt Wickliffe, namely Wydeford, Cotton, and Waldenſis, charged him with hereſy, for denying that thoſe prohibitions did oblige Chriſtians. And aſſerted, that they were moral laws, which obliged all mankind. And the books of Waldenſis were approved by St. Martin the firſt. There were alſo many quotations brought out of Petrus de Tarantaſia, Durandus, Stephanus, Brulifer, Richardus de Media Villa, Guido Briancon, Gerſon, Paulus Ritius, and many others to confirm the ſame opinion, who did all unanimouſly aſſert, That thoſe laws in Leviticus are parts of the law of nature which oblige all mankind, and that marriages contracted in theſe degrees are null and void. All the canoniſts were alſo of the ſame mind. Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, Abbas Panormitanus, Mattheus Neru, Vincentius, Innocentius, and Oſtienſis, all concluded that theſe laws were ſtill in force, and could not be diſpenſed with.

THERE was alſo a great deal alledged, to prove that a marriage is compleated by the marriage contract, though it be never conſummated. Many authorities were brought to prove that Adonijah could not marry Abiſhag, becauſe ſhe was his father's wife, though never known by him. And by the law of Moſes, a woman eſpouſed to a man, if ſhe admitted another to her bed, ſhe was to be ſtoned as an adultreſs; from whence it appears, that the validity of marriage is from the mutual covenant. And though Joſeph never knew the bleſſed Virgin, yet he was ſo much her husband by the eſpouſals, that he could not put her away, but by a bill of divorce: and was afterwards called her husband, and CHRIST's father. Affinity had been alſo defined by all writers, a relation ariſing out of marriage; and ſince marriage was a ſacrament of the church, its eſſence could only conſiſt in the contract, and therefore as a man in orders has the character, though he never conſecrated any ſacrament; ſo marriage is compleat, though its effect never follows. And it was ſhewed that the Canoniſt had only brought in the conſummation of marriage, as eſſential to it, by eccleſiaſtical law. But that as Adam and Eve were perfectly married before they knew one another, ſo marriage was compleat upon the contract; and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the marriage. And there was a great deal of filthy ſtuff brought together of the different opinions of the canoniſts concerning conſummation, to what degree it muſt go, to ſhew that it could not be eſſential to the marriage contract, which in modeſty were ſuppreſſed. But Hildebert of Mans, Ivo Carnotenſis, and Hugo de Sto. Victore, had delivered this opinion, and proved it out of St. Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe, Auſtin, and Iſidore. Pope Nicholas, and the council of Tibur, defined, that marriage was compleated by the conſent and benediction: from all which they concluded, that altho' it could be proved that prince Arthur knew the queen, yet that ſhe being once lawfully married to him, the king could not afterwards marry her.

IT was alſo ſaid, that violent preſumptions were ſufficient in the opinion of the canoniſts to prove conſummation. Formal proofs could not be expected, and for perſons that were of age, and in good health, to be in bed together, was in all trials about conſummation, all that the canoniſts ſought for. And yet this was not all in this caſe, for it appeared, that upon her husband's death, ſhe was kept with great care by ſome ladies, who did think her with child; and ſhe never ſaid any thing againſt it. And in the petition offered to the pope in her name (repeated in the bull that was procured for the ſecond marriage) it is ſaid, ſhe was perhaps known by prince Arthur, and in the breve, it is plainly ſaid, ſhe was known by prince Arthur; and though the queen offered to purge herſelf by oath, that prince Arthur never knew her, it was proved by many authorities out of the canon law, that a party's oath ought not to be taken, when there were violent preſumptions to the contrary.

AS for the validity of the pope's diſpenſation, it was ſaid, that though the ſchoolmen and canoniſts did generally raiſe the pope's power very high, and ſtretch it as far as it was poſſible, yet they all agreed that it could not reach the king's caſe, upon this received maxim: That only the laws of the church are ſubject to the pope, and may be diſpenſed with by him, but that the laws of GOD are above him, and that he cannot diſpenſe with them in any caſe. This Aquinas delivers in many places of his works. Petrus de Palude ſays, the pope cannot diſpence with marriage in theſe degrees, becauſe it is againſt nature. But Joannes de Turre Cremata reports a ſingular caſe, which

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ſell out when he was cardinal. A king of France deſired a diſpenſation to marry his wive's ſiſter; the matter was long conſidered of, and debated in the Rota, himſelf being there, and bearing a ſhare in the debate; but it was concluded, That if any pope, either out of ignorance, or being corrupted, had ever granted ſuch a diſpenſation, that could be no preſident or warrant for doing the like any more, ſince the church ought to be governed by laws, and not by examples. Antonin and Joannes de Tabia, held the ſame: And one Bacon, an Engliſhman, who had taught the contrary, was cenſured for it even at Rome, and he did retract his opinion, and acknowledged, that the pope could not diſpenſe with the degrees of marriage forbidden by the law of GOD.

THE Canoniſts agree alſo to this: both Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, and Abbas Janormitanus, aſſert it, ſaying that the precepts in Leviticus oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be diſpenſed with. And Janormitan ſays, Theſe things are to be obſerved in practice, becauſe great princes do often deſire diſpenſations from popes. Pope Alexander the IIId. would not ſuffer a citizen of Pavia to marry his younger ſon to the widow of his eldeſt ſon, though he had ſworn to do it. For the pope ſaid, it was againſt the law of GOD, therefore it might not be done, and he was to repent of his unlawful oath.

AND for the power of diſpenſing even with the laws of the church, by popes, it was brought in, in the latter ages. All the fathers with one conſent believed, That the laws of GOD could not be diſpenſed with by the church, for which many places where cited out of St. Cyprian, Baſil, Ambroſe, Iſidore, Bernard, and Urban, Fabian, Marcellus, and Innocent, that were popes; beſides an infinite number of latter writers. And alſo the popes Zoſimus, Damaſus, Leo, and Hilarius, did freely acknowledge they could not change the decrees of the church, nor go againſt the opinions or practices of the fathers. And ſince the apoſtles confeſſed, they could do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth; the pope's being CHRIST's vicar, cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſo great a power as to abrogate the law of GOD; and though it is acknowledged, that he is veſted with a fulneſs of power, yet the phraſe muſt be reſtrained to the matter of it, which is the paſtoral care of ſouls. And though there was no court ſuperiour to the pope's, yet as St. Paul had withſtood St. Peter to his face, ſo in all ages, upon ſeveral occaſions, holy biſhops have refuſed to comply with, or ſubmit to orders ſent from Rome, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

LAURENCE, who ſucceeded Auſtin the monk in the ſee of Canterbury, having excommunicated king Edbald for an inceſtuous marriage, would not abſolve him, till he put away his wife, tho' the pope plied him earneſtly, both by intreaties and threatnings, to let it alone, and abſolve him: Dunſtan did the like to count Edwin, for another inceſtuous marriage: nor did all the pope's interpoſition make him give over. They found many ſuch inſtances, which occurred in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of biſhops proceeding by cenſure, and other methods, to ſtop the courſe of ſin, notwithſtanding any encouragement the Parties had from popes.

AND it is certain, that every man when he finds himſelf engaged in any courſe, which is clearly ſinful, ought preſently to forſake it, according to the opinion of all divines. And therefore the king, upon the evidences of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, ought to abſtain from the queen; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the other biſhops, ought to require him to do it, otherwiſe they muſt proceed to church cenſures. Many things were alſo brought from reaſon (or at leaſt in thoſe days) to prove marriage in the degrees forbidden by Moſes to be contrary to the law of nature; and much was alledged out of profane authors, to ſhew what an abhorrency ſome heathen nations had of inceſtuous marriages.

AND whereas the chief ſtrength of the arguments for the contrary opinion, reſted in this, That theſe laws of Moſes were not confirmed by CHRIST, or his apoſtles, in the New Teſtament; to that they anſwered, That if the laws about marriage were moral, as had been proved, then there was no need of a particular confirmation, ſince thoſe words of our SAVIOUR, "I came not to deſtroy "the law, but to fulfil it", do confirm the whole moral law. CHRIST had alſo expreſsly aſſerted the relation of affinity, ſaying, That a man and wife are one fleſh. St. Paul alſo condemned a match as inceſtuous for affinity. But tho' it were not expreſsly ſet down in the goſpel, yet the traditions of the church are received with equal authority to written verities. This the court of Rome, and all the writers for the catholick faith, lay down as a fundamental truth. And without it, how could the ſeven ſacramenrs, (ſome of which are not mentioned in the New Teſtament) with many other articles of catholick belief, be maintained againſt the hereticks? The tradition of the church being ſo full and formal in this particular, muſt take place; and if any corruption have been brought in by ſome popes within an age or two, which have never had any other authority from the degrees of the church, or the opinions of learned men, they are not to be maintained in oppoſition to the evidence that is brought on the other ſide.

THIS is ſummed up in as ſhort and comprehenſive words as can be, being the ſubſtance of what is gathered out of printed books and manuſcripts for the king's cauſe: but the fidelity of an hiſtorian led Dr. Burnet to open the arguments that were brought againſt it, by thoſe who wrote on the other ſide for the queen's cauſe, to prove the validity of the marriage, and the pope's power of diſpenſing with a marriage in that degree of affinity.

CARDINAL Cajetan had by many arguments endeavoured to prove, that the prohibitions in Leviticus, were not parts of the moral law. They were not obſerved before the law, no not by the holy ſeed. Adam's

" children married one another, Abraham " married his ſiſter, Jacob married two ſiſ- " ters, Judah gave his two ſons to Tamar, " and promiſed to give her the third for a " husband. By the law of Moſes, a diſpen- " ſation was granted in one caſe, for marry- " ing the brother's wife, which ſhews the " law was not moral, otherwiſe it could not " be diſpenſed with, and if Moſes diſpenſed " with it, why might not the pope as well do " it? nor was there any force in the places " cited from the New Teſtament. As for " that of Herod, both Joſephus and Euſe- " bius witneſs, that his brother Philip was " alive when he took his wife, and ſo his " ſin was adultery and not inceſt. We muſt " alſo think, that the inceſtuous perſon in " Corinth, took his father's wife when he " was yet living, otherwiſe, if he had been " dead, St. Paul could not ſay it was a for- " nication not named among the Gentiles; " for we not only find, both among the Per- " ſians and other nations, the marriages of " ſtep-mothers allowed, but even among the " Jews; Adonijah deſired Abiſha in marri- " age, who had been his father's concubine.

" FROM all which they concluded, that the " laws about the degrees of marriage were " only judiciary precepts, and ſo there was " no other obligation on Chriſtians to obey " them, than what flowed from the laws of " the church, with which the pope might " diſpenſe. They alſo ſaid, That the law " in Leviticus of not taking the brother's " wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking " her while he was alive; for after he was " dead, by another law, a man might marry " his brother's wife.

" THEY alſo pleaded, That the pope's " power of diſpenſing, did reach further than " the laws of the church, even to the laws " of GOD, for he daily diſpenſed with the " breaking of oaths and vows, though that " was expreſsly contrary to the third com- " mandment; and though the ſixth com- " mandment, thou ſhalt do no murther, be a- " gainſt killing, yet the pope diſpenſed with " the putting thieves to death; and in ſome " caſes, where the reaſon of the command- " ment does not at all times hold, he is the " only judge according to Summa Angelica. " They concluded the pope's power of diſ- " penſing was as neceſſary, as his power of " expounding the Scriptures, and ſince there " was a queſtion made concerning the obli- " gation of theſe Levitical prohibitions, " whether they were moral, and did oblige " Chriſtians or not? the pope muſt be the " only judge: there were alſo ſome late " preſidents found, one of St. Martin, who " in the caſe of a man's having married his " own ſiſter, who had lived long with her, " upon a conſultation with divines and law- " yers, confirmed it; to prevent the ſcandal, " which the diſſolving of it would have gi- " ven. Upon which St. Antonin of Flo- " rence, ſays, That ſince the thing was diſ- " penſed with, it was to be referred to the " judgment of GOD, and not to be con- " demned.

" THE pope had granted this diſpenſation, " upon a very weighty conſideration, to " keep peace between two great crowns: it " had now ſtood above twenty years: it " would therefore raiſe an high ſcandal, to " bring it under a debate; beſides that, it " would do much hurt, and bring the titles " to moſt crowns into controverſy.

" BUT they concluded, that whatever in- " formalities of nullities were pretended to " be in the bulls or breves, the pope was the " only competent judge of it, and that it " was too high a preſumption for inferior " prelates, to take upon them to examine " or diſcuſs it.

BUT to theſe arguments it was anſwered by the writers for the kings cauſe, " That it " was ſtrange to ſee men who pretended to " be ſuch enemies to all heretical novelties, " yet be guilty of that, which catholick " doctors hold to be the foundation of all " hereſy; which was the ſetting up of pri- " vate ſenſes of Scripture, and reaſonings " from them, againſt the doctrine and tra- " dition of the church. It was fully made " out, that the fathers and doctors of the " church did univerſally agree in this, that " the Levitical prohibitions of the degrees " of marriage are moral, and do oblige all " Chriſtians. Againſt this authority Cajetan " was the firſt that preſumed to write, op- " poſing his private conceits to the tradition " of the church; which is the ſame thing " for which Luther and his followers are ſo " ſeverely condemned. May it not then be " juſtly ſaid of ſuch men, that they plead " much for tradition, when it makes for " them, but reject it when it is againſt " them; therefore all theſe exceptions, are " overthrown with this one maxim of ca- " tholick doctrine, That they were novel- " ties againſt the conſtant tradition of the " chriſtian church, in all ages. But if the " force of them be alſo examined, they will " be found as weak, as they are new. That " before the law, theſe degrees were not " obſerved, proves only, that they are not " evidently contrary to the common ſenſe " of all men; but as there are ſome moral " precepts, which have that natural evi- " dence in them, that all men muſt diſcern " it, ſo there are others, that are drawn " from publick inconvenience and diſhone- " ſty, which are alſo parts of the law of na- " ture. Theſe prohibitions are not of the " firſt, but of the ſecond ſort, ſince the im- " morality of them appears in this, That the " familiarities and freedoms among near re- " lations are ſuch, that if an horror were not " ſtruck in men at conjunctures in theſe de- " grees, families would be much defiled. " This is the foundation of the prohibitions " of marriages in theſe degrees: therefore " it is not ſtrange if men did not apprehend " it, before GOD made a law concerning it: " therefore all examples before the law, " ſhew only the thing is not ſo evident as " to be eaſily collected by the light of na- " ture. And for the ſtory of Judah and Ta- " mar, there is ſo much wickedneſs in all " the parts of it, that it will be very hard " to make a preſident out of any part of it. " As for the proviſion about marrying the " brother's wife, that only proves the ground

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" of the law is not of its own nature im-
" mutable, but may be diſpenſed with by
" GOD in ſome caſes; but becauſe Moſes
" did it by divine revelation, it does not
" follow, that the pope can do it by his or-
" dinary authority.

" FOR that about Herod, it is not clear
" from Joſephus, that Philip was alive when
" Herod married his wife; for all that Jo-
" ſephus ſays, is that ſhe ſeparated from her
" husband, when he was yet alive, and di-
" vorced herſelf from him: but he does not
" ſay that he lived ſtill after ſhe married her
" Brother; and by the law of divorce, mar-
" riage was at an end, and broken by it as
" much as if the party had been dead, ſo
" that in that caſe ſhe might have marry'd any
" other: therefore Herod's ſin in taking her,
" was from the relation of having been his
" brother's wife. And for the inceſtuous
" perſon in Corinth, as it is certain, that
" tho' ſome few inſtances of a king of Syria,
" and ſome others, may be brought of ſons
" marrying their ſtep-mothers, yet theſe
" things were generally ill looked on, even
" where they were practiſed by ſome princes,
" who made their pleaſure their law. Nor
" could the laws of Leviticus be underſtood
" of not marrying the brother's wife when
" he was alive, for it was not lawful to take
" any man's wife from him living; therefore
" that cannot be the meaning. And all
" thoſe prohibitions of marriage in other
" degrees, excluding thoſe marriages ſimply,
" whether during the life, or after the death
" of the father's ſon, uncle, and other ſuch
" relations, there is no ground to disjoint
" this ſo much from the reſt, as to make it
" extend to a marriage before the husband's
" death. And for any preſidents that were
" brought, they were all in the latter ages,
" and were never confirmed by any publick
" authority; nor muſt the practices of later
" popes be had in ballance againſt the de-
" ciſions of former popes, and the doctrine
" of the whole church; and as to the power
" that was aſcribed to the pope, that began
" now to be enquired into with great free-
" dom, as ſhall appear afterwards.

BOTH ſides having thus brought forth the ſtrength of their cauſe; it did evidently appear, That according to the authority given to the tradition in the church of Rome, the king had clearly the right on his ſide, and that the pope's party did write with little ſincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing, which they found fault with in others.

THE queen continued firm to her reſolution of leaving the matter in the pope's hands, and therefore would hearken to no propoſitions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the arbitration of ſome choſen on both ſides. In the judgments that people paſſed, the ſexes were divided; the men generally approved the king's cauſe, and the women favoured the queen.

1531. A Seſſion of parliament followed in January, in which the king made the deciſions of the univerſities, and the books that were written for the divorce, be firſt read in the houſe of lords, and then they were carried down by Sir Thomas More, and twelve lords, both of ſpirituality, and temporality to the commons. There were twelve ſeals of univerſities ſhewed, and their deciſions were read firſt in Latin, and then tranſlated into Engliſh. There were alſo an hundred books ſhewed, written on the ſame argument. Upon the ſhewing theſe, the chancellor deſired them to report in their countries, that they now clearly ſaw that the king had not attempted this mātter of his meer will and pleaſure, but for the diſcharge of his conſcience, and the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion of the crown. This was alſo brought into the convocation, who declared themſelves ſatisfied, concerning the unlawfulneſs of the marriage; but the circumſtances they were then in, made that their declaration was not much conſidered; for they were then under the laſh. All the clergy of England were ſued, as in the caſe of a præmunire, for having acknowledged a foreign juriſdiction, and taken out bulls, and had ſuits in the legatine court.

THE kings of England did claim ſuch a power in eccleſiaſtical matters, as the Roman emperors had exerciſed before the fall of that empire; antiently they had by their authority divided biſhopricks, granted the inveſtitures, and made laws both relating to eccleſiaſtical cauſes and perſons. When the popes began to extend their power, beyond the limits aſſigned them by the canons, they met with great oppoſition in England, both in the matter of inveſtitures, appeals, legates, and the other branches of their uſurpations; but they managed all the advantages they found, either from the weakneſs, or ill circumſtances of princes, ſo ſteadily, that in concluſion they ſubdued the world; and if they had not by their cruel exactions, ſo oppreſſed the clergy, that they were driven to ſeek ſhelter under the covert of the temporal authority, the world was then ſo overmaſtered by ſuperſtition and credulity, that not only the whole ſpiritual power, but even the temporal power of princes, was likely to have fallen into the pope's hands: but the diſcontented clergy ſupported the ſecular power, as much as they had before advanced the papal tyranny. Boniface the eighth had raiſed his pretenſions to that impudent pitch, that he declared all power, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, was derived from him, and eſtabliſhed that as an article of faith, neceſſary to ſalvation; and he, and his ſucceſſors, took upon them to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, by their bulls and proviſions. Upon which laws were made in England, reſtraining thoſe invaſions on the crown; ſince thoſe endowments were made for informing the people of the law of GOD, and for hoſpitality, and acts of charity, which were defeated, as well as the crown was diſinherited by the proviſions which the pope granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no puniſhment being declared for the tranſgreſſors of that fact, the courtiers at Rome were not frighted at ſo general a law; ſo theſe abuſes were ſtill continued: but in Edward the IIId's time, a more ſevere law was made, by which, all

that

that tranſgreſſed were to be impriſoned, to be fined at pleaſure, and to forfeit all their benefices. By another act, they were put out of the king's protection. Several other confirmations of this were made, both in that reign, and under Richard the ſecond; and the former puniſhments were extended, not only to the proviſors themſelves, but to all that were employed by them, or took farms of them: and becauſe licences might be granted by the king for aliens, to hold benefices in England, he did bind himſelf to grant none: others took both preſentations in England, and obtained proviſions from Rome, which was likewiſe condemned. The right of preſentations was tried, only in the king's courts; but the popes had a mind to take the cognizance of that to their own courts; upon which the parliament, conſidering the great prejudice the nation was like to ſuffer, and the ſubjection that the crown would fall under, reſolved to provide effectual remedies; ſo all the commons declared, they would live and die with the king, and deſired him to examine all the lords, whether they would uphold the regality of the crown. The temporal lords declared, they would do it; but the ſpiritual lords made ſome difficulty; yet in concluſion, they alſo promis'd they would adhere to the crown: ſo a law paſſed, that if any purchaſed tranſlations, excommunications, or bulls from Rome, that were contrary to the king, or his crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the king's protection, and that their goods and chattels ſhould be forfeited to the king, and their perſons impriſoned. And becauſe the proceedings upon this were by a writ, called, from the moſt material words of it, Præmunire facias, this ſtatute carried the name of the Statute of Præmunire. There was alſo a law paſſed in Henry the IVth's reign, againſt ſome bulls which the Ciſtertians had procured, and againſt the high rates ſet on bulls in the apoſtolick chamber; and whereas the king had been prevailed with to give licences for ſome bulls, by which the proviſors put the incumbents out of their benefices; theſe were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the ſubjects rights. The invaſions that both the popes and kings make upon elections, were by another law condemned, and the liberty of elections was again ſet up. But thoſe kings being more concerned to preſerve their own prerogative, than the rights of their people, were often prevailed with, to grant pardons, and licences, to thoſe who obtained proviſions at Rome; ſo theſe were all again condemned in Henry the Vth's time.

IN all this time, the weakneſs of the papacy gave princes ſome advantages, which they had not in former ages; for a great while the popes ſat at Avignon, where they were much eclipſed of their former greatneſs: after that a ſchiſm followed between the popes that ſat at Rome, and thoſe that ſtill ſat at Avignon, and the princes of Chriſtendom, being then at liberty to chooſe which of thoſe they would acknowledge; the popes durſt not thunder againſt thoſe laws, as they had done in former time, upon much leſs provocation. And indeed all the uſe that the kings made of them, was, to oblige the proviſors to come and depend on them for their licence to execute their bulls; and the king's authority being joined with the pope's, it was hard for thoſe who were oppreſſed to reſiſt that double force; nor was there any vigorous execution made of thoſe laws, otherways than to draw money from the proviſors: for it fell out in this caſe, what is ordinary on all ſuch occaſions, that favourites make uſe of good laws; by which power is truſted to the prince, for the protection and ſecurity of the ſubjects, only for their own ends. It was a ſtrange weakneſs in the princes of Chriſtendom, to take ſuch pains as was done at Conſtance, for healing the breach in the papacy; for while that continued they reigned in peace, and the clergy was leſs oppreſſed than formerly: but that being once made up, the popes were beginning again to raiſe their old pretenſions; and pope Martin the Vth, not being willing to engage with ſo high ſpirited a king as Henry the Vth was, he took advantage in the minority of Henry the VIth's reign, to propoſe a repeal of thoſe laws, and firſt wrote very ſeverely to Chichely, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, for not oppoſing the ſtatute of proviſors, that had paſſed in the former reign, nor ſtanding up for the rights of St. Peter. He therefore exhorted him to imitate his predeceſſor, Thomas a Becket; and required him to declare at the next parliament, the unlawfulneſs of it; and that all who obeyed it, were under excommunication: he alſo required him to order the clergy, to preach every where againſt it. Yet Chichely did not proceed ſo zealouſly as the pope expected, and therefore he ſuſpended his legatine power. The archbiſhop appealed upon this from the pope, to the next general council, or if none met, to the tribunal of GOD: but the pope wrote alſo to the clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the ſtatute: and in another letter to the two archbiſhops, in which, in ſpite to Chichely, York is firſt named, he annulled the ſtatutes made by Edward the IIId, and Richard the IId; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reſerving the abſolution of them to himſelf, unleſs they were at the point of death; and he required them to publiſh, and affix this his monitory brief. The archbiſhop humbled himſelf to the pope, and got the other biſhops, and the univerſity of Oxford, to write in his favour to him; which they did, according to the flattering and vain ſtile of that age. In his own letter he ſays, he had not opened the pope's brief, and ſo did not know what it contained, being required by the king to bring it to him with the ſeals entire. The pope wrote alſo both to the king and parliament, requiring them, under the pains of excommunication, and damnation, to repeal thoſe ſtatutes. Upon the meeting of the next parliament, the archbiſhop, accompanied by ſeveral biſhops and abbots, went to the houſe of commons,

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and made them a long ſpeech, in the form of a ſermon, upon that text, "Render unto "Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and "unto GOD the things that are GOD's." And exhorted them to repeal thoſe laws againſt the pope's power, in granting proviſors; and with tears laid out the miſchiefs that would follow, if the pope ſhould proceed to cenſures. But the commons would not repeal thoſe laws; yet they were left as dead letters among the records, for no care was taken to execute them. The pope was ſo far ſatisfied with Chichely's behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and reſtored to him the legatine power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our writers, it ſeemed no impertinent digreſſion to give this account of it.

NOW were thoſe long forgotten ſtatutes revived, to bring the clergy into a ſnare: it was deſigned by the terror of this, to force them into an entire ſubmiſſion; and to oblige them to redeem themſelves by the grant of a conſiderable ſubſidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the king, by his favour to the cardinal, ſeemed to conſent, if not to encourage that authority which he then exerciſed: it was a publick error, and ſo they ought not to be puniſhed for it. To all this it was anſwered, That the laws which they had tranſgreſſed, were ſtill in force, and ſo no ignorance could excuſe the violation of them. The convocation of Canterbury made their ſubmiſſion; and in their addreſs to the king he was called the protector, and ſupream head of the church of England; but ſome excepting to that, it was added, In ſo far as it is agreeable to the law of CHRIST. This was ſigned by nine biſhops, fifty abbots and priors, and the greateſt part of the lower houſe, and with it they offered the king a ſubſidy to procure his favour of 100,000 l. and they promiſed for the future, not to make nor execute any conſtitutions, without his licence. The convocation of York did not paſs this ſo eaſily, they excepted to the word head, as agreeing to none but CHRIST: yet the king wrote them a long expoſtulating letter, and told them with what limitations thoſe of Canterbury had paſſed that title; upon which they alſo ſubmitted, and offered him 18,840 l. which was alſo well received; and ſo all the clergy were again received into the king's protection, and pardoned. But when the king's pardon was brought into the parliament, the laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were alſo obnoxious on the ſame account, in ſome meaſure, having had ſuits in the legatine court, and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble; and therefore they addreſſed to the king, and deſired to be comprehended within it: but the king told them, his mercy was neither to be reſtrained nor forced. This put the houſe of commons in great trouble, but they paſs'd the act; and ſoon after, the king ſent a pardon to all his temporal ſubjects, which was received with great joy: and they acknowledged, that the king tempered his greatneſs with his clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

IN this Seſſion, one Rouſe, that had poiſoned a great pot of porrage, in the biſhop of Rocheſter's kitchen, of which two had died, and many had been brought near death, was attainted of treaſon, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was it made the puniſhment of poiſoning in time to come. By this act the parliament made a crime to be treaſon that was not ſo before, and puniſhed the perſon accordingly; which was founded on the power reſerved in the 25th of Edward the IIId to parliaments, to declare in time coming what crimes were treaſon. This ſevere ſentence was executed in Smithfield; Rouſe accuſing none as his accomplices, tho' malicious perſons did afterwards impute that action of his to a deſign of Ann Bolleyn upon Fiſher's life; but his ſilence under ſo terrible a condemnation, ſhewed he could not charge others with it. A Poiſoner boiled in Smithfield.

AFTER the Seſſions of parliament, new applications were made to the queen to perſwade her to depart from her appeal; but ſhe remained fixed in her reſolution, and ſaid, ſhe was the king's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court at Rome ſhould declare the contrary. Upon that the king deſired her to chooſe any of his houſes in the country to live in, and reſolved never to ſee her more. The king leaves the queen.

THE clergy were now raiſing the ſubſidy, and the biſhops intended to make the inferior clergy pay their ſhare: but upon the biſhop of London's calling ſome few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them ſet a good example to the reſt, all the clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-Houſe and forced their way in, tho' the biſhop's officers did what they could by violence to keep them out. The biſhop made a ſpeech, ſetting forth the king's clemency, in acepting ſuch a ſubſidy inſtead of all their benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore deſired them to bear their ſhare in it patiently. They anſwered that they had not meddled with the cardinal's faculties, nor needed they the king's pardon, not having tranſgreſſed his laws; and therefore ſince the biſhops and abbots only were in fault, it was reaſonable that they only ſhould raiſe the ſubſidy. Upon this the biſhop's officers and they came to very high words, and it ended in blows: but the biſhop quieted them all he could with good words, and diſmiſſed them with promiſe that none ſhould be brought into queſtion for what had been then done; yet he complainad to Sir Thomas More of it, and he put many of them in priſon: but the thing was dropt.

THIS year produced a new breach between the pope and the emperor; the pope pretended to Modena and Regio, as fiefs of the papacy; but the emperor judged againſt him for the duke of Ferrara. Upon this the pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the crown of France; and Francis, to gain him more entirely, propoſed a match between his ſecond ſon Henry, and the pope's niece, the famous Catharine de Medici; which as it

wrought much on the pope's ambition, ſo it was like to prove a great ſupport to his family. Francis alſo offered to reſign all his pretenſions in Italy to his ſon Henry, which was like to draw in other princes to a league with him, who would have been much better pleaſed to ſee a king's younger ſon among them, than either the emperor or the king of France. The king's matter was now in a fairer way of being adjuſted; for the pope's conſcience being directed by his intereſts, ſince he had now broken with the emperor, it was probable he would give the king content. He ſaw the danger of loſing England. The intereſt of the clergy was much ſunk, and they were in a great meaſure ſubjected to the crown. Lutheraniſm was alſo making a great progreſs, and the pope was out of any danger from the emperor, on whom the whole power of the Turkiſh empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the practices of Francis at the Port, tho' they did not well agree with his title of moſt chriſtian king. The princes of Germany took advantage from this, to make the emperor conſent to ſome further liberty in matters of Religion; and to ſecure themſelves, they were then alſo entered into a league with Francis, for preſerving the rights of the empire, unto which King Henry was invited. All this raiſed Francis again very high; therefore he was thought the fitteſt perſon to mediate an Agreement between the king and the pope; and being himſelf a lover of pleaſure, was the more eaſily engaged to ſerve the king in the accompliſhment of his amours.

A new ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which the laity complained of the ſpiritual courts, of their way of proceeding ex officio, and not admitting perſons accuſed to their purgation. But this was not much conſidered, by reaſon of an ill underſtanding that fell in between the king and the houſe of commons. There was a cuſtom brought in of making ſuch ſettlements of eſtates, that the heir was not liable to wards, and the other advantages to which the king or the great lords had otherwiſe a right by their tenures: ſo a bill for regulating that was ſent down by the lords, but the commons rejected it, which gave the king great offence; upon that they addreſſed to the king for a diſſolution, ſince they had been now obliged to a long attendance. The king anſwered them ſharply, he ſaid, they had rejected a bill, in which he had offered a great abatement of that which he might claim by law; and therefore he would execute the law in its utmoſt ſeverity. He told them he had patience while his ſuit was in dependance, and ſo they muſt have likewiſe. For this parliament was made up of men very ill affected to the clergy, therefore the king kept it ſtill in being to terrify the court of Rome the more.

(*) The firſt-fruits, or one year's value of benefices paid to the pope.

ALL that was remarkable that paſt in this Seſſion was an act againſt (*) annats; it ſets forth that they were founded on no law; they were firſt exacted to defend Chriſtendom againſt Infidels, and were not kept up as a revenue to the papacy, and bulls were not granted till they were compounded for; for 800,000 ducats had been carried out of England to Rome on that account, ſince the beginning of the former reign. The king was bound, by his royal care of his ſubjects, to hinder ſuch oppreſſions; and therefore all that were provided with great benefices, were required not to pay firſt-fruits for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their goods, and profits of their benefices; and thoſe that were preſented to biſhopricks were appointed to be conſecrated, tho' their bulls were denied at Rome, and they were required to pay no more than 5 per cent. of the clear profits of their ſees. If the pope ſhould upon this proceed to cenſures, they required all the clergy to perform divine offices, theſe notwithſtanding. But by an extraordinary proviſo, they referred it to the king, to declare at any time between that and Eaſter next, whether this act ſhould take place or not; and the king by his letters patents declared that it ſhould take place, being provoked by the pope.

The pope writes to the king.

IN January, the pope, upon the motion of the Imperialiſts, wrote to the king, complaining, that nowithſtanding a ſuit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition ſerved on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his queen again, and to put Anne away. Upon this the king ſent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large diſpatch: in it he complained, that the pope poceeded in that matter upon the ſuggeſtion of others, who were ignorant and raſh men. The pope had carried himſelf inconſtantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became CHRIST'S vicar; and the king had now for ſeveral years expected a remedy from him in vain. The pope had granted a commiſſion, had pomiſed never to recall it, and had ſent over a decretal bull defining the cauſe. Either theſe were unjuſtly granted, or unjuſtly recalled. If he had authority to grant theſe things, where was the faith which became a friend, much more a pope, ſince he had recalled them? If he had not authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could conſider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his intereſts, than according to conſcience; and that, as the pope had often confeſſed his own ignorance in theſe matters, ſo he was not furniſhed with learned men to adviſe him, otherwiſe he would not maintain a marriage, which almoſt all the learned men and univerſities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He deſired the pope would excuſe the freedom he had uſed, to which his carriage had forced him; he would not queſtion his authority, unleſs he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its firſt and antient limits, which was much better than to let it run on headlong, and ſtill do amiſs. This high letter made the pope reſolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a ſentence, or a treaty. The king was cited to anſwer to the queen's appeal at Rome in perſon, or by proxy: ſo Sir Edward Karne was ſent thither in the new character of the king's excuſator, to excuſe the king's appearance, upon

The king is cited to Rome, but excuſes himſelf.

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ſuch grounds as could be founded on the canon law, and upon the privileges of the crown of England. Bonner, who was a forward and ambitious Man, and would ſtick at nothing that might contribute to his preferment, was ſent over with him. The Imperialiſts preſſed the pope to give ſentence, but all the wiſe cardinals, who obſerved by the proceedings of the parliament, that the nation would adhere to the king, if he ſhould be provoked to ſhake off the pope's yoke, were very apprehenſive of a breach, and ſuggeſted milder counſels to the pope; and the king's agents aſſured him, that if he gave the king content, the late act againſt annats ſhould not be put in execution.

THE cardinal of Ravenna was then conſidered as an oracle for learning in the conſiſtory, ſo the king's agents reſolved to gain him with great promiſes, but he ſaid, Princes were liberal of their promiſes, till their turn was ſerved, and then forgot them; ſo he reſolved to make ſure work; therefore he made Bennet give him a promiſe, in writing, of the biſhoprick of Ely, or the firſt biſhoprick that fell till that was vacant; and he alſo engaged, that the king ſhould procure him benefices in France to the value of 1600 ducats a year, for the ſervice he ſhould do him in his divorce. This was an argument of ſo great efficacy with the cardinal, that it abſolutely turned him from being a great enemy, to be as great a promoter of the king's cauſe, tho' very artificially. Several other cardinals were alſo prevailed with, by the ſame topicks. The king's agents put in his plea of excuſe in 28 articles, and it was ordered, that three of them ſhould be diſcuſſed at a hearing before the conſiſtory, till they ſhould be all examined: but the court ſitting once a week, the Imperialiſts, after ſome of them were heard, procured an order, that the reſt ſhould be heard in a congregation, or committee, of cardinals, before the pope, for greater diſpatch: but Karne refuſed to obey this, and ſo it was referred back to the conſiſtory: but againſt this the Imperialiſts proteſted, and refuſed to appear any more. News were brought to Rome from England, that a prieſt that had preached up the pope's power, was caſt into priſon; and that one committed by the archbiſhop for hereſy, appealed to the king as ſupream head, which was received and judged in the king's courts. The pope made great complaints upon this; but the king's agents ſaid, the beſt way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the king juſtice. At this time a bull was granted for ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, and erecting new biſhopricks out of them. Cheſter was to be one, and the cardinal of Ravenna, was ſo pleaſed with the Revenue deſigned for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till Ely ſhould happen to fall vacant: in concluſion, the pope ſeemed to favour the king's plea excuſatory; upon which the Imperialiſts made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, ſave that the king was not bound to appear in perſon: therefore the cardinals that were gained, adviſed the king to ſend over a proxy for anſwering to the merits of the cauſe, and not to loſe more time in the dilatory plea; and they having declared themſelves againſt the king in that plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit ſerve him in the other. So the vacation coming on, it was reſolved by the cardinals, neither to admit not reject the plea: but both the pope and the college wrote to the king to ſend over a proxy for determining the matter next winter. Bonner was alſo ſent to England to aſſure the king, that the pope was now ſo much in the French intereſt, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the king deſired a commiſſion to judge (in partibus) upon the place, it was ſaid, that the point to be judged, being the pope's authority to diſpenſe with the king's marriage, that could not be referred to legates, but muſt needs be judged in the conſiſtory.

A new ſeſſion of parliament.

At this time a new ſeſſion of parliament was called in England. The clergy gave in an anſwer to the complaints made of them by the commons in the former ſeſſions; but when the king gave it to the ſpeaker, he complained that one Temſe, a member of their houſe, had moved for an addreſs to the king, that the queen might be again brought back to the court. The king ſaid, it touched his conſcience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that houſe. He wiſhed his marriage were good, but many divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his ſuit out of luſt, or fooliſh appetite, being then paſt the Heats of youth; he aſſured them, his conſcience was troubled, and deſired them to report that to the houſe. Many of the lords came down to the houſe of commons, and told them, the king intended to build ſome forts on the borders of Scotland, to ſecure the nation from the inroads of the Scots; and the lords approving of this, ſent them to propoſe it to the commons, upon which a ſubſidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the plague, the parliament was prorogued, before the act was finiſhed. At that time the king ſent for the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and told him he found that the prelates were but half ſubjects; for they ſwore at their conſecration an oath to the pope, that was inconſiſtent with their allegiance and oath to the king. By their oath to the pope, they ſwore to be in no council againſt him, nor to diſcloſe his ſecrets; but to maintain the papacy, and the regalities of St. Peter againſt all men, together with the rights and authorities of the church of Rome; and that they ſhould honourably intreat the legates of the apoſtolick ſee, and obſerve all the decrees, ſentences, proviſions, and commandments of that ſee; and yearly, either in perſon, or by proxy, viſit the threſholds of the apoſtles. In their oath to their king, they renounced all clauſes in their bulls contrary to the king's royal dignity, and did ſwear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him againſt all others, and to keep his counſel; acknowledging that they held their biſhopricks only of him. By theſe it appeared, that they could not keep both theſe oaths, in caſe a breach ſhould fall out between the king and

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the pope. But the plague broke off the conſultations of parliament at that time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More ſeeing a rupture with Rome coming on ſo faſt, deſired leave to lay down his office, which upon that was conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. He was ſatisfied with the king's keeping up the laws formerly made in oppoſition to the papal incroachments, and ſo had concurred in the ſuit of the præmunire; but now the matter went further, and he not being able to keep pace with the counſels, returned to a private life, with a greatneſs of mind equal to what the antient Greeks, or Romans, had expreſſed on ſuch occaſions. Endeavours were uſed to faſten ſome imputations on him, in the diſtribution of juſtice; but nothing could be brought againſt him to blemiſh his integrity.

AN Interview followed between the kings of France and England; to which Anne Bolleyn, now marchioneſs of Pembroke, was carried; in which, after the firſt ceremonies and magnificence were over, Francis promiſed Henry to ſecond him in his ſuit: he had encouraged him to proceed to a ſecond marriage, without more ado; and aſſured him he would ſtand by him in it; and alſo told him he intended to reſtrain the payment of annats to Rome; and would ask of the pope a redreſs of that and other grievances; and if it was denied, he would ſeek other remedies in a provincial council. An interview was propoſed between the pope and him, to which he deſired the King to go with him; and the king was not unwilling to it, if he could have aſſurance that his buſineſs would be finally determined. The pope offered to the king, to ſend a legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the proceſs, reſerving only the giving ſentence to himſelf; and propoſed to him, and all princes, a general truce, that ſo he might call a general council. The king anſwered, that ſuch was the preſent ſtate of the affairs of Europe, that it was not ſeaſonable to call a general council; that it was contrary to his prerogative to ſend a proxy to appear at Rome; that by the decrees of general councils, all clauſes ought to be judged on the place, and by a provincial council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where elſe: and that by his coronation-oath, he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his ſubjects; and not to appear before any foreign court: ſo Sir Thomas Elliot was ſent over with inſtructions, to move, that the cauſe might be judged in England: yet if the pope had real intentions of giving the king full ſatisfaction, he was not to inſiſt on that: and to make the cardinal of Ravenna ſure, he ſent him the offer of the biſhoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, then vacant. Soon after this the king married Anne of Bolleyn; Rowland Lee, (afterwards biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield) did officiate, none being preſent but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, her mother, and her brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null of itſelf, the king might proceed to another; and perhaps they hoped, that as the pope had formerly propoſed this method, ſo he would now approve of it. But tho' the pope had joined himſelf to France, yet he was ſtill ſo much in fear of the emperor, that he reſolved not to provoke him; and ſo was not wrought on by any of the expedients which Bennet propoſed, which were either to judge the caſe in England, according to the council of Nice; or to refer it to the arbitration of ſome, to be named by the king, and the king of France, and the pope for all theſe, he ſaid, tended to the dimunition of the papal power. A new citation was iſſued out, for the king, to anſwer to the queen's complaints, but the king's agents proteſted, that he was a ſovereign prince; that England was a free church, over which the pope had no juſt authority; and that the king could expect no juſtice at Rome, where the emperor's power was ſo great.

AT this time the parliament met again, and paſt an act, condeming all appeals to Rome. In it they ſet forth, "That the "crown was imperial, and that the nation "was a compleat body, having full power "to do juſtice in all caſes, both ſpiritual and "temporal: And that as former kings had "maintained the liberties of the kingdom "againſt the uſurpation of the ſee of Rome; "ſo they found the great inconveniencies of "allowing appeals in matrimonial cauſes: "that they put them to great charges, and "occaſioned great delays; therefore they "enacted, That thereafter thoſe ſhould be "all judged within the kingdom, and no "regard ſhould be had to any appeals to "Rome, or cenſures from it: but ſentences "given in England were to have their full "effect; and all that executed any cenſures "from Rome, were to incur the pains of "præmunire. Appeals were to be from the "archdeacon to the biſhop; and from him "to the archbiſhop: and in cauſes that con-"cerned the king, the appeal was to be to "the upper houſe of convocation.

THERE was now a new archbiſhop of Canterbury; Warham died the former year: he was a great patron of learning, a good canoniſt, and wiſe ſtateſman; but was a cruel perſecutor of hereticks, and inclined to believe fanatical ſtories. Cranmer was then in Germany, diſputing in the king's cauſe with ſome of the emperor's divines. The king reſolved to advance him to that dignity, and ſent him word of it, that ſo he might haſten over; but a promotion ſo far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive ſenſe of ſo great a charge, and inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was afraid of it; and he both returned very ſlowly to England, and uſed all his endeavours to be excuſed from that advancement: but this declining of preferment, being a thing of which the clergy of that age were ſo little guilty, diſcovered, that he had maxims very far different from moſt church-men. Bulls were ſent for to Rome, in order to his conſecration, which the pope granted, tho' it could not be very grateful to him, to ſend them to one who had ſo publickly diſputed againſt his power of diſ-

Cranmer made archbiſhop of Canterbury

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penſing; all the compoſition that was payed for them, was but nine hundred ducats, which was perhaps according to the regulation, made in the act againſt annats. There were eleven ſeveral bulls ſent over, one, confirming the king's nomination; a ſecond, requiring him to accept it; a third, abſolving him from cenſures; a fourth, to the ſuffragan biſhops; a fifth, to the dean and chapter; a ſixth, to the clergy; a ſeventh, to the laity; an eighth, to the tenants of the ſee, requiring all theſe to receive him to be their archbiſhop; a ninth, requiring ſome biſhops to conſecrate him; the tenth gave him the pall; and by the eleventh, the archbiſhop of York, was required to put it on him. The putting all this in ſo many different bulls, was a good contrivance, for raiſing the rents of the apoſtolick chamber. On the 30th of March, Cranmer was conſecrated by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digeſtion; ſo he made a proteſtation before he took it, that he conceived himſelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his duty to GOD, to his king, or country; and he repeated this when he took it; ſo that if this ſeemed too artificial for a Man of his Sincerity, yet he acted in it fairly, and above board.

THE convocation had then two queſtions before them; the firſt was, concerning the lawfulneſs of the king's marriage, and the validity of the pope's diſpenſation; the other was, of matter of fact, whether P. Aurthur had conſummated the marriage or not? For the firſt, the judgment of nineteen univerſities were read; and after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the lower houſe, fourteen were againſt the marriage, and ſeven for it, and two voted dubiouſly. In the upper houſe, Stockeſly, biſhop of London, and Fiſher, maintained the debate long; the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative: at laſt it was carried, nemine contradicente, (the few that were of the other ſide it ſeems withdrawing) againſt the marriage, two hundred and ſixteen being preſent. For the other, that concerned matter of fact, it was referred to the canoniſts; and they all, except five or ſix, reported, That the preſumptions were violent; and theſe in a matter not capable of plain proof, were always received in law. The ſmall number in the lower, and the far greater number in the upper houſe of convocation, make it probable, that then, not only biſhops, but all abbots, priors, deans, and archdeacons, ſat in the upper houſe; for they were all called prelates, and had their writs to ſit in a general council, as appears by the records of the fourth council, in the Lateran, and the council at Vienna, and ſo then might well ſit in the upper houſe; and perhaps the two houſes of convoation were taken from the pattern of the two houſes of parliament, and ſo none might ſit in the lower houſe, but ſuch as were choſen to repreſent the inferior clergy. The books of convocation are now loſt, having periſhed in the fire of London; but the author of Antiquitates Britannicæ, who lived in that time, is of that credit, that we may well depend upon his teſtimony.

THE convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce judicially, was now only wanting. The new queen began to have a big belly, which was a great evidence of her living chaſtly before that with the king. On Eaſter Eve ſhe was declared queen of England. And ſoon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, (who was made upon Wolſey's death biſhop of Wincheſter) and the biſhops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canoniſts, went to Dunſtable; queen Katharine living then near it, at Ampthil. The king and queen were cited; he appeared by proxy, but the queen refuſed to take any notice of the court: ſo after three citations, ſhe was declared contumax, and all the merits of the cauſe formerly mentioned, were examined. At laſt, on the 23d of May, ſentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the archbiſhop's titles in the beginning of the judgment, he is called legate of the apoſtolick ſee, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in law; ſome days after this, he gave another judgment, confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne, and on the firſt of June, ſhe was crowned queen: this was variouſly cenſured. It was ſaid, that in the intervals of a general council, the asking the opinions of ſo many univerſities, and learned men, was only the ſure way to find out the tradition of the church: and a provincial council had ſufficient authority to judge in this caſe: yet many thought, the ſentence diſſolving the firſt marriage, ſhould have preceded the ſecond; and it being contracted, before the firſt was legally anulled, there was great colour given to queſtion the validity of it. But it was anſwered, that ſince the firſt was judged null of it ſelf, there was no need of a ſentence declaratory, but only for form: yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no ſentence paſt at all, or it ſhould have been before the ſecond marriage. Some objected, that Cranmer, having appeared ſo much againſt the marriage, was no competent judge; but it was ſaid, that as popes are not bound by the opinions they held when they were private men; ſo he, having changed his character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give ſentence, as judges decide cauſes, in which they formerly gave counſel: and indeed, the convocation had judged the cauſe; he only gave ſentence in form of law. The world wondered at the pope's ſtiffneſs; but he often confeſſed, he underſtood not thoſe matters, only he was afraid of provoking the emperor, or of giving the Lutherans advantage to ſay, that one pope condemned that, with which another had diſpenſed. All people admired queen Ann's conduct, who in a courſe of ſo many years managed a king's ſpirit, that was ſo violent, in ſuch a manner, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour; and her being ſo ſoon with child, gave hopes

of a numerous iſſue: they that loved the Reformation, look'd for better days under her protection; but many prieſts, and friars, both in ſermons and diſcourſes, condemned the king's proceedings. The king ſent ambaſſadors to all courts, to juſtify what he had done: he ſent alſo ſome to queen Katharine, to charge her to aſſume no other title, but that of princeſs Dowager; and to give her hopes of putting her daughter next in the ſucceſſion to the crown, after his iſſue by the preſent queen, if ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to his will, but ſhe would not yield: ſhe ſaid, ſhe would not take that infamy on herſelf; and ſo reſolved, that none ſhould ſerve about her, that did not treat her as queen. All her ſervants adhered ſo to her intereſt, that no threatnings nor promiſes could work on them: And the Stir which the king kept in this matter, was thought below his greatneſs: and ſeemed to be ſet on by a woman's reſentments; for ſince ſhe was deprived of the majeſty of a crown, the pageantry of a title was not worth the noiſe that was made about it. The emperor ſeemed big with reſentments. The French king was colder than the king expected; yet he promiſed to intercede with the pope, and the cardinals, on this account: but he was now ſo entirely gained by the pope, that he reſolved not to involve himſef in the king's quarrel, as a party: and he alſo gave over the deſigns he once had of ſetting up a patriarch in France; for the pope granted him ſo great a power over his own clergy, that he could not deſire more. With this the emperor was not a little pleaſed; for this was like to ſeparate thoſe two kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo hurtful to him.

AT Rome, the cardinals of the imperial faction, complained much of the attempt made on the pope's power; ſince a ſentence was given in England, in a proceſs depending at Rome; ſo they preſs'd the pope to proceed to cenſures. But inſtead of putting the matter paſt reconciling, there was only ſentence given, annulling all that the archbiſhop of Canterbury had done; and the king was required under the pain of excommunication, to put things again in the ſtate in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at Dunkirk. The king ſent a great embaſſy to Francis, who was then ſetting out to Marſeilles, where the pope was to meet him: the errand was to diſſwade him from the journey, unleſs the pope would promiſe to give the king ſatisfaction: the king of France ſaid, he was engaged in honour to go on; but aſſured them, he would mind the king's concerns, with as much zeal as if they were his own.

Queen Elizabeth born September the 7th, 1533.

IN September the queen brought forth a daughter, the renowned queen Elizabeth; and the king having before declared lady Mary princeſs of Wales, did now the ſame for her: tho' ſince a ſon might put her from it, ſhe could not be heir apparent, but only heir preſumptive to the crown. At Marſeilles, the marriage was made up between the duke of Orleans. and the pope's niece; to whom the pope gave, beſides 100,000 crowns, many principalities, which he pretended were either fiefs of the papacy, or belonged to him in the rights of the houſe of Medici. The pope's hiſtorian with ſome triumph boaſted, that the marriage was conſummated that very night; tho' it was thought not credible, that prince Arthur, that was nine months older than the now duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry the ſecond, did conſummate his.

THERE was a ſecret agreement made between the pope and Francis, that if king Henry would refer his cauſe to the conſiſtory, excepting only to the cardinals of the imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the ſee of Rome, the ſentence ſhould be given in his favour; but this was to be kept ſecret: ſo Bonner not being truſted with it, and ſent thither with an appeal from the pope to the next general council, made it with great boldneſs, and threatened the pope upon it, with ſo much vehemence, that the pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive: and he apprehending ſome danger, fled away privately.

ABOUT the middle of November the interview ended, and upon the French king's return, the biſhop of Paris was ſent over to the king, which (as may be reaſonably collected) followed upon ſome agreement made at Marſeilles, and he prevailed with the king to ſubmit the whole matter to the pope and the conſiſtory, on ſuch terms that the imperialiſts ſhould not be allowed a voice, becauſe they were parties, being in the emperor's power. None that has obſerved the genius of this king, can think that after he had proceeded ſo far, he would have made this ſubmiſſion without very good aſſurances; and if their had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the biſhop of Paris would not in the middle of winter have undertaken a journey from England to Rome. But the king it ſeems, would not abaſe himſelf ſo far as to ſend any ſubmiſſion in writing 'till he had fuller aſſurances. The lord Herbert has publiſhed a letter, (which he tranſcribed from the original, written by the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Durham, to the king, the 11th of May, 1534) giving an account of a conference they had with queen Katharine; in which, among other motives they uſed, this was one, to perſwade her to comply with what the king had done: that the pope had ſaid at Marſeilles, that if the king would ſend a proxy to Rome, he would give the cauſe for him againſt the queen, becauſe he knew his cauſe was good and juſt. Which is a great preſumption, that the pope did really give ſome engagements to the French king about the king's buſineſs.

WHEN the biſhop of Paris came to Rome, the motion was liked, and it was aſſured, that if the king ſent a promiſe of that kind under his hand with an order to his proxies to appear in court, there ſhould be judges ſent to Cambray to form the proceſs, and then the matter ſhould be determined for him at Rome: this was ſent to the king, with the notice of the day that was prefixed for the

return of his anſwer, and with other motives which muſt have been very great, ſince they prevailed ſo much. For in anſwer there was a courier diſpatch'd from the king, with a formal promiſe under his hand. And now the matter ſeemed at a point, the French intereſt was great in the court of Rome: four new cardinals had been made at Marſeilles, and there were ſix of that faction before, which with the pope's creatures, and the indifferent or venal voices, ballanced the imperial faction, ſo that a wound that was looked on as fatal, was now almoſt healed. But God in his wiſe and unſearchable providence had deſigned to draw other great ends out of this rupture, and therefore ſuffer'd them that were the moſt concerned to hinder it, to be the chief inſtruments of driving it on. For the cardinals of the imperial faction were now very active, they liked not the precedent of excluding the cardinals of the nations concerned, out of any buſineſs. But above all things they were to hinder a conjunction between the pope and the king of England; for the pope being then allied to France, there was nothing the emperor feared more than the cloſing of the breach with England, which would make the union againſt him ſo much the ſtronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the courier from England, was elapſed, they all preſſed the pope to proceed to a ſentence definitive, and to cenſures. Beliay the biſhop of Paris repreſented the injuſtice of proceeding with ſo much precipitation, ſince where there were ſeas to croſs, in ſuch a ſeaſon, many accidents might occaſion the delay of the expreſs. The king of England had follow'd this ſuit ſix years, and had patience ſo long; therefore he deſired the delay of ſix days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the imperialiſts repreſented, that thoſe were only delays to gain time; and that the king of England was ſtill proceeding in his contempt of the apoſtolick ſee, and of the cardinals, and publiſhing books and libels againſt them. This ſo wrought on the angry pope, that without conſulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the buſineſs into the conſiſtory, where the plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a ſentence. And tho' the proceſs had been carried on all that winter in their uſual forms, yet it was not ſo ripe, but by the rules of the conſiſtory, there ought to have been three ſeſſions before ſentence was given. But they concluded all in one day, and ſo on the 23d of March, the marriage between the king and queen Katharine was declared good, and the king required to take her as his wife; otherwiſe cenſures were to be denounced againſt him.

Two days after that, the courier arrived from Eugland, with the king's ſubmiſſion under his hand in due form, and earneſt letters from the French king to have it accepted, that ſo the buſineſs might be compoſed. When this was known at Rome, all the indifferent and wiſe cardinals (among whom was Farneſe, that was afterwards pope Paul the IIId) came to the pope, and deſir'd that it might be again conſider'd before it went further. So it was brought again into the conſiſtory. But the ſecret reaſon of the imperialiſts oppoſing it, was now more preſſing, ſince there was ſuch an appearance of a ſettlement, if the former ſentence were once recalled. Therefore they ſo managed the matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the pope and the conſiſtory, and they ordered the emperor to execute the ſentence.

The king reſolves to aboliſh the pope's power in England.

THE king was now in ſo good hope of his buſineſs, that he ſent Sir Edward Karne to Rome to proſecute his ſuit; who, on his way thither, met the biſhop of Paris, coming back with this melancholly account of his unproſperous negotiation. When the king heard it, and underſtood that he was uſed with ſo much ſcorn and contempt at Rome, being alſo the more vexed, becauſe he had come to ſuch a ſubmiſſion, he reſolved then to break totally from Rome. And in this, he was before-hand with that Court. For judging it the beſt way to procure a peace, to manage the war vigorouſly, he had held a ſeſſion of parliament from the 15th of January, till the 30th of March, in which he had procur'd a great change of the whole conſtitution of the government of the church. But previous to an account of that, it will be neceſſary to open all the arguments and reaſons upon which they proceeded in this matter.

THE pope's power had been then for four years together much examined and diſputed in England; in which they went by theſe ſteps, one leading to another. They firſt controverted his power of diſpenſing with the law of God. From that they went to examine what juriſdiction he had in England; upon which followed the convicting the clergy of a premunire with their ſubmiſſion to the king: and that led them to controvert the pope's right to annats, and other exactions, which they alſo condemned. The condemning all appeals to Rome followed that naturally. And now ſo many branches of that power were cut off, the root was next ſtruck at, and the foundation of the papal authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many publick debates about it; and both in the parliament and convocation the thing was long diſputed, and all that could be alledged on both ſides was conſidered. The reader will be beſt able to judge of their reaſons, (and thereby of the ripeneſs of their judgments, when they enacted the laws that paſſed in this parliament,) when he ſees a full account of them ſet down, not drawn from the writings and apologies that have been publiſh'd ſince, but from theſe that came out about that time: For then were written the inſtitution for the neceſſary erudition of a chriſtian-man, concluded in the convocation, and publiſh'd by authority; and another book, De differentia regiæ, &c. eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis. The former of theſe was called the biſhops, and the latter the king's book. Gardiner alſo wrote a book, De vera obedientia, to which Bonner prefixed a preface upon the ſame ſubject. Stokeſly, biſhop of London, and Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, wrote a long letter in defence of the king's proceedings in this matter to Reginald (ſoon after, cardinal) Pool;

Pool: from theſe writings, and the ſermons preached by ſome biſhops at this time, with other authentick pieces, are extracted the ſubſtance of the arguments upon which they grounded their laws, which are thus divided into two heads. The one of the reaſons for rejecting the pope's pretended power. The other for ſetting up the king's ſupremacy, with the explanations and limitations of it.

" Firſt, of the pope's power, they declared that they found for it in the ſcripture. " All the apoſtles were made equal by " CHRIST, when he committed the church " to their care in common. And he did " often declare, there was no ſuperiority of " one above another. St. Paul claimed an " equality with the chief apoſtles, both Peter, James, and John, and when he " thought St. Peter blame-worthy, he with-" ſtood him to his face. But whatſoever " preheminence St. Peter might have, that " was only perſonal, and there was no rea-" ſon to affix it to his chair at Rome, more " than at Antioch. But if any ſee be to be " preferred before another, it ſhould be Je-" ruſalem, where CHRIST died, and of " which the faith was propagated over all " nations, CHRIST commanding his diſci-" ples to begin their preaching in it; ſo " that it was truly the mother church, and " is ſo called by St. Paul, whereas in the " ſcripture, Rome is called Babylon, ac-" cording to Tertullian and St. Jerome.

" FOR the places brought from ſcripture " in favour of the papacy, they judged that " they did not prove any thing for it, That " [Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I " will build my church] if it prove any " thing in this matter, would prove too " much; even that the church was founded " on St. Peter as he was a private perſon, " and ſo on the popes in their perſonal " capacity. But St. Ambroſe, St. Je-" rome, and St. Auſtin, think, that by the " rock, the confeſſion he had made was on-" ly to be meant. Others of the fathers " thought by the rock, CHRIST himſelf " was meant, who is the only true founda-" tion of the church; though in another " ſenſe all the apoſtles are alſo called foun-" dations by St. Paul. That, Tell the " church, is thought by Gerſon and Æneas " Silvius, (afterwards pope Pius the IId) " rather to make againſt the pope and for a " general council. And the fathers have " generally follow'd St. Chryſoſtome and St. " Auſtin, who thought that the giving of " the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and " the charge, Feed my ſheep, were addreſ-" to St. Peter, in behalf of all the reſt of " the apoſtles. And that, I have prayed " for thee, that thy faithful net, was only " perſonal, and related to his fall, which " was then imminent. It is alſo clear by " St. Paul, that every apoſtle had his pecu-" liar province, beyond which he was not to " ſtretch himſelf; and St. Peter's province " was the circumciſion, and his the uncir-" cumciſion, in which he declared his equa-" lity with him.

" THIS was alſo clear from the conſtant " tradition of the church. St. Cyprian " was againſt appeals to Rome, and would " not ſubmit to P. Stephen's definition in " the point of re-baptizing of hereticks; and " expreſly ſays, That all the apoſtles were " equal in power, and that all the biſhops " were alſo equal, ſince the whole office " and epiſcopate was one intire thing, of " which every biſhop had a compleat and " equal ſhare. And though ſome places are " brought out of him concerning the unity " of the Roman church, and of other churches " with it; yet thoſe places have no relation " to any authority that the Roman church " had over other churches, but were occa-" ſioned by a ſchiſm that Novation had " made there at Rome, being elected in op-" poſition to the biſhop that was rightly " choſen: and of that unity only St. Cy-" prian writes in thoſe places. But from " all his epiſtles to the biſhops of Rome, it " is viſible he look'd on himſelf as their " equal, ſince he calls them equal, collegue, " and fellow-biſhop; and whatſoever is " ſaid by any antient writer of St. Peter's " chair, is to be underſtood of the pure " goſpel, which he delivered, as St. Au-" ſtin obſerves; that by Moſes's chair is " to be underſtood the delivering Moſes's " law. But though St. Peter ſate there, the " ſucceeding popes have no more right to " pretend to ſuch authority, than the kings " of Spain to claim the Roman empire, be-" cauſe he that is now their king, is empe-" ror. When Conſtantine turned chriſtian, " the dignity of the chief city of the empire " made Rome to be accounted the firſt ſee, " but by the general council of Nice, it " was declared, that the patriarchs of Alex-" andria and Antioch had the ſame autho-" rity over the countries round about them, " that he of Rome had over thoſe that lay " about the city. It is true, at that time " the Arian hereſy, having ſpread generally " over the eaſtern churches, from which the " weſtern were free, the oppreſſed catholick " biſhops of the eaſt made appeals to Rome, " and extolled that ſee by a natural maxim " in all men, who magnify that from which " they have protection. But the ſecond " general council took care that that ſhould " not grow a precedent, for they decreed " that every province ſhould be govern'd by " its own ſynod, and that biſhops, when " they were accuſed, muſt firſt be judged " by the biſhops of their own province, and " from them they might appeal to the bi-" ſhops of the dioceſe, but no higher appeal " was allowed: and by that council it ap-" pears, what was the foundation of the " greatneſs of the biſhop of Rome; for when " Conſtantinople was made the ſeat of the " Empire and New Rome, it had the ſame " privileges that Old Rome had, and was " ſet next to it in order and dignity. In a " council at Milevi, in which St. Auſtin " ſate, they appointed that every clerk, " that ſhould appeal to any biſhop beyond " the ſea, ſhould be excommunicated. And " when Fauſtianus was ſent by the pope to " the African churches, to claim the right " of receiving appeals, and pretended a ca-" non of the council of Nice for it, the

" preten-

the pretenſion was rejected by the African fathers, who acknowledged no ſuch right, and had never heard of that canon. Upon which they ſent to the eaſtern churches, and ſearch was every where made for the copies of the canons of that council; but it was found that it was forgery. From whence two things were obſervable: The one, that the church in that age had no tradition of any divine inſtitution for the authority of that ſee, ſince as the popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any ſuch thing; ſo the African biſhops, by their rejecting that power, ſhew, that they knew nothing of any divine warrant, all the conteſt being only about a canon of the church. It alſo appeared, how early the church of Rome aſpired to power, and did not ſtick at making uſe of forged writings to ſupport it. But pope Agatho more modeſtly writing to the emperor in his own name, and in the name of all the ſynods that were ſubject to the ſee, calls them a few biſhops in the northern and weſtern parts. When afterwards the patriarch of Conſtantinople was declared by the emperor Mauritius, the univerſal biſhop, Gregory the great did exclaim againſt the ambition of the title, as being equal to the pride of Lucifer, and declared, That he who aſſumed it was the forerunner of antichriſt; ſaying, That none of his predeceſſors had ever claimed ſuch a power. And this was the more obſervable, ſince the Engliſh were converted by thoſe whom he ſent over; ſo that this was the doctrine of that ſee, when this church received the faith from it.

'BUT it did not continue long within thoſe limits; for Boniface the IIId aſſumed that title, upon the grant of Phocas. And as that Boniface got the ſpiritual ſword put in his hand, ſo the eighth of that name pretended alſo to the temporal ſword; but they owe thoſe powers to the induſtry of thoſe popes, and not to any donation of CHRIST'S. The popes, when they are conſecrated, promiſe to obey the canons of the eight firſt general councils; which if they obſerve, they will receive no appeals, nor pretend to any higher juriſdiction than theſe give to them, and the other patriarchs equally.

'AS for the decrees of latter councils, they are of leſs authority. For thoſe councils conſiſted of monks and friars in great part; whoſe exemptions, obtained from Rome, obliged them to ſupport the authority of that court; and thoſe who ſat in them knew little of the ſcriptures, fathers, or the tradition of the church, being only converſant in the diſputes and learning of the ſchools. And for the Florentine council, the eaſtern churches, who ſent the Greek biſhops that ſat there, never received their determination, neither then, nor at any time ſince.

'MANY places were alſo brought out of the fathers to ſhew, that they did not look on the biſhops of Rome as ſuperior to other biſhops; and that they underſtood not thoſe places of ſcripture, which were afterwards brought for the pope's ſupremacy, in that ſenſe: ſo that if tradition be the beſt expounder of ſcripture, thoſe latter gloſſes muſt give place to the more antient. But the paſſage of St. Jerome, in which he equals the biſhops of Eugubium and Conſtantinople to the biſhop of Rome, was much made uſe of, ſince he was a presbyter of Rome, and ſo likely to underſtand the dignity of his own church beſt. There were many things brought from the conteſts that other ſees had with Rome, to ſhew, that all the privileges of that and other ſees, were only founded on the practiſe and canons of the church, but not upon any divine warrant. Conſtantinople pretended to equal privileges. Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended to a patriarchal dignity and exemption. Some archbiſhops of Canterbury contended, that popes could do nothing againſt the laws of the church; ſo Laurence and Dunſtan. Robert Groſteſt, biſhop of Lincoln, aſſerted the ſame, and many popes confeſſed it. And to this day no conſtitution of the popes is binding in any church, except it be received by it; and in the daily practice of the canon-law, the cuſtoms of churches are pleaded againſt papal conſtitutions; which ſhews their authority cannot be from God, otherwiſe all muſt ſubmit to their laws. And from the latter conteſts up and down Europe, about giving inveſtitures, receiving appeals, admitting of legates, and papal conſtitutions, it was apparent, that the papal authority was a tyranny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent arts; but was never otherwiſe received in the church, than as a conqueſt to which they were conſtrained to yield. And this was more fully made out in England, from what paſſed in William the conqueror, and Henry the IId's time, and by the ſtatutes of proviſors in many kings reigns, which were ſtill renewed, till within an hundred years of the preſent time.

UPON theſe grounds they concluded, that the pope's power in England had no foundation, neither in the law of GOD, nor in the laws of the church, or of the land.

'AS for the king's power over ſpiritual perſons, and in ſpiritual cauſes, they proved it from the ſcriptures. In the Old Teſtament they found the kings of Iſrael intermeddled in all matters eccleſiaſtical. Samuel, tho' he had been judge, yet acknowledged Saul's authority: ſo alſo did Abimelech the high-prieſt, and appeared before him when cited to anſwer upon an accuſation. And Samuel (1 Sam xv. 18.) ſays, he was made the head of all the tribes. Aaron, in that, was an example to all the following high-prieſts who ſubmitted to Moſes. David made many laws about ſacred things, ſuch as the order of the courſes of the prieſts and their worſhip; and when he was dying, he declared to Solomon how far his authority extended. He told him, 1 Chron. xxviii. 21. That the courſes of the prieſts and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment: purſuant to which, Solomon, 2 Chron. viii.

'14, 15. did appoint them their charges in 'the ſervice of GOD, and both the prieſts 'and Levites departed not from his com-'mandment in any matter: and though he 'had turned out Abiathar from the high-'prieſthood, yet they made no oppoſition. 'Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah and Joſias, made 'likewiſe laws about eccleſiaſtical matters.

'IN the New Teſtament, CHRIST him-'ſelf was obedient, he payed taxes, he de-'clared that he pretended to no earthly 'kingdom; he charged the people to render 'to Cæſar the things that were Cæſar's, and 'his diſciples not to affect temporal domi-'nion, as the lords of the nations did. And 'though the magiſtrates were then heathens, 'yet the apoſtles wrote to the churches to 'obey magiſtrates, to ſubmit to them to pay 'taxes; they call the king ſupream, and ſay 'he is GOD's miniſter to encourage them 'that do well, and to puniſh the evil doers, 'which is ſaid of all perſons without ex-'ception, and every ſoul is charged to be 'ſubject to the higher power.

'MANY paſſages were cited out of the 'writings of the fathers, to ſhew, that they 'thought churchmen were included in theſe 'places as well as other perſons, ſo that the 'tradition of the church was for the king's 'ſupremacy: and by one place of ſcripture 'the king is called ſupream, by another he 'is called head, and by a third, every ſoul 'muſt be ſubject to him, which, laid toge-'ther, make up this concluſion, That the 'king is the ſupream head over all perſons. 'In the primitive church, the biſhops in 'their councils made rules for ordering their 'dioceſes, which they only called canons or 'rules; nor had they any compulſive autho-'rity, but what was derived from the civil 'ſanctions.

'AFTER the emperors were Chriſtians, they 'made many laws about ſacred things, as 'may be ſeen in the codes; and when Juſti-'nian digeſted the Roman law, he added 'many novel conſtitutions about eccleſiaſti-'cal perſons and cauſes. The emperors called 'general councils, preſided in them, and 'confirmed them. And many letters were 'cited of popes to emperors, to call coun-'cils, and of the councils to them to con-'firm their decrees. The election of the 'popes themſelves was ſometimes made by 'the emperors, and ſometimes confirmed by 'them. Pope Hadrian in a ſynod decreed, 'That the emperor ſhould chooſe the pope: 'and it was a late and unheard of thing, 'before the days of Gregory the VIIth, for 'popes to pretend to depoſe princes, and 'give away their dominions. This they 'compared to the pride of antichriſt and 'Lucifer.

'THEY alſo argued from reaſon, that 'there muſt be one ſupream; and that the 'king being ſupream over all his ſubjects, 'clergymen muſt be included, for they are 'ſtill ſubjects. Nor can their being in or-'ders change that former relation, founded 'upon the law of nature and nations, no 'more than wives or ſervants, by becoming 'Chriſtians, were, according to the doctrine 'of the apoſtles, diſcharged from the duties 'of their former relations.

'FOR the great objection from thoſe 'offices that are peculiar to their functions, 'it was anſwered, That thoſe, notwithſtand-'ing the king might well be ſupream head; 'for in the natural body, there were many 'vital motions that proceeded not from the 'head, but from the heart, and the other in-'ward parts and veſſels; and yet the head 'was ſtill the chief ſeat and root of life: ſo 'though there be peculiar functions appro-'priated to churchmen, yet the king is ſtill 'head, having authority over them, and a 'power to direct and decree them in theſe.

'FROM that they proceeded to ſhew, that 'in England, the kings have always aſſumed 'a ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters. They 'began with the moſt antient writing that 'relates to the chriſtian religion in England 'then extant (pope Eleutherius's letter to king 'Lucius) in which he is twice called by him 'GOD's vicar in his kingdom, and he wrote 'in it, that it belonged to his office, to 'bring his ſubjects to the holy church, and 'to maintain, protect, and govern them in 'it. Many laws were cited, which Canu-'tus, Ethelred, Edgar, Edmond, Athelſtan 'and Ina had enacted concerning churchmen; 'many more laws ſince the conqueſt were 'alſo made, both againſt appeals to Rome, 'and biſhops going out of the kingdom with-'out the king's leave.

'THE whole buſineſs of the articles of 'Clarendon, and the conteſts that follow'd 'between king Henry the IId, and Thomas 'Becket, were alſo opened. And tho' a 'biſhop's paſtoral care be of divine inſtitu-'tion, yet as the kings of England had divi-'ded biſhopricks as they pleaſed, ſo they 'alſo converted benefices from the inſtitu-'tion of the founders, and gave them to 'cloiſters and monaſteries as king Edgar did; 'all which was done by the conſent of their 'clergy and nobility, without dependance 'on Rome: they had alſo granted theſe 'houſes exemption from epiſcopal juriſdic-'tion; ſo Ina exempted Glaſtenbury, and 'Offa St. Albans, from their biſhop's viſita-'tion: and this continued even till the 'days of William the Conqueror; for he, to 'perpetuate the memory of the victory he 'obtained over Harald, and to endear him-'ſelf to the clergy, founded an abbey in the 'field where the battle was fought, and call-'ed it battle-abbey, and in the charter he 'granted them, theſe words are to be found: 'It ſhall be alſo free and quiet for ever, 'from all ſubjection to biſhops, or the do-'minion of any other perſons as CHRIST's 'church in Canterbury is. Many other 'things were brought out of king Alfred's 'laws, and a ſpeech of king Edgar's, with 'ſeveral letters written to the popes from 'the kings, the parliaments, and the clergy 'of England, to ſhew, that their kings did 'always make laws about ſacred matters, 'and that their power reach'd to that, and 'to the perſons of Churchmen, as well as to 'their other ſubjects.

BUT at the ſame time that they pleaded ſo much for the king's ſupremacy, and power of making laws for reſtraining and coercing his ſubjects, it appeared that they were

were far from veſting him with ſuch an abſolute power, as the popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the king's power. To them ſpecially and principally it pertaineth to defend the faith of CHRIST and his religion, to conſerve and maintain the true doctrine of CHRIST, and all ſuch as be true preachers and ſetters forth thereof; and to aboliſh abuſes, hereſies, and idolatries, and to puniſh with corporal pains, ſuch as of malice be the occaſion of the ſame, And finally, to overſee and cauſe that the ſaid biſhops and prieſts do execute their paſtoral office truly and faithfully, and eſpecially in theſe points, which by CHRIST and his apoſtles were given and committed to them; and in caſe they ſhall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the ſame, to cauſe them to redouble and ſupply their lack: and if they obſtinately withſtand their prince's kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in ſuch caſe to put others in their rooms and places. And GOD hath alſo commanded the ſaid biſhops and prieſts to obey with all humbleneſs and reverence, both kings, and princes, and governors, and all their laws; not being contrary to the laws of GOD, whatſoever they be: and that not only propter iram, but alſo propter conſcientiam, that is to ſay, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for diſcharge of conſcience.

THUS it appears, that they both limited obedience to the king's laws, with the due caution of their not being contrary to the law of GOD, and acknowledged the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in the diſcharge of the paſtoral office, committed to the paſtors of the church by CHRIST and his apoſtles: and the ſupremacy then pretended to was no ſuch extravagant power as ſome imagine.

'UPON the whole matter it was concluded, that the pope's power in England had 'no good foundation, and had been managed with as much tyranny, as it had begun 'with uſurpation; the exactions of their 'courts were every where heavy, but in no 'place ſo intolerable as in England; and 'tho' many complaints were made of them 'in theſe laſt three hundred years, yet they 'got no eaſe, and all the laws about proviſors were ſtill defeated and made ineffectual; therefore they ſaw it was impoſſible 'to moderate their proceedings; ſo that 'there was no other remedy, but to extirpate their pretended authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the pope only biſhop 'of Rome, with the juriſdiction about it, 'defined by the antient canons: and for the 'king to re-aſſume his own authority, and 'the prerogatives of his crown, from which 'the kings of England had never formally 'departed, though they had for theſe laſt 'hundred years connived at an invaſion and 'uſurpation upon them, which was no longer to be endured.

THESE were the grounds of caſting off the pope's power, that had been for two or three years ſtudied, and enquired into by all the learned men in England, and had been debated both in convocation and parliament, and, except Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, not any biſhop appeared for the pope's power; and as for the abbots and priors, as they were generally very ignorant, ſo what the cardinal had done in ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, and what they now heard, that the court had an eye on their lands, made them to be as compliant as could be. But Fiſher was a man of great reputation, and very antient, ſo that much pains was taken to ſatisfy him. A week before the parliament ſat down, the archbiſhop of Canterbury propoſed to him, that he and any five doctors, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe, and the biſhop of London, and five doctors with him, might confer about it, and examine the authorities of both ſides, that ſo there might be an agreement among them, by which the ſcandal might be removed, which otherwiſe would be taken from their janglings and conteſts among themſelves. Fiſher accepted of this, and Stokeſley wrote to him on the 8th of January, That he was ready whenever the other pleaſed, and deſired him to name time and place, and if they would not agree the matter among themſelves, he moved to refer it to two learned men whom they ſhould chooſe, in whoſe determination they would both acquieſce. How far this overture went, is not known, but perhaps Fiſher's ſickneſs hinder'd the progreſs of it. On the 15th of January the parliament ſat down: by the journals it appears, that no other biſhops were preſent but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Landaff and Carliſle. There were alſo twelve abbots preſent, but upon what pretences the reſt excuſed their attendance, is uncertain; perhaps ſome made a difference between ſubmitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the ſeſſion a biſhop preached every Sunday at St. Paul's croſs, and declared to the people, That the pope had no authority at all in England. In the two former ſeſſions the biſhops had preached, that the general council was above the pope, but now they ſtruck a note higher. This was done to let the people ſee what juſtice and reaſon was in the acts that were then paſſing.

The Act for taking away the Pope's power.

ON the 9th of March a bill came up from the commons for diſcharging the ſubjects of all dependance on the court of Rome; it was read the firſt time in the houſe of lords the 13th of March, and on the 14th was read the ſecond time, and committed. The committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no ſtiff nor long oppoſition; and he that was likelieſt to make it, was both obnoxious and abſent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then paſſed without any proteſtation: ſome proviſo's were added to it by the lords, to which the commons agreed, and ſo it was made ready for the royal aſſent.

IN the preamble, the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, proviſions, penſions, and bulls of all ſorts are complained of, which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the pope's power of diſpenſing, which was uſurped. But the king, and the lords

lords and commons within his own realm had only power to conſider how any of the laws were to be diſpenſed with or abrogated; and ſince the king was acknowledged the ſupream head of the church of England by the prelates and clergy, in their convocations, therefore it was enacted that all payments made to the apoſtolick chamber, and all proviſions, bulls, or diſpenſations, ſhould from thenceforth ceaſe. But that all diſpenſations or Licences, 'For things that were 'not contrary to the law of God, but only 'to the law of the land, ſhould be granted 'within the kingdom, by, and under the 'ſeals of the two archbiſhops in their ſeveral provinces, who ſhould not preſume to 'grant any contrary to the laws of Almighty GOD, and ſhould only grant ſuch licences as had been formerly in uſe to be granted, but give no licence for any new thing 'till it were firſt examined by the king and 'his council, whether ſuch things might be 'diſpenſed with; and that all diſpenſations 'which were formerly taxed at, or above 41. 'ſhould be alſo confirmed under the great 'ſeal. Then many clauſes follow about the 'rates of licences, and the ways of procuring 'them. It was alſo declared, that they did 'not hereby intend to vary from CHRIST's 'church about the articles of the catholick 'faith of Chriſtendom, or in any other things 'declared by the ſcriptures, and the word of 'GOD neceſſary for their ſalvation; confirming withal the exemptions of monaſteries 'formerly granted by the biſhop of Rome, 'exempting them ſtill from the archbiſhops 'viſitations; declaring, that ſuch abbies 'whoſe elections were formerly confirmed by 'the pope, ſhall be now confirmed by the 'king; who likewiſe ſhall give commiſſion 'under his great ſeal for viſiting them, pro'viding alſo that licences and other writs 'obtained from Rome before the 12th of 'March in that year ſhould be valid and in 'force, except they were contrary to the 'laws of the realm; giving alſo to the king 'and his council, power to order and reform 'all indulgences and privileges (or the abu'ſes of them) which had been granted by 'the ſee of Rome. The offenders againſt 'this act were to be puniſhed according to 'the ſtatutes of proviſors and premunire.

THIS act, as it gave great eaſe to the ſubject, ſo it cut off that baſe trade of indulgences about divine laws, which had been ſo gainful to the church of Rome, but was of late fatal to it. All in the religious houſes ſaw their privileges now ſtruck at, ſince they were to be reformed as the king ſaw cauſe, which put them in no ſmall confuſion. Thoſe that favour'd the reformation rejoiced at this act, not only becauſe the pope's power was rooted out, but becauſe the faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from thoſe things, which the ſcriptures declared neceſſary to ſalvation; ſo that all their fears were now much qualified, ſince the ſcripture was to be the ſtandard of the catholick faith. On the ſame day that this bill paſſed in the houſe of lords, another bill was read for confirming the ſucceſſion to the crown in the iſſue of the king's preſent marriage with queen Anne. It was read the ſecond time on the 21ſt of March, and committed. It was reported on the 23d, and read the third time and paſſed, and ſent down to the commons, who ſent it back again to them on the 26th; ſo ſpeedily did this bill go thro' both houſes without any oppoſition.

THE preamble of it was, 'The diſtrac'tions that had been in England about the 'ſucceſſion to the crown, which had occa'ſioned the effuſion of much blood, with 'many other miſchiefs, all which flowed 'from the want of a clear deciſion of the 'true title, from which the popes had u'ſurped a power of inveſting ſuch as pleaſed 'them in other princes kingdoms, and prin'ces had often maintained ſuch donations for 'their own ends; therefore to avoid the like 'inconveniences, the king's former marriage 'with the princeſs Katharine, is judged con'trary to the laws of GOD, and void, and 'of no effect; and the ſentence paſſed by the 'archbiſhop of Canterbury annulling it, is 'confirmed, and the lady Katharine is 'thenceforth to be reputed only princeſs 'dowager, and not queen, and the mar'riage with queen Anne is eſtabliſhed and 'confirmed: and marriages within the de'grees prohibited by Moſes (which are enu'merated in the ſtatute) are declared to be 'unlawful, according to the judgment of the 'convocations of this realm, and of the moſt 'famous univerſities and learned men a'broad, any diſpenſations to the contrary 'notwithſtanding, which are alſo declared 'null, ſince contrary to the laws of GOD; 'and all that were married within theſe de'grees are appointed to be divorced, and 'the children begotten in ſuch marriages 'were declared illegitimate: and all the 'iſſue that ſhould be between the king and 'the preſent queen is declared lawful, and 'the crown was to deſcend on his iſſue male 'by her, or any other wife, or in default of 'iſſue male, to the iſſue female by the queen; 'and in default of any ſuch, to the right 'heirs of the king's highneſs for ever: and 'any that after the firſt of May ſhould ma'liciouſly divulge any thing to the ſlander of 'the king's marriage, or of the iſſue begot'ten in it, were to be adjudged for miſpriſion 'of treaſon, and to ſuffer impriſonment at 'the king's will, and forfeit all their goods 'and chattels to him; and if the queen out'lived the king, ſhe is declared regent till 'the iſſue by her were of age; if a ſon eigh'teen, and if a daughter ſixteen years of 'age; and all the king's ſubjects were to 'ſwear that they would maintain the con'tents of this act, and whoever being requi'red, did refuſe it, was to be judged guilty 'of miſpriſion of treaſon, and puniſhed ac'cordingly.' The oath, it ſeems, was likewiſe agreed on in the houſe of lords; for the form of it is ſet down in their journal as follows.

'YE ſhall ſwear to bear faith, truth and 'obedience alonely to the king's majeſty, 'and to his heirs of his body of his moſt 'dear and entirely beloved wife queen Anne, 'begotten and to be begotten: and further, 'to the heirs of our ſaid ſovereign lord, ac'cording

'cording to the limitation in the ſtatute 'made for ſurety of his ſucceſſion in the 'crown of this realm mentioned and contain-'ed, and not to any other within this realm, 'nor foreign authority or potentate. And 'in caſe any oath be made, or hath been 'made by you to any perſon or perſons, that 'then ye to repute the ſame as vain and an-'nihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, 'and uttermoſt of your power, without guile, 'fraud, or other undue means, ye ſhall ob-'ſerve, keep, and maintain, and defend the 'ſaid act of ſucceſſion, and all the whole 'effects and contents thereof, and all other 'acts and ſtatutes made in confirmation, or 'for execution of the ſame, or of any thing 'therein contained. And this ye ſhall do 'againſt all manner of perſons of what eſ-'tate, dignity, degree, or condition ſoever 'they be; and in no wiſe to do or attempt, 'nor to your power ſuffer to be done or at-'tempted, directly or indirectly, any thing 'or things, privily or apartly, to the let, 'hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, 'or of any part of the ſame, by any manner 'of means, or for any manner of pretence. 'So help you God, and all ſaints, and the 'holy evangeliſts.

AND thus was the king's marriage confirmed. But when the commons returned this bill to the lords, they ſeut them another with it, concerning the proceedings againſt hereticks. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the ſevere and intolerable proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical courts againſt hereticks: And on the 4th of February the commons ſent up a complaint made by one Thomas Philips againſt the biſhop of London, for uſing him cruelly in priſon, upon the ſuſpicion of hereſy; but the lords doing nothing in it, on the 1ſt of March the houſe of commons ſent ſome of their number to the biſhop, requiring him to make anſwer to the complaints exhibited againſt him, who acquainted the houſe of lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aſide the complaint as not worthy of their time, ſo they all with one conſent anſwered, That it was not fit for any of the peers to appear or anſwer at the bar of the houſe of commons. Upon this, the houſe of commons finding they could do nothing in that particular caſe, reſolved to provide an effectual remedy for ſuch abuſes for the future: and therefore ſent up a bill about the puniſhment of hereticks, which was read that day for the firſt time, and the ſecond and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it paſſed.

'THE act was a repeal of the ſtatute of 'the ſecond of Henry the IVth, by which 'biſhops upon ſuſpicion of hereſy might 'commit any to priſon, as was before told, 'but in that act there was no declaration 'made, what was hereſy, except in the ge-'neral words of what was contrary to ſcrip-'tures, or canonical ſanctions. This was 'liable to great ambiguity, by which men 'were in much danger, and not ſufficiently 'inſtructed what was hereſy. They alſo 'complained of their proceedings without 'preſentment, or accuſation, contrary to what 'was practiſed in all other caſes, even of 'treaſon itſelf; and many canonical ſanc-'tions had been eſtabliſhed only by the 'popes without any divine precept, there-'fore they repealed the act of Henry the 'IVth, but left the ſtatutes of Richard the 'IId, and Henry the Vth, ſtill in force, 'with the following regulation: That here-'ticks ſhould be proceeded againſt upon 'preſentments, by two witneſſes at leaſt, 'and then be committed, but brought to 'anſwer their indictments in open court; 'and if they were found guilty, and would 'not abjure, or were relapſe, to be adjudg-'ed to death; the king's writ, De Hære-'tico cumburendo, being firſt obtained. It 'was alſo declared, that none ſhould be 'troubled upon any of the pope's canons or 'laws, or for ſpeaking or doing againſt them. 'It was likewiſe provided, that men com-'mitted for hereſy might be bailed.

IT may eaſily be imagin'd how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, ſince it was ſuch an effectual limitation of the eccleſiaſtical power, in one of the uneaſieſt parts of it: and this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the ſpiritual courts, was a particular bleſſing to all that favour'd reformation. But as the parliament was going on with theſe good laws, there came a ſubmiſſion from the clergy then ſitting in convocation, to be paſſed in parliament. With what oppoſition it went through the two houſes of convocation, and the houſe of commons, is not known; for as the regiſters of the convocation are burnt, ſo it does not appear that there were any journals kept in the houſe of commons at that time. On the 27th of March it was ſent up to the lords; and ſince the ſpiritual lords had already conſented to it, there was no reaſon to apprehend any oppoſition from the temporal lords. The ſeſſion was now near at an end, ſo they made haſte and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and paſſed it. The contents of it were: 'The clergy 'acknowledg'd, that all convocations had 'been, and ought to be aſſembled by the 'king's writ; and promiſed, upon the word 'of prieſts, that they would never make 'nor execute any new canons or conſtitu-'tions without the royal aſſent to them; 'and ſince many canons had been received, 'that there were found prejudicial to the 'king's prerogative, contrary to the laws of 'the land, and heavy to the ſubjects, that 'therefore there ſhould be a committee of 'thirty-two perſons, ſixteen of the two 'houſes of parliament, and as many of the 'clergy to be named by the king, who 'ſhould have full power to abrogate or con-'firm canons as they found it expedient; 'the king's aſſent being obtained. This 'was confirmed by act of parliament; and 'by the ſame act all appeals to Rome were 'again condemned. If any party found 'themſelves aggrieved in the archbiſhops 'courts, an appeal might be made to the 'king in the court of chancery; and the 'lord chancellor was to grant a commiſſion 'under the great ſeal for ſome delegates, in 'whoſe determination all muſt acquieſce.

'All exempted abbots were alſo to appeal 'to the king; and it concluded with a pro- 'viſo, that till ſuch correction of the canons 'was made, all thoſe which were then re- 'ceived ſhould ſtill remain in force, except 'ſuch as were contrary to the laws and cuſ- 'toms of the Realms, or were to the damage 'or hurt of the king's prerogative.

This proviſo ſeemed to have a fair colour, that there might ſtill be ſome canons in force to govern the church by; but ſince there was no day prefixed to the determination of the commiſſion, this proviſo made that the act never took effect; for now it lay in the prerogative, and in the judges breaſt, to declare what canons were contrary to the laws, or the rights of the crown: and it was judged more for the king's greatneſs to keep the matter undetermined, than to make ſuch a collection of eccleſiaſtical laws as ſhould be fixed and immoveable. The laſt of the publick acts of this ſeſſion that related to the church, was about the election and conſecration of biſhops. On the 4th of February the commons ſent up a bill to the lords about the conſecration of biſhops; it lay on the Table till the 27th of February, and was then caſt out, and a new one drawn. On what reaſon it was caſt out, is not mention'd, and the journal does not ſo much as ſay that it was once read. The new bill had its ſecond reading the 3d of March, and on the 5th it was order'd to be engroſſed; and on the 9th it was read the third time, and agreed to, and ſent down to the commons, who returned it to the lords on the 16th of March. 'The firſt part of it is a 'confirmation of their former act againſt an- 'nats, to which they added, That biſhops 'ſhould not be any more preſented to the 'biſhop of Rome, or ſue out any bulls 'there, but that all biſhops ſhould be pre- 'ſented to the archbiſhop, and archbiſhops 'to any archbiſhop in the king's dominions, 'or to any four biſhops whom the king 'ſhould name; and that when any ſee was 'vacant, the king was to grant a licence 'for a new election, with a letter miſſive, 'bearing the name of the perſon that was to 'be choſen: and twelve days after theſe 'were delivered, an election was to be 'returned by the dean and chapter, or prior 'and convent, under their ſeals. Then the 'perſon elected was to ſwear fealty to the 'king, upon which a commiſſion was to be 'iſſued out, for conſecrating and inveſting 'him with the uſual ceremonies; after which 'he was to do homage to the king, and be 'reſtored both to the ſpiritualities and tem- 'poralities of his ſee; for which the king 'granted commiſſions during the vacancy; 'and whoſoever refuſed to obey the contents 'of the act, or acted contrary to it, were 'declared within the ſtatute of premunire.' There paſſed a private act for depriving the biſhops of Salisbury and Worceſter, who were cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii; the former deſerved greater ſeverities at the king's hand, but the latter ſeemed to have ſerved him faithfully, and was recommended both by the king and the French king about a year before to a cardinal's hat. 'The preamble of the act bears, 'that perſons promoted to eccleſiaſtical bene- 'fices ought to reſide within the kingdom, 'for preaching the laws of Almighty GOD, 'and for keeping hoſpitality; and ſince 'theſe prelates did not that, but lived at 'the court of Rome, and neglected their 'dioceſe, and made the revenues of them be 'carried out of the kingdoms, contrary to 'the intentions of the founders, and to the 'prejudice of the realm, 3000 l. being at 'leaſt carried yearly out of the kingdom; 'therefore their dioceſes were declared vacant.

The act about the maid of Kent, and her accomplices.

We come next to the act of the attainder of Elizabeth Barton, and her accomplices, which is fully opened, ſince it was the firſt ſtep that was made to rebellion, and the firſt occaſion of putting any to death on this quarrel; and from this may be clearly ſeen the genius of that part of the clergy that adhered to the intereſts of the court of Rome. On the 21ſt of February the bill was ſent up to the lords, and read the firſt time; on the 26th it was read the ſecond time, and committed; then the witneſſes and other evidences were brought before them, but chiefly ſhe with all her accomplices, who confeſſed the crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the 6th of March the third time, and then the lords addreſſed to the king to know his pleaſure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at leaſt concealers, might not be heard to ſpeak for themſelves in the ſtar-chamber: as for the biſhop of Rocheſter, he was ſick, but he had written to the houſe all that he had to ſay for his own excuſe. What preſumptions lay againſt Sir Thomas More, biſhop Burnet ſaith he was not able to find out, only that he wrote a letter to the nun, at which the king took great exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her; for in diſcourſe with his beloved daughter Mrs. Roper, he called her commonly, the ſilly nun. But for juſtifying himſelf, he wrote a full account of all the intercourſe he had with the nun and her accomplices, to Cromwell: but tho' by his other printed letters, both to Cromwell and the king, it ſeems ſome ill impreſſions remained in the king's mind about it; he ſtill continued to juſtify not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of obſervation, that Raſtal, who publiſhed his works in queen Mary's time, printed the ſecond letter he wrote to Cromwell, yet did not publiſh that account which he ſent firſt to him concerning it; to which More refers himſelf in all his following letters; though it is more likely a copy of that would have been preſerved, than of thoſe other letters that refer to it. But, perhaps, it was kept up on deſign; for in queen Mary's time, they had a mind to magnify the ſtory of the nun, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffer'd on her mother's account: and among the other things ſhe talked, one was, that the lady Mary ſhould one day reign in England, for which Sanders has ſince thought fit to make a propheteſs of her. And, it is certain, More had a low opinion of her, which appears in

many

many places of his printed letters; but that would have been much plainer, if the full account he wrote of that affair had been publiſhed; and therefore that one of their martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was fit to ſuppreſs it. In concluſion, More's juſtifications, ſeconded with the good offices that the lord chancellor Audley, and Cromwell did him, (who, as appears by his letters, ſtood his friends in that matter) did ſo work on the king, that his name was put out of the bill; and ſo the act was agreed on by both houſes, and the royal aſſent followed. The matter was this: 'Elizabeth Barton of Kent, in the pariſh of 'Aldington, being ſick and diſtempered in 'her brain, fell in ſome trances, (it ſeems, 'by the ſymptoms, they were hiſterical fits) 'and ſpoke many words that made great im'preſſions on ſome about her, who thought 'her inſpired of GOD; and Richard Maſter, parſon of the pariſh, hoping to draw 'great advantages from this, went to War'ham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and gave 'him a large account of her ſpeeches, who 'order'd him to attend her carefully, and 'bring him a further report of any new 'trances ſhe might afterwards fall in. But 'ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in her fits, 'yet the crafty prieſt would not let it go 'ſo, but perſwaded her, that what ſhe had 'ſaid, was by the inſpiration of the HOLY 'GHOST, and that ſhe ought to own that it 'was ſo. Upon which he taught her to 'counterfeit ſuch trances, and to utter ſuch 'ſpeeches as ſhe had done before; ſo that 'after a while practice, ſhe became very 'ready at it. The thing was much noiſed 'abroad, and many came to ſee her; but 'the prieſt had a mind to raiſe the reputation of an image of the bleſſed Virgin, that 'was in a chapel within his pariſh, that ſo 'pilgrimages being made to it, he might 'draw theſe advantages from it, that others 'made from their famed images, but choſe 'for his aſſociate one Dr. Bocking, a canon 'of Chriſt-Church in Canterbury: upon 'which they inſtructed her to ſay, in her 'counterfeited trances, that the bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her, ſhe 'could never recover, till ſhe went and viſited her image in that chapel. They had 'alſo taught her, in her fits, to make ſtrange 'motions with her body, by which ſhe was 'much diſfigured, and to ſpeak many godly 'words againſt ſin, and the new doctrines, 'which were called hereſies; as alſo againſt 'the king's ſuit of divorce. It was alſo 'noiſed abroad, on what day ſhe intended 'to go and viſit the image of the virgin, ſo 'that about two thouſand people were gathered together, and ſhe being brought to 'the chapel, fell into her fits, and made 'many ſtrange grimaces and alterations of 'her body, and ſpake many words of great 'piety, ſaying, That by the inſpiration of 'GOD, ſhe was called to be a religious 'woman, and that Bocking was to be her 'ghoſtly father. And within a little while 'ſhe ſeemed, by the interceſſion of our lady, 'to be perfectly recovered of her former diſtempers; and ſhe afterwards profeſſed a 'religious life. There were alſo violent ſuſpicions of her incontinency, and that Bock'ing was a carnal as well as a ſpiritual fa'ther. She fell in many raptures, and pre'tended ſhe ſaw ſtrange viſions, heard hea'venly melody, and had the revelation of 'many things that were to come; ſo that 'credit was given to what ſhe ſaid, and 'people generally looked on her as a pro'pheteſs; and, among thoſe, Warham, arch'biſhop of Canterbury, was led away with 'the reſt. A book was writ of her revela'tions and prophecies by one Deering, an'other monk, who was taken into the con'ſpiracy with many others. It was alſo 'given out, that Mary Magdalen gave her 'a letter that was writ in heaven, which 'was ſhew'd to many, being writ in golden 'letters. She pretended, when the king 'was laſt at Calais, that he being at maſs, 'an angel brought away the ſacrament, and 'gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, 'and that ſhe was preſently brought over 'the ſea to her monaſtery again. But the 'deſign of all theſe trances was to alienate 'the people from their duty to the king, 'for the maid gave it out, that GOD re'vealed to her, that if the king went on in 'the divorce, and married another wife, he 'ſhould not be king a month longer; and, 'in the reputation of Almighty GOD, not 'one hour longer, but ſhould die a villain's 'death. This, ſhe ſaid, was revealed to 'her in anſwer to the prayers ſhe had put up 'to GOD, to know whether he approved of 'the king's proceedings or not? Which 'coming to the knowledge of the biſhop of 'Rocheſter, and ſome others, who adhered 'to the Queen's intereſts, they had frequent 'meetings with the maid, and concealed 'what ſhe ſpake concerning the king; and 'ſome of them gave ſuch credit to what ſhe 'ſaid, that they practiſed on many others to 'draw them from their allegiance, and pre'vailed with ſeveral of the fathers and nuns 'of Sion, of the Charter-houſe in London 'and Shene, and of the obſervants of Rich'mont, Greenwich, and Canterbury, with 'a great many other perſons.

THIS appeared moſt ſignally at Greenwich, where the king lived moſt in ſummer, for one Peto being to preach in the king's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him, That many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs ſhould lick his blood as they had done Ahab's (for that prophecy about Ahab was his text) with many other bitter words, and concluded, That it was the greateſt miſery of princes to be daily ſo abuſed by flatterers as they were. The king bore it patiently, and expreſſed no ſigns of any commotion; but to undeceive the people, he took care that Dr. Corren, or Curwin, ſhould preach the next Sunday, who juſtified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto as a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traytor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but another obſervant friar of the ſame houſe, Elſton interrupted him, and ſaid he was one of the lying prophets, that ſought by adultry to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown,

crown, and that he would juſtify all that Peto had ſaid, and ſpeak many other things with great vehemency; nor could they ſilence him, till the king himſelf commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or Peto, was, that being called before the privy council, they were rebuked for their inſolence, by which it appears, that king Henry was not very eaſily inflamed againſt them, when a crime of ſo high a nature was ſo ſlightly paſſed over.

'NOR was this all, but the fathers that 'were in the conſpiracy, had confederated 'to publiſh theſe revelations in their ſermons, up and down the kingdom. They 'had alſo given notice of them to the pope's 'ambaſſadors, and had brought the maid to 'declare the revelations to them; they had 'alſo ſent an account to queen Catharine 'for encouraging her to ſtand out, and not 'ſubmit to the laws: of which confederacy 'Thomas Abel was likewiſe one.' The thing that was in ſo many hands could not be a ſecret; therefore the king, who had deſpiſed it long, order'd, that in November the former year, the maid and her accomplices, Richard Maſter, Dr. Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold, a parſon in London; Hugh Rich, an obſervant friar; Richard Risby, Thomas Gold, and Edward Twaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Lawrence, ſhould be brought into the ſtar-chamber, where there was a great appearance of many lords; they were examin'd upon the premiſes, and did all, without any rack or torture, confeſs the whole conſpiracy, and were adjudged to ſtand in Paul's all the ſermon-time, and after ſermon, the king's officers were to give every one of them his bill of confeſſion to be openly read before the people; which was done the next Sunday, the biſhop of Bangor preaching, they being all ſet in a ſcaffold before him. This publick manner was thought, upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfy the people of the impoſtor of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them that the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it. From thence they were carry'd to the Tower, where they lay till the ſeſſion of parliament; but while they lay there, ſome of their accomplices ſent meſſages to the nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid; and, it is very probable, the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a confeſſion, made the king think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being conſider'd in parliament, it was judged a conſpiracy againſt the king's life and crown. So the nun and Mr. Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high treaſon. And the biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Twaites, John Adeſon, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattles to the king, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure; and all the books that were written of her revelations, were order'd to be ſent in, to ſome of the chief officers of ſtate, under the pains of fine and impriſonment. It had been alſo found, that the letter which ſhe pretended to have got from Mary Magdalen, was written by one Hankhurſt of Canterbury, and that the door of the dormitory, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that ſhe might go into the chapel for converſe with GOD, was opened by ſome of her accomplices, for beaſtly and carnal ends. But in the concluſion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance by theſe impoſtors, except the perſons before-named, were at the earneſt interceſſion of queen Anne, pardon'd.

THE two houſes of parliament (having ended their buſineſs) were prorogued on the 29th of March to the 3d of November; and before they broke up, all the members of both houſes, that they might give a good example to the king's other ſubjects, ſwore the oath of ſucceſſion, as appears from the act made about it in the next ſeſſion of parliament. The execution of theſe perſons was delayed for ſome time, it is like, till the king had a return from Rome, of the meſſenger he had ſent thither with his ſubmiſſion.

SOON after that, on the 20th of April, the nun, Bocking, Maſter, Deering, Risby and Gold (Rich is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to Tyburn. The nun ſpake theſe words: 'Hither I am come to die; and I have not 'been only the cauſe of mine own death, 'which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo 'I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe 'perſons which at this time here ſuffer. And 'yet to ſay the truth, I am not ſo much to 'be blamed, conſidering that it was well 'known to theſe learned men, that I was 'a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that 'the things that were done by me, could 'proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge, 'from whence they proceed, and that they 'were altogether feigned; but becauſe the 'thing which I feigned was profitable to 'them, therefore they much praiſed me, 'and bore me in hand, that it was the HOLY 'GHOST, and not I, that did them, and 'then I being puffed up with their praiſes, 'fell into a certain pride, and fooliſh fantaſie with myſelf, and thought I might feign 'what I would, which thing hath brought 'me to this caſe; and for the which now, I 'cry GOD and the king's highneſs moſt heartily mercy, and deſire you all good people, 'to pray to GOD to have mercy on me, and 'on all them that here ſuffer with me.

ALL this is the longer dwelt upon, both becauſe theſe are called martyrs by Sanders, and that this did firſt provoke the king againſt the regular clergy, and drew after it all the ſeverities that were done in the reſt of his reign. The foulneſs and the wicked deſigns of this impoſtor did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcover'd was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles, by which religious

gious orders had raiſed their credit ſo high, were of the ſame nature: and it made way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England, though all the ſeverity which at this time follow'd on it, was, that the obſervant friars of Richmont, Greenwich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcaſtle, were removed out of their houſes, and put with the Grey friars; and Auguſtin friars were put in their houſes.

BUT becauſe of the great name of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſince this was the firſt ſtep to his ruin, it is neceſſary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was firſt diſcover'd, Cromwell, then ſecretary of ſtate, ſent the biſhop's brother to him, with a ſharp reproof of his carriage in that buſineſs; but withal adviſed him to write to the king, and deſire his pardon, which he knew the king, conſidering his age and ſickneſs, would grant. But he wrote back, excuſing himſelf, That all he did was only to try, whether her revelations were true? He confeſſed, he conceived a great opinion of her holineſs, both from common fame, and her entering into religion, from the report of her ghoſtly father, whom he eſteemed learned and religious; and of many other learned and virtuous prieſts; from the good opinion the late archbiſhop of Canterbury had of her, and from what is in the prophet Amos, 'That GOD will do no-'thing without revealing it to his ſervants.' That upon theſe grounds he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had ſometimes ſpoken with her, and ſent his chaplains to her, but never diſcover'd any falſhood in her: and for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the king, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needleſs for him to ſpeak of it to the king, ſince ſhe had ſaid to him, that ſhe had told it to the king herſelf: ſhe had named no perſon who ſhould kill the king, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in ſpiritual things every churchman was not bound to denounce judgments againſt thoſe that could not bear it; ſo in temporal things, the caſe might be the ſame; and the king had on other occaſions ſpoken ſo ſharply to him, that he had reaſon to think, he would have been offended with him for ſpeaking of it, and would have ſuſpected that he had a hand in it; therefore he deſired, for the paſſion of CHRIST, to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwiſe he would ſpeak his conſcience freely. To all which, Cromwell wrote a long letter with his own hand. In which, he charges the matter upon him heavily, and ſhews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon truſt, and had examined nothing; that if every perſon that pretends to revelations were believed on their own words, all government would be thereby deſtroyed. He had no reaſon to conclude from the prophecy of Amos, that every thing that is to fall out, muſt be revealed to ſome prophet, ſince many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no revelation made beforehand. But he told him the true reaſon that made him give credit to her was, the matter of her prophecies; to which he was ſo addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entered, that nothing could come amiſs that ſerved to that end. And he appealed to his conſcience, whether if ſhe had propheſied for the king, he would have given ſuch eaſy credit to her, and not have examin'd the matter further? Then he ſhews how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the king's life, and how frivolous all his excuſes were. And, after all tells him, that tho' his excuſing the matter had provoked the king, and that if it came to a tryal, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he adviſes him to beg the king's pardon for his negligence and offence in that matter, and undertakes, that the king would receive him into his favour; and that all matters of diſpleaſure paſs'd before that time, ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. This ſhews, that tho' Fiſher had, in the progreſs of the king's cauſe, given him great offence, yet he was ready to paſs it all over, and not to take the advantage, which he now had againſt him. But Fiſher was ſtill obſtinate, and made no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the act for miſpriſion of treaſon; and yet it does not appear that the king proceeded againſt him upon this act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier ſtorm of indignation upon himſelf.

The oath for the ſucceſſion generally taken.

WHEN the ſeſſion of parliament was at an end, commiſſioners were ſent every where to offer the oath of the ſucceſſion to the crown, to all, according to the act of parliament; which was univerſally taken by all ſorts of perſons. Gardiner wrote from Wincheſter, the 6th of May, to Cromwell, that in the preſence of the lord chamberlain, the lord Audley, and many other gentlemen, all abbots, priors, wardens, with the curates of all pariſhes and chapels within the ſhire, had appeared and taken the oath very obediently, and had given in a liſt of all the religious perſons in their houſes, of fourteen years of age and above; for taking whoſe oaths, ſome commiſſioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the oath are not known, and it is no wonder; for though they were enrolled, yet, in queen Mary's time, there was a commiſſion given to Bonner and others, to examine the records, and raze out of them all things that were done either in contempt of the ſee of Rome, or to the defamation of religious houſes; purſuant to which, there are many things taken out of the rolls, which there will be ſometimes occaſion to take notice of; yet ſome writings have eſcaped their diligence; ſo there remain but two of the ſubſcriptions of religious orders, both bearing date the 4th of May 1534. One is by the prior and convent of Langley Regis, that were dominicans; the franciſcans of Ailesbury; the dominicans of Dunſtable; the franciſcans of Bedford; the carmelites of Hecking; and the franciſcans de Mare. The other is by the prioreſs and convent of the dominican nuns at Deptford.

'IN theſe, beſides the renewing their allegiance to the king, they ſwear the lawfulneſs of his marriage with queen Anne, and that they ſhall be true to the iſſue begotten in it; that they ſhall always acknowledge the king head of the church of England: and that the biſhop of Rome has no more power than any other biſhop has in his own dioceſe; and they ſhould ſubmit to all the king's laws, notwithſtanding the pope's cenſures to the contrary. That in their ſermons they ſhould not pervert the ſcriptures, but preach CHRIST and his goſpel ſincerely according to the ſcriptures, and the tradition of orthodox and catholick doctors; and in their prayers, that they ſhould pray firſt for the king, as ſupream head of the church of England; then for the queen and her iſſue; and then for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other ranks of the clergy.' To this, theſe ſix priors ſet their hands, with the ſeals of their convents; and in their ſubſcriptions declared, that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the brethren in the convent.

Sir Thomas More, and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſe the oath.

SIR Thomas More, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſed to take the oath, as it was conceived: whoſe fall being ſo remarkable, the ſteps towards it are worth obſerving. There was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, to which many were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas More was firſt called, and the oath was tender'd to him under the great ſeal, and then he called for the act of ſucceſſion, to which it related, which was alſo ſhewed him: having conſider'd of them, he ſaid he would neither blame thoſe that made the act, nor thoſe that ſwore the oath; but, for his part, tho' he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, if he might be ſuffer'd to draw an oath concerning it, yet for the oath that was offer'd him, his conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his ſoul, take it. Upon this the lord chancellor told him, That he was the firſt who had refuſed to ſwear it, and that the king would be highly offended with him for denying it; and he was deſir'd to withdraw, and conſider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the oath, except the biſhop of Rocheſter, who anſwered upon the matter as More had done. When the lords had diſpatched all the reſt, More was again brought before them: they ſhew'd him how many had taken it; he anſwer'd, He judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Then they ask'd the reaſons why he refuſed it? He anſwer'd, He fear'd it might provoke the king more againſt him, if he ſhould offer reaſons; which would be call'd a diſputing againſt law: but when he was further preſſed to give his reaſons, he ſaid, if the king would command him to do it, he would put them in writing.

THE archbiſhop of Canterbury urged him with this argument, That ſince he blamed no other perſon for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſwaded it was a ſin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know, he ought to obey the king, and the law; ſo there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding theſe his doubtings. This did ſhake him a little, eſpecially as himſelf writes, coming out of ſo noble a prelate's mouth: but he anſwered, That, though he had examin'd the matter very carefully, yet his conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide; and he offer'd to purge himſelf by his oath, that it was purely out of a principle of conſcience, and of no light fantaſy or obſtinacy that he thus refuſed it. The abbot of Weſtminſter preſſed him, that however the matter appeared to him, he might ſee his conſcience was erroneous, ſince the great council of the realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his conſcience. (A reaſoning very fit for ſo rich an abbot, which diſcovers of what temper his conſcience was.) But to this More anſwered, that if he were alone againſt the whole parliament, he had reaſon to ſuſpect his own underſtanding; but he thought he had the whole council of Chriſtendom on his ſide, as well as the great council of England againſt him. Secretary Cromwell, who (as More writes) tenderly favour'd him, ſeeing his ruin was now inevitable, was much affected at it; and proteſted with an oath, he had rather his only ſon had loſt his head, than that he ſhould have refuſed the oath. Thus both he and the biſhop of Rocheſter refuſed it, but both offer'd to ſwear another oath for the ſucceſſion of the crown to the iſſue of the king's preſent marriage, becauſe that was in the power of the parliament to determine. Cranmer, who was a moderate and wiſe man, and foreſaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending ſo much, with perſons ſo highly eſteemed over the world, and of ſuch a temper, that ſeverity would bend them to nothing, did, by an earneſt letter to Cromwell, dated the 27th of April, move, that what they offer'd might be accepted; for if they once ſwore to the ſucceſſion, it would quiet the kingdom; for they acknowledging it, all other perſons would acquieſce and ſubmit to their judgments; but ſharper counſels were more acceptable: ſo they were both committed to the Tower, and pen, ink, and paper, was kept from them. The old biſhop was alſo hardly uſed both in his cloaths and diet; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him, which was a cruelty not capable of any excuſe, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

IN winter another ſeſſion of parliament was held; the firſt act that paſſed, declared the king to be the ſupream head on earth of the church of England, and appointed that to be added to his other titles; and it was enacted, That he and his ſucceſſors ſhould have full authority to reform all hereſies and abuſes in the ſpiritual juriſdiction. By another act they confirmed the oath of ſucceſſion, which had not been ſpecified in the former act, tho' agreed to by the lords. They alſo gave the king the firſt-fruits and tenths of eccleſiaſtical benefices, as being the ſupream head of the church; for the king

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being put in the pope's room, it was thought reaſonable to give him the annats, which the popes had formerly exacted. The temporality were now willing to revenge themſelves on the ſpirituality, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another act paſs'd, declaring ſome things treaſon; one of theſe were the denying the king any of his titles, or the calling him heretick, ſchiſmatick, or uſurper of the crown. By another act, proviſion was made for ſetting up twenty-ſix ſuffragan biſhops over England, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of the ſacrament, and the better ſervice of GOD. It is alſo ſaid, they had been formerly accuſtomed to be in the kingdom. The biſhop of the dioceſe was to preſent two to the king; and, upon the king's declaring his choice, the archbiſhop was to conſecrate the perſon, and then the biſhop was to delegate ſuch parts of his charge to his care as he thought fitting, which was to laſt during his pleaſure. Theſe were the ſame that the antients called the Chorepiſcopi, who were at firſt the biſhops of ſome villages, but were afterwards put under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the next city. They were ſet up before the council of Nice, and continued to be in the church for many ages; but the biſhops devolving their whole ſpiritual power to them, they were put down, and a decretal epiſtle was forged in the name of P. Damaſus, condemning them. The great extent of the dioceſes in England made it hard for one biſhop to govern them with that exactneſs that was neceſſary; theſe were therefore appointed to aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of the paſtoral care.

IN this parliament ſubſidies were granted, payable in three years, with the higheſt preamble of their happineſs under the king's government all thoſe twenty-four years, in which he had reigned, that flattery could dictate. Fiſher and More, by two ſpecial acts, were attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon; five other clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refuſing to ſwear the oath of ſucceſſion. The ſee of Rocheſter was declared void; yet, it ſeems, few were willing to ſucceed ſuch a man; for it continued vacant two years. This ſeverity againſt them was cenſured by ſome as extream, ſince they were willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion in other terms; ſo that it was meerly a point of conſcience, in which the common ſafety was not concerned, at which they ſtuck; and it was thought the proſecuting them in this manner would ſo raiſe their credit, that it might endanger the government more than any oppoſition which they could make.

BUT now that the king enter'd upon a new ſcene, it will be neceſſary to open the progreſs that the opinions had made in England all the time of the king's ſuit of divorce. During Wolſey's miniſtry, thoſe preachers were gently uſed; for the progreſs of hereſy was always reckon'd up at Rome among the miſchiefs that would follow upon the pope's denying the king's deſires. But More coming into favour, he offer'd new counſels; he thought the king's proceeding ſeverely againſt hereticks, would be ſo meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatnings had done: ſo a ſevere proclamation was iſſued out both againſt their books and perſons, ordering all the laws againſt them to be put in execution. Tindall, and ſome others at Antwerp, were every year either tranſlating or writing books againſt ſome of the received errors, and ſending them over to England. But his tranſlation of the New Teſtament gave the greateſt wound, and was much complained of by the clergy, as full of errors. Tonſtall, then biſhop of London, being a man of great learning and virtue, which is generally accompanied with much moderation, returning from the treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were ſent in the king's name, as he came thro' Antwerp, dealt with an Engliſh merchant that was ſecretly a friend of Tindall's, to procure him as many of his New Teſtaments as could be had for money. Tindall was glad of this; for being about a more correct edition, he found he would be better enabled to ſet about it, if the copies of the old were ſold off; ſo he gave the merchant all he had, and Tonſtall paying the price of them, got them in his hands, and burnt them publickly in Cheapſide. This was called a burning of the word of GOD; and it was ſaid the clergy had reaſon to revenge themſelves on it, for it had done them more miſchief than all other books whatſoever. But a year after this, the ſecond edition being finiſh'd, great numbers were ſent over to England, and Conſtantine, one of Tindall's partners, happen'd to be taken; ſo More believing that ſome of the merchants of London furniſh'd them with money, promis'd him his liberty, if he would diſcover who they were that encourag'd and aſſiſted them: ſo he told him the biſhop of London did more than all the world beſides, for he had bought up the greateſt part of a faulty impreſſion. The clergy, when they condemned Tindall's tranſlation, promiſed a new one: but a year after, in a long condemnation of ſeveral books that were publiſhed by Warham, Tonſtall, and other canoniſts and divines, they added this, That it was not neceſſary to publiſh the ſcripture in Engliſh, and that the king did well not to ſet about it.

THERE came out a book writ by one Fiſh of Gray's-Inn, that took mightily, called, The ſupplication of the beggars; by which they complained, that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant friars, that were an uſeleſs burden to the government; they alſo taxed the pope of cruelty, for taking no pity on the poor, ſince none but thoſe that could pay for it, were deliver'd out of purgatory. The king was ſo pleaſed with this, that he would not ſuffer any thing to be done againſt the author. More anſwer'd it by another ſupplication, in behalf of the ſouls in purgatory, ſetting forth the miſeries they were in, and the relief which they received by the maſſes that were ſaid for them; and therefore they called on their friends to ſupport the religious orders, that had now ſo many enemies. This

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was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take ſo much as the other; for ſuch is the ill nature of mankind, that ſatyrs are always better received than apologies; and no ſatyrs are more acceptable than thoſe againſt churchmen.

Frith writes againſt purgatory.

Frith anſwer'd More in a book more gravely written, in which he ſhew'd, that there was no mention made of purgatory in the ſcripture; that it was inconſiſtent with the merits of CHRIST, by which, upon ſincere repentance, all ſins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be puniſhed: and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections, or for giving warning to others, do ſometimes fall even on true penitents; yet terrible puniſhments in another ſtate cannot conſiſt with a free pardon, and the remembering of our ſins more. In expounding many paſſages of the New Teſtament, he appealed to More's great friend, Eraſmus; and ſhew'd, that the fire which was ſpoken of by St. Paul, as that which would conſume the wood, hay, and ſtubble, could only be meant of the fiery trial of perſecution. He ſhew'd, That the primitive church received it not; Ambroſe, Jerome, and Auſtin, did not believe it; the laſt had plainly ſaid, that no mention was made of it in ſcripture, the monks brought it in, and, by many wonderful ſtories, poſſeſſed the world of the belief of it, and had made it a very gainful trade. This book provoked the clergy ſo much, that they reſolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguiſh their imaginary one. More objected poverty, and want of learning to the new preachers: but it was anſwer'd, The ſame thing was made uſe of to diſgrace CHRIST and his apoſtles; but a plain ſimplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good diſpoſition for men that were to bear a croſs; and the glory of GOD appeared more eminently, than the inſtruments ſeemed contemptible.

A perſecution ſet on foot by More.

THE pen proving too feeble and too gentle a tool, the clergy betook themſelves to that on which they relied moſt. Many were vexed with impriſonments for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh; for harbouring the preachers, and for ſpeaking againſt the corruptions in the worſhip, or the vices of the clergy; but theſe generally abjured. One Hinton, that had been a curate, and went over to Tindall, was taken coming back with ſome books; and was by Warham condemn'd and burnt.

Bilney's martyrdom.

Bilney, after his abjuration, formerly mention'd, returned to Cambridge, and fell under great horror of mind; but overcame it, and reſolved to expiate his apoſtacy by a publick acknowledgment: and that he might be able to do that on ſurer grounds, he followed his ſtudies cloſe two years; but then he left the univerſity, and went to Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county, againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition; exhorting the people to live well, to give much alms, to believe in CHRIST, and to offer up their ſouls and wills to him in the ſacrament: he openly confeſſed his own ſin of denying the faith; and uſing no precaution as he went about, he was taken by the biſhop's officers, and was condemned as a relapſe, and degraded. More not only ſent down the Writ to burn him, but to make him ſuffer another way: he affirmed in print that he had abjured; but no paper ſigned by him was ever ſhew'd; and little credit was due to the prieſts who gave it out, that he did it by word of mouth. But Parker (afterwards archbiſhop) was an eye-witneſs of his ſufferings. He bore all the hardſhips he was put to, patiently, and continued very cheerful after his ſentence, and eat up the poor proviſion that was brought him, heartily; for, he ſaid, he muſt keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had thoſe words often in his mouth, When thou walkeſt thorough the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt: and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himſelf for the fire, and ſaid, It would not only conſume the ſtubble of his body, but would purify his ſoul.

ON the 10th of November he was burnt at the ſtake; he repeated the Creed, to ſhew he was a true chriſtian; for the clergy made ſtrange repreſentations of his doctrine. Then he prayed earneſtly, and, with a deep ſigh, repeated thoſe words, Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant. Dr. Warner, that waited on him, embraced him, ſhedding many tears, and wiſhed that he might die in as good a ſtate as that in which he then was. The friars deſir'd him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death; and he did it; ſo the laſt act of his life was full of charity to his enemies. His ſufferings animated others. Byfield, that had formerly abjured, was taken diſperſing Tindall's books, and he, with one Tewkesbury, were condemn'd by Stokeſley, and burnt. Two men and a woman were alſo burnt at York. Upon theſe proceedings, the parliament that ſat that year complained to the king; but that did not cool the heat of the clergy. One Bainham, a counſellor of the Temple, was taken on ſuſpicion of hereſy, and whipt in More's preſence, and afterwards rack'd in the Tower: yet he could not be wrought on to accuſe any; but thro' fear he abjured. After that, being diſcharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to the church, and openly confeſſed his ſins, and declared the torments he felt in his conſcience for what he had done. Upon this he was again ſeized on, and condemned, for having ſaid, "That "Thomas Becket was a murderer, and was "damned, if he did not repent: and that "in the ſacrament, CHRIST's body was "received by faith, and not chewed with "the teeth." Sentence paſs'd on him by Stokeſley, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More deliver'd up the great ſeal, ſo the preachers had ſome eaſe. Crome and Latimer were accuſed, but abjured. Tracy (anceſtor to the preſent lord Tracy) made a will, by which he left his ſoul to GOD, in hopes of mercy thro' CHRIST, without the help of any other ſaint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for ſoul-maſſes. This will being brought to the

biſhop

biſhop of London's court to be proved, after his death, provoked them ſo much, that he was condemned as an heretick; and an order was ſent to the chancellor of Worceſter, to raiſe his body; but he went further and burnt it, which could not be juſtified, ſince he was not a relapſe. Tracy's heir ſued him for it, and he was turned out of his place and fined 400 l. The clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days pardon to any that carry'd a faggot to the burning of an heretick, that ſo cruelty might ſeem the more meritorious: And an aged man (Harding) being condemned by Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the ſtake, one flung a faggot with ſuch force at him, that it daſhed out his brains.

AFTER an intermiſſion of two years, Gardiner repreſented to the king, that it would give him great advantages againſt the pope, if he would take hold of ſome occaſion to ſhew his hatred of hereſy. So Frith ſeemed a fit perſon to offer as a ſacrifice, to demonſtrate his zeal. He was a young man, much famed for learning, and was the firſt that writ againſt the corporal preſence in the ſacrament in England. He follow'd Zuinglius's doctrine on theſe grounds; CHRIST received in the ſacrament, gave eternal life; but this was given only to thoſe that believed; from which he inferr'd, that he was received only by faith. St. Paul ſaid, That the fathers before CHRIST eat the ſame ſpiritual food with Chriſtians; from which it appears, that CHRIST is now no more corporally preſent to us than he was to them. And he argued from the nature of ſacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet upon theſe premiſes, he built no other concluſion, but that CHRIST's preſence was no article of faith. Frith put theſe reaſons in writing, which falling into More's hands, were anſwer'd by him; but Frith never ſaw that till he was put in priſon: and then, tho' he was loaded with irons, and had no books allow'd him, he replied; He inſiſted much on that argument, That the Iſraelites did eat the ſame food, and drank of the ſame rock, that was CHRIST; and ſince CHRIST was only myſtically, and by faith received by them, he concluded, that he was now received only by faith. He ſhew'd, that CHRIST's words, This is my body, were accommodated to the Jewiſh phraſe, of calling the Land the Lord's Paſſover; and confirmed his opinion with many paſſages out of the fathers: in which, the elements were called ſigns and figures of CHRIST's body; and they ſaid, that upon conſecration they did not ceaſe to be bread and wine, but remained ſtill in their own proper natures. He alſo ſhew'd, That the fathers were alſo ſtrangers to all the conſequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a ſpirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a ſpeculation, ſo that adoration were not offer'd to the elements, it might be well tolerated; but that he condemned as groſs idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent ſuch heats in England, as were raiſed in Germany, between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reaſon of their different opinions concerning the ſacrament. He was ſeized on in May 1533, and brought before Stokeſley, Gardiner, and Longland. They objected to him his not believing purgatory, nor tranſubſtantiation. He gave his reaſons that determin'd him not to look on either of theſe as articles of faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determin'd poſitively. The biſhops ſeemed unwilling to proceed to ſentence; but he continuing reſolute, Stokeſly pronounced it, and ſo deliver'd him to the ſecular arm, obteſting, that his puniſhment might be moderated, ſo that the Rigour might not be too extream; nor yet the gentleneſs of it too much mitigated. This obteſtation, by the bowels of CHRIST, was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was intended that he ſhould be burnt. One Hewet, a 'prentice of London, was alſo condemned with him, on the ſame account. When they were brought to Smithfield, Frith expreſſed great joy, and hugged the faggots with ſome tranſport. Cook, a prieſt, that ſtood by, called to the people not to pray for them, more than they would do for a dog. Frith ſmiled at that, and prayed GOD to forgive him. The fire was kindled, which conſumed them to aſhes. This was the laſt inſtance of the cruelty of the clergy at this time; for the act, formerly mention'd, regulating their proceedings, followed ſoon after: Philips, at whoſe complaint, that bill was begun, was committed upon ſuſpicion of hereſy; a copy of Tracy's will was found about him; and butter and cheeſe were alſo found in his chamber in Lent: but he being required to abjure, appealed to the king as ſupream head, and upon that he was ſet at liberty; but whether he was tried by the king or not, is not upon record.

THE act that was paſs'd gave the new preachers and their followers ſome reſpite. The king was alſo impowered to reform all hereſies and idolatries: and his affairs did now oblige him to unite himſelf to the princes of Germany, that by their means he might ſo imbroil the emperor's affairs, as not to give him leiſure to turn his arms againſt England; and this produced a ſlackening of all ſeverities againſt them: for thoſe princes, in that firſt fervour of the reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none ſhould be perſecuted for favouring their doctrine. The queen did alſo openly protect them; ſhe took Latimer, and Shaxton, to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the biſhopricks of Worceſter and Salisbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the neceſſity of a reformation; and that he might carry it on with true judgment, and juſtify it by good authorities, he made a great collection of the opinions of the antient fathers, and later doctors, in all the points of religion; of which there were two volumes in folio. But, by a letter of the lord Burleigh's, it appears, there were then ſix volumes of his collections in his hands: he was a man of great

candor, and much patience and induſtry; and ſo was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of GOD did now call him: and tho' he was in ſome things too much ſubject to the king's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the ſix articles, he ſhew'd that he wanted not the courage that became a biſhop in ſo critical an affair as that was. Cromwell was his great and conſtant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his maſter Wolſey, after his fall; a rare demonſtration of gratitude in a court to a diſgraced favourite. And in his greateſt height, he happening to ſee a merchant of Lucca (who had pitied and relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not ſo much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the ſmall favours he had formerly ſhewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition) treated him with ſuch acknowledgments, that it became the ſubject of ſeveral pens, which ſtrove who ſhould celebrate it moſt.

AS theſe ſet themſelves to carry on a reformation, there was another party formed that as vigorouſly oppos'd it, headed by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almoſt all the clergy went into it. They perſuaded the king that nothing would give the pope or the emperor ſuch advantages, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he, who had writ ſo learnedly for the faith, ſhould, in ſpite to the pope, make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other princes ſo much to follow his example, nor keep his ſubjects ſo much in their duty to him, as his continuing ſtedfaſt in the antient religion. Theſe things made great impreſſions on him. But, on the other hand, Cranmer repreſented to him, that if he rejected the pope's authority, it was very abſurd to let ſuch opinions or practices continue in the church, that had no other foundation but papal decrees: and therefore he deſired that this might be put to the trial, he ought to depend on GOD, and hope for good ſucceſs if he proceeded in this matter according to the duty of a Chriſtian prince. England was a compleat body within itſelf; and though in the Roman empire, when united under one prince, general councils were eaſily aſſembled, yet now that was not to be ſo much depended on; but every prince ought to reform the church in his dominions, by a national ſynod: and if in the antient church ſuch ſynods condemned hereſies, and reformed abuſes, that might be much more done, when Europe was divided into ſo many kingdoms. It was viſible, that tho' the emperor and the princes of Germany had for twenty years deſired a general council, it could not be obtained of the pope; he had, indeed, offered one at Mantua; but that was only an illuſion.

UPON that the king deſired ſome of his biſhops to give their opinion concerning the emperor's power of calling councils: ſo Cranmer, Tonſtall, clerk of Bath and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made anſwer, 'That tho' antient councils were called by the Roman emperors, yet that was done by reaſon of the extent of their monarchy, that was now ceaſed, but ſince other princes had an entire monarchy within their dominions: yet if one or more of thoſe princes ſhould agree to call a council to a good intent, and deſire the concurrence of the reſt, they were bound by the rule of charity to agree to it. They were alſo of opinion, that none but biſhops and prieſts had right to a definitive voice in matters of doctrine.

Cranmer alſo made a long ſpeech at that time, ſetting forth the neceſſity of a reformation. It is probable it was in the houſe of peers; for it begins, My lords,—— 'He 'begun with the impoſtors and deceit uſed 'by the canoniſts and other courtiers at 'Rome. Then he ſpake to the authority 'of a general council. He ſhew'd, that it 'flow'd not from the number of the biſhops, 'but from the matter of their deciſions, 'which were received with an univerſal 'conſent; for there were many more biſhops 'at the council of Armini, which was con'demned, than either at Nice or Conſtan'tinople, which were received, CHRIST 'had named no head of the whole church, 'as GOD had named no head of the world; 'but that grew up for orders ſake, as there 'were archbiſhops ſet over provinces; yet 'ſome popes were condemned for hereſy, as 'Liberius, and others. If faith muſt be 'ſhew'd by works, the ill lives of moſt 'popes of late ſhewed that their faith was 'to be ſuſpected; and all the privileges 'which princes or ſynods granted to that ſee 'might be recalled. Popes ought to ſubmit 'themſelves to general councils, and were 'to be tried by them. He ſhew'd what 'were the preſent corruptions of the pope 'and his court, which needed reformation. 'The pope, according to the decree of the 'council of Baſil, was the church's vicar, 'and not CHRIST'S; and ſo was ac'countable to it. The churches of France 'declared the council to be above the pope, 'which had been acknowledg'd by many 'popes themſelves. The power of councils 'had alſo bounds; nor could they judge of 'the rights of princes, or proceed to a ſen'tence againſt a king; nor were their canons 'of any force till princes added their ſanc'tions to them. Councils ought alſo to 'proceed moderately, even againſt thoſe 'that held errors, and ought not to impoſe 'things indifferent too ſevercly. The ſcrip'tures, and not men's traditions, ought to 'be the ſtandards of their definitions. The 'divines of Paris held, That a council could 'not make a new article of faith that was 'not in the ſcriptures; and alſo CHRIST'S 'promiſes to the church were to be under'ſtood with this condition, If they kept the 'faith: therefore there was great reaſon to 'doubt concerning the authority of a coun'cil, ſome of them had contradicted others, 'and many others were never received. The 'fathers had always appealed to the ſcrip'tures, as ſuperior in authority to councils, 'by which only all controverſies ought to be 'decided; yet on the other hand, it was 'dangerous to be wiſe in one's own conceit,

'and he thought when the fathers all agreed 'in the expoſition of any place of ſcripture, 'that ought to be looked on as flowing from 'the ſpirit of GOD. He ſhew'd how little 'regard was to be had to a council, in which 'the pope preſided; and that if any error 'had paſs'd upon the world, when that 'came to be diſcover'd, every one was at 'liberty to ſhake it off, even tho' they had 'ſworn to maintain that error: this he ap-'plied to the pope's authority.' In concluſion, he promiſed to entertain them with another diſcourſe of the authority that all biſhops had in their ſees, and that princes had within their dominions: but very probably that is loſt.

THIS was the ſtate of the court after king Henry had ſhook off the pope's power, and aſſumed a ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The nobility and gentry were generally well ſatisfied with the change, but the body of the people was more under the power of the prieſts; and they ſtudied to infuſe in them great fears of a change in religion. It was ſaid, the king himſelf was now joined to hereticks; that the Queen, Cranmer and Cromwell favour'd them. It was left free to the diſpute what were articles of faith, and that were only the decrees of popes; and changes would be made under this pretence, that they only rejected thoſe opinions which were ſupported by the papal authority. The Monks and friars ſaw themſelves left at the king's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer uſeful to them. The trade of new ſaints, or indulgences, was now at an end. They had alſo ſome intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for ſuppreſſing them; ſo they thought it neceſſary, for their own preſervation, to imbroil the king's affairs, as much as was poſſible; therefore both in confeſſions and diſcourſes, they were infuſing into the people a diſlike of the king's proceedings; and this did ſo far work on them, that if the emperor's affairs had been in ſuch a condition, that he could have made war on the king, he might have done it with great advantage, and found a ſtrong party in England on his ſide. But the practices of the clergy at home, and of cardinal Pool abroad, the libels there were publiſhed, and the rebellions that were afterwards raiſed in England, wrought ſo much on the king's temper, that was naturally imperious and boiſterous, that he became too apt to commit acts of the higheſt ſeverity, and to bring his ſubjects into trouble upon the ſlighteſt grounds; and his new title of head of the church ſeemed to have encreaſed his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his ſubjects were bound to regulate their belief by the meaſures he ſet them. He had now reigned twenty-five years, in all which time none had ſuffered for crimes againſt the ſtate, but Pool, Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford, duke of Buckingham (the former was executed in obedience to his father's laſt commands, the latter fell by cardinal Wolſey's malice; he had alſo been inveigled by a prieſt to imagine he had a right to the crown;) but in the laſt ten years of his life, inſtances of ſeverity returned more frequently. The biſhops and abbots did what they could to free the king of any jealouſies that might be raiſed on him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, they ſwore to maintain the king's ſupremacy. The firſt act of it was the making Cromwell vicar-general, and viſitor of all the monaſteries and churches of England, with a delegation of the king's ſupremacy to him; he was alſo empower'd to give commiſſions ſubaltern to himſelf; all wills, where the eſtate was in value above 200 l. were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the king's vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters, and had the precedence of all next the royal family; and his authority was in all points the ſame, that the legates had in time of popery: for, as the kings came in the popes room, ſo the vicegerent was what the legates had been. Pains were taken to engage all the clergy to declare for the ſupremacy. At Oxford a publick determination was made, to which every member aſſented, That the pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign biſhop. The franciſcans, at Richmond, made ſome more oppoſition; they ſaid, by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy ſee. The biſhop of Litchfield told them, that all the biſhops of England, all the heads of houſes, and the moſt learned divines had ſigned that propoſition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the biſhop of Rome was metropolitan; but that ought not to extend to England: And it was ſhew'd that the chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added ſince; yet they continued poſitive in their refuſal to ſign it.

Cromwell made vicar general.

IT was well known that all the monks and friars, tho' they complied with the time, yet they hated this new power of the king's; the people were all ſtartled at it: ſo one Dr. Leighton, that had been in the cardinal's ſervice with Cromwell, propoſed a general viſitation of all the religious houſes in England, and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation ſo much to the king's ſupremacy, as to ſee ſome good effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a ſtep, and that it would provoke the religious orders too much: yet it was known that they were guilty of ſuch diſorders, that nothing could ſo effectually keep them in awe as the inquiring into theſe. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitical viſitation, for which he obtained the king's licence: he took care to ſee that the pope's name was ſtruck out of all the offices of the church; and that the king's ſupremacy was generally acknowledged.

A general viſitation propoſed, an. 1535.

IN October, the general viſitation of the monaſteries was begun, which was caſt into ſeveral precincts. Inſtructions were given them, directing them what things to enquire after; as whether the houſes had the full number according to their foundation, and if they performed divine worſhip in the appointed hours? what exemptions they had? what were their ſtatutes? how their heads were choſen? and how their vows were obſerved?

ſerved? whether they lived according to the ſeverities of their orders? how the maſter and other officers did their duties? how their lands and their revenues were managed? what hoſpitality was kept? and what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift? and how they diſpoſed of them? how the incloſures of the nunneries were kept? whether the nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they imployed their time, and what prieſts they had for their confeſſors? They were alſo order'd to give them ſome injunctions in the king's name, that they ſhould acknowledge his ſupremacy, and maintain the act of ſucceſſion, and to declare all to be abſolved from any rules or oaths that bound them to obey the pope; and that all their ſtatutes tending to that ſhould be eraſed out of their books. That the abbots ſhould not have choice diſhes, but plain tables for hoſpitality; and that the ſcriptures ſhould be read at meals; that they ſhould have daily lectures of divinity; and maintain ſome of every houſe at the univerſity. The abbot was required to inſtruct the monks in true religion, and to ſhew them, that it did not conſiſt in outward ceremonies, but in clearneſs of heart, and purity of life, and the worſhiping of GOD in ſpirit and in truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and againſt admitting any under twenty years of age. The viſitors were empower'd to puniſh offenders, or to bring them to anſwer before the viſitor-general.

WHAT the antient Britiſh monks were, is not well known; whether they were governed according to the rules of the monks of Egypt or France, is matter of conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their biſhops, as all the monks of the primitive times were. But, upon the confuſions which the Gothick war brought upon Italy, Benedict ſet up a new order with more artificial rules for its government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raiſed the credit of that order much, by his books of dialogues. And Auſtin the monk being ſent by him to convert England, did found a monaſtery at Canterbury, that carried his name, which the king and Auſtin exempted from the archbiſhop's juriſdiction. But there is great reaſon to ſuſpect that moſt of thoſe antient charters were forged. After that, many other abbies were founded and exempted by the kings of England, if credit is due to the leger-books or chartularies of the monaſteries. In the end of the eighth century, the Danes made deſcents upon England; and finding the moſt wealth and the leaſt reſiſtance in the monaſteries, they generally plunder'd them, inſomuch that the monks were forced to quit their ſeats; and they left 'em to the ſecular clergy; ſo that in king Edgar's time there was ſcarce a monk left in England. He was a leud and cruel prince; and Dunſtan, and another monk, taking advantage from ſome horrors of conſcience that he fell under, perſuaded him, that the reſtoring the monaſtick ſtate would be matter of great merit; ſo he converted many of the chapters into monaſteries; and by the foundation of the priory of Worceſter, it appears he had then founded forty-ſeven, and intended to raiſe them to fifty, the number of pardon; tho' the invention of jubilees being ſo much later, gives occaſion to believe this was alſo a forgery. He only exempted his monaſteries from all payments to the biſhops; but others were exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction. In ſome only the precinct was exempted, in others, the exemption was extended to all the lands or churches belonging to them. The lateſt exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction granted by any king, is that of battle, founded by William the Conqueror: after this, the exemptions were granted by the popes, who pretending to an univerſal juriſdiction, aſſumed this among other uſurpations. Some abbies had alſo the privilege of being ſanctuaries to all that fled to them. The foundation of all their wealth was the belief of purgatory, and of the virtue that was in maſſes to redeem ſouls out of it; and that theſe eaſed the torments of departed ſouls, and at laſt deliver'd them out of them: ſo it paſs'd among all for a piece of piety to parents, and of care for their own ſouls and families, to endow thoſe houſes with ſome lands, upon condition that they ſhould have maſſes ſaid for them, as it was agreed on more or leſs, frequently according to the meaſure of the gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole wealth of the nation into thoſe houſes, if the ſtatute of Mortmain had not put ſome reſtraint to that ſuperſtition. They alſo perſuaded the world, that the ſaints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great offerings to their ſhrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earneſtly for them. The credulous vulgar meaſuring the court of heaven by thoſe on earth, believed preſents might be of great efficacy there, and thought the new favourites would have the moſt weight in their interceſſions. So upon every new canonization there was a new fit of devotion towards the laſt ſaint, which made the elder to grow almoſt out of requeſt. Some images were believed to have an extraordinary virtue in them, and pilgrimages to theſe were much extolled. There was alſo great rivalry among the ſeveral orders, and different houſes of the ſame orders, every one magnifying their own ſaints, their images and relicks moſt. The wealth of theſe houſes brought them under great corruptions; they were generally very diſſolute and groſly ignorant. Their privileges were become a publick grievance, and their lives gave great ſcandal to the world: ſo that, as they had found it eaſy to bear down the ſecular clergy, when their own vices were more ſecret, the begging friars found it as eaſy to carry the eſteem of the world from them. Theſe, under the appearance of poverty, and coarſe diet, and cloathing, gained much eſteem, and became almoſt the only preachers and confeſſors then in the world. They had a general at Rome, from whom they received ſuch directions as the popes ſent them; ſo that they were more uſeful to the papacy than the monks had been. They had alſo the ſchool-learning in their hands,

ſo that they were generally much cheriſhed: But, they living much in the world, could not conceal their vices ſo artificially as the monks had done; and tho' ſeveral reformations had been made of their orders, yet they had all fallen under great ſcandal, and a general diſeſteem. The king intended to erect new biſhopricks; and, in order to that, it was neceſſary to make uſe of ſome of their revenues. He alſo apprehended a war from the emperor, and for that end he intended to fortify his harbours, and to encourage ſhipping and trade; upon which the ballance of the world began then to turn: and, in order to that, he reſolved to make uſe of the wealth of thoſe houſes, and thought the beſt way to bring that into his hands, would be to expoſe their vices, that ſo they might quite loſe the eſteem they might yet be in with ſome, and ſo it might be leſs dangerous to ſuppreſs them. Cranmer promoted this much, both becauſe theſe houſes were founded on groſs abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them: and theſe were neceſſary to be removed, if a reformation went on. The extent of many dioceſes was alſo ſuch, that one man could not overſee them; ſo he intended to have more biſhopricks founded, and to have houſes at every cathedral for the education of thoſe who ſhould be employed in the paſtoral charge. The viſitors went over England, and found in many places, monſtrous diſorders. The ſin of Sodom was found in many houſes; great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in ſome, they found tools for coining. The report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mention'd: ſome of theſe were printed, but the greateſt part is loſt; only a report of 144 houſes is yet extant.

Some houſes ſurrender'd.

THE firſt houſe that was ſurrender'd to the king, was Langden, in Kent; the abbot was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay brother. This, perhaps, made him more willing to give an example to the reſt; ſo he, and ten of his monks, ſigned a reſignation of their houſe to the king. Two other houſes, in the ſame county, Falkſton and Dover, follow'd their example; and, in the following year, four other houſes made the like ſurrenders; which were all before the act of parliament paſs'd for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries.

Queen Catharine's death, 1536.

QUEEN Catharine was put to much trouble for keeping the title of queen, but bore it reſolutely, and ſaid, That ſince the pope had judged that her marriage was good, ſhe ſhould die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her ſufferings begat compaſſion in the people; and all the ſuperſtitious clergy ſupported her intereſts zealouſly. But now her troubles ended with her life. She deſir'd to be buried among the obſervant friars, for they had ſuffer'd moſt for her. She order'd five hundred maſſes to be ſaid for her ſoul, and that one of her women ſhould go a pilgrimage to our lady of Walſingham, and give two hundred nobles, on her way, to the poor. When ſhe found death coming on her, as ſhe writ to the emperor, recommending her daughter to his care; ſo ſhe writ to the king, with this inſcription: My dear lord king and huſband. She forgave him all the injuries he had done her, and wiſhed him to have regard to his ſoul. She recommended her daughter to his care; and deſir'd him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her ſervants a year's wages; and ended thus: Mine eyes deſire you above all things. She died on the 8th of January, at Kimbolton, in the 50th year of her age, 33 years after ſhe came to England. She was a devout and exemplary woman; ſhe uſed to work with her own hands, and kept her women at work with her. The ſeverities and devotions that were known to her prieſts, and her alms-deeds, joined to the troubles ſhe fell in, begat a high eſteem of her in all ſorts of people. The king complained often of her peeviſhneſs; but that was, perhaps, to be imputed as much to the provocations he gave her, as to the ſourneſs of her temper. He order'd her to be bury'd in the abbey of Peterborough, and was ſomewhat touched with her death: But queen Anne did not carry this ſo decently as became a happy rival.

IN February a parliament met, after a prorogation of fourteen months. The act empowering thirty-two to reviſe the eccleſiaſtical laws, was confirmed; but no time was limited for finiſhing it; ſo it had no effect. The chief buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the ſuppreſſing of the monaſteries, under 200 l. a year. The report the viſitors made was read in the two houſes, and diſpoſed them to great eaſineſs in this matter. The act ſets fortth the great diſorders of thoſe houſes, and the many unſucceſsful attempts that had been made to reform them; therefore the religious that were in them, were order'd to be put into the greater houſes where religion was better obſerved, and the revenues of them were given to the king. Thoſe houſes were much richer than they ſeemed to be; for an abuſe that had run over Europe, of keeping the rents of the church at their firſt rates, and, inſtead of raiſing them, the exacting great fines for the incumbent, when the leaſes were renewed, was ſo groſs in thoſe houſes, that ſome rated but at 200 l. were in real value worth many thouſands. By another act, a new court was erected, with the title of the court of the augmentations of the king's revenue, conſiſting of a chancellor, a treaſurer, ten auditors, ſeventeen receivers, beſides other officers. The king was alſo empowered to make new foundations of ſuch of thoſe houſes, now ſuppreſſed, as he pleaſed, which were in all 370; and ſo this parliament, after ſix years continuance, was now diſſolved.

The ſmall monaſteries ſuppreſſed by parliament

A convocation ſat at this time, in which a motion was made for tranſlating the bible into Engliſh, which had been promiſed when Tindall's tranſlation was condemned, but afterwards laid aſide by the clergy, as neither neceſſary nor expedient. So it was ſaid, that thoſe whoſe office it was to teach people the word of GOD, did all they could to ſuppreſs it. Moſes, the prophets, and the apoſtles, wrote in the vulgar tongue, CHRIST directed the people to ſearch the ſcriptures, and as ſoon as any nation was converted to

A tranſlation of the bible deſigned.

the chriſtian religion, the bible was tranſlated into their language: nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the chriſtian religion was ſo corrupted, that it was not ſafe to truſt them with ſuch a book, which would have ſo manifeſtly diſcovered thoſe errors; and the legends, as agreeing better with thoſe abuſes, were read inſtead of the word of GOD. So Cranmer looked on the putting the bible in the people's hands as the moſt effectual means for promoting the reformation; and therefore moved, that the king might be prayed to give order for it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, oppoſed this vehemently. They ſaid, all the extravagant opinions then in Germany, roſe from the indiſcreet uſe of the ſcriptures. Some of thoſe opinions were at this time diſſeminated in England, againſt the divinity, and incarnation of CHRIST, and the uſefulneſs of the ſacraments, for which nineteen Hollanders had been burnt in England the former year. It was therefore ſaid, that during theſe diſtractions, the uſe of ſcriptures would prove a great ſnare; ſo it was propoſed, that inſtead of them, there might be ſome ſhort expoſition of the chriſtian religion put in the people's hands, which might keep them in a certain ſubjection to the king and the church: but it was carry'd in the convocation for the affirmative. At court, men were much divided in this point; ſome ſaid, If the king gave way to it, he would never be able, after that, to govern his people, and that they would break into many diviſions. But, on the other hand, it was ſaid, that nothing would make the difference between the pope's power, and the king's ſupremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the people the free uſe of the word of GOD, whereas the other had kept them in darkneſs, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would be alſo a great means to extinguiſh the intereſt that either the pope or the monks had in England, to put the bible in the people's hand, in which it would appear, that the world had been long deceived by their impoſtures, which had no foundation in the ſcriptures. Theſe reaſons, joined with the intereſt that the queen had in the king, prevailed ſo far with him, that he gave order for ſetting about this with all poſſible haſte; and within three years the impreſſion of it was finiſhed. At this time, the king was in ſome treaty with the German princes, not only for a league in temporal concerns, but likewiſe in matters of religion. The king thought the Germans ſhould have in all things ſubmitted to him; and the opinion he had of his own learning, which was perhaps heightned a little with his new title of head of the church, made him expect, that they ſhould in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his ambaſſador in France, and diſſuaded him much from any religious league with them, as that which would alienate the world abroad, and his people at home from him.

Queen Ann's fall.

THE popiſh party ſaw the intereſt the queen had in him, was the great obſtacle of their deſigns. She grew not only in the king's eſteem, but in the love of the nation. The laſt nine months of her life, ſhe gave above 14000 l. in alms to the poor, and was much ſet on doing good. Soon after queen Catharine's death, ſhe bore a dead ſon, which was believed to have made ſome impreſſion on the king's mind. It was alſo conſider'd, that now queen Catharine was dead, the king might marry another, and be ſet right again with the pope and the emperor: and the iſſue by any other marriage would never be queſtioned; whereas, while queen Ann lived, the ground of controverſy ſtill remained, and her iſſue would be illegitimate, her marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With theſe reaſons of ſtate the king's affections joined, for he was now in love with Jane Seymour, whoſe humour was tempered in a mean, between the gravity of queen Catharine, and the pleaſantneſs of queen Ann. The poor queen uſed all poſſible arts to re-inflame a dying affection; but the king was changed, and, inſtead of being wrought on by her careſſes, he came to look on them as artifices to cover ſome other criminal affection. Her cheerfulneſs was not always govern'd with decency and diſcretion; and her brother's wife being jealous of her husband and her, poſſeſſed the king with her own apprehenſions, and filled his head with many ſtories. Norris, Weſton, and Brereton, the king's ſervants, and Smeton, a muſician, were obſerved to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been ſworn by the lady Wingfield at her death, that determined the king: but there is little light left to judge of that matter. The king was at juſts at Greenwich, where it was reported, that he was diſpleaſed with the queen, for letting her handkerchief fall to one for wiping his face; but this ſeems to be a fiction, for a parliament was ſummoned the day before that, and then it was reſolved to deſtroy her. The king left her, upon which ſhe was confined to her chamber, and the five before mention'd were ſeized on, and ſent to the Tower, and the next day ſhe was carried thither. On the river, ſome privy counſellors came to examine her; but ſhe made deep proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe landed at the Tower, ſhe fell down on her knees, and prayed GOD ſo to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was free of the crimes laid to her charge. After this, ſhe fell into fits of the mother; ſometimes ſhe laughed, and at other times ſhe wept exceſſively: ſhe was alſo devout and light by turns; and ſometimes ſhe ſtood upon her vindication, and at other times ſhe confeſſed ſome indiſcretions, which ſhe afterwards denied. All the people about her made the moſt of every word that fell from her, and ſent it immediately to court. The others, that were impriſoned on her account, denied every thing, only Smeton confeſs'd leudneſs with her. The duke of Norfolk, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that Norris and Smeton had accuſed her; but tho' that was falſe, yet it had this effect on her, that it made her confeſs that which did totally alienate the king from her. She acknowledg'd

knowledg'd that ſhe had rallied Norris; that he waited for the king's death, and then thought to have her; which tho' he denied, yet upon that ſhe fell out with him. She denied that Smeton was ever in her chamber, but once when he came to play on the virginals. She inſinuated as if he had made love to her; for ſeeing him one day penſive, ſhe told him, he muſt not expect that ſhe ſhould talk to him, ſince he was ſo mean a perſon; and he anſwer'd, A look would ſerve him. She alſo ſaid, Weſton had ſeemed jealous of Norris, for being oft in her chamber, and had declared love to her; upon which ſhe defy'd him. Whether theſe confeſſions were real truths, or the effects of imagination and vapours, cannot be certainly determined at this diſtance. It is probable there had been ſome levities in her carriage that were not becoming.

ALL the court was now turned againſt her, and ſhe had no friend about the king but Cranmer; and therefore her enemies procured an order for him not to come to him; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the king a long letter upon this critical juncture. 'He acknowledg'd, that if the things 'reported of the queen were true, it was 'the greateſt affliction that ever befel the 'king, and therefore exhorted him to bear 'it with patience and ſubmiſſion to the will 'of GOD. He confeſs'd, he never had a 'better opinion of any woman than of her; 'and that next the king, he was more bound 'to her than to all perſons living; and 'therefore he begged the king's leave to 'pray ſhe might be found innocent; he lo-'ved her not a little, becauſe of the love 'which ſhe ſeemed to bear to GOD and his 'goſpel; but if ſhe was guilty, all that 'love the goſpel muſt hate her, as having 'given the greateſt ſlander poſſible to the 'goſpel: but he prayed the king not to 'entertain any prejudice to the goſpel on 'her account, nor give the world reaſon to 'ſay, that his love to it was founded on the 'power ſhe had with him.' The king's jealouſy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any cure, but an extream one. The indictments were laid in the counties of Kent and Middleſex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded guilty, and confeſſed he had known the queen carnally three times; the reſt pleaded not guilty; but they were all condemned.

THREE days after that, the queen and her brother (who was then a peer) were tried before the duke of Norfolk as high ſteward, and a court of twenty-ſeven peers. It has been oft given out, to defame her the more, that her own father ſat and condemned her; but the record of the attainder ſhews that is falſe, for he was not of the number. The crime charged on her was, That ſhe had procured her brother and four others to lie with her; and had often ſaid to them, That the king never had her heart; and this was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her, which was treaſon by the act that confirmed her marriage: ſo that act that was made for the marriage, was now turned on her to her ruin. They would not now acknowledge her the king's lawful wife, and therefore they did not found the treaſon on the known ſtatute 25 Edw. III. It does not appear what evidence was brought againſt her; for Smeton being already condemned, could not be made uſe of; and his never being brought face to face againſt her, gave great ſuſpicion that he was perſuaded to confeſs by baſe practices. The evidence, as appears by Spelman's account of it, that was then a judge, was only the declaration of a dead woman: but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great day diſcovers it. The judgment in caſe of treaſon for a woman, is burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading, at the king's pleaſure. The judges complained of this as contrary to law; but there was a ſecret reaſon for it, into which they did not penetrate. The earl of Northumberland was one of the judges: he had been once in love with the queen, and either ſome return of that, or ſome other accident made that he fell ſuddenly ſo ill, that he could not ſtay out the trial; for, after the queen was judged, he went out of the court before her brother was tried, who was condemned upon the ſame evidence. Yet all this did not ſatisfy the enraged king; he reſolved to illegitimate his daughter, and in order to that, to annul his marriage with the queen. It was remember'd, that the earl of Northumberland had ſaid to cardinal Wolſey, that he had engaged himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by ſome promiſe conceived in words of the future tenſe; but no promiſe, unleſs in the words of the preſent tenſe, could annul the ſubſequent marriage. Perhaps the queen did not underſtand that difference, or probably the fear of ſo terrible a death as burning, wrought ſo much on her, that ſhe confeſſed a contract; but the earl denied it poſitively, and took the ſacrament upon it, wiſhing it might turn to his damnation, if there was ever either contract or promiſe of marriage between them. She was ſecretly carried to Lambeth, and confeſſed a pre-contract, upon which her marriage with the king was judged null from the beginning; yet this was ſo little known at that time, that Spelman writes of it as a thing only talked of; but it was publiſhed in the next parliament. Theſe two ſentences contradicted one another; for if ſhe was never the king's wife, ſhe could not be guilty of adultry, for there could be no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the king was reſolved to be rid of her, and to declare his daughter, by her, to be a baſtard.

WHEN ſhe had intimations given her to prepare for death, among other things ſhe reflected on her carriage to lady Mary, to whom ſhe had been too ſevere a ſtep-mother: ſo ſhe made one of her women ſit down, and ſhe fell on her knees before her, and charged her to go to lady Mary, and, in that poſture, and in her name, to ask her forgiveneſs for all ſhe had done againſt her. This tenderneſs of conſcience ſeemed to give much credit to the continual proteſtations of her

her innocence, which ſhe made to the laſt. The day before her death, ſhe ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, aſſerting her innocence, recommending her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her, firſt to be a marchioneſs, then to be a queen, and now, when he could raiſe her no higher on earth, for ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. The day ſhe died, the lieutenant of the Tower writ to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publiſh the time of her execution, for the fewer that were preſent, it would be the better, ſince he believed ſhe would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning ſhe had made great proteſtations of it, when ſhe received the ſacrament, and ſeemed to long for death, and had great joy and pleaſure in it. She was glad to hear the executioner was good, for ſhe ſaid ſhe had a very ſhort neck; at which he laughed heartily. A little before noon, ſhe was brought to the place of execution; there were preſent ſome of the chief officers and great men of the court. She was, it ſeems, prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the hard meaſure ſhe met with, nor to ſay any thing touching the grounds on which ſentence paſs'd againſt her, only ſhe deſir'd that all would judge the beſt. She commended the king highly, and ſo took her leave of the world. She was for ſome time in her private devotions, and concluded: To CHRIST I commend my ſoul; upon which the executioner, who was brought from Calais on that occaſion, cut off her head; and ſo little regard was had to her body, that it was put in a cheſt of elm-tree, made to ſend arrows into Ireland, and was buried in the chapel in the Tower. Norris was much dealt with to accuſe her, and his life was promis'd him, if he would do it; but, he ſaid, he knew ſhe was innocent, and would die a thouſand times rather than defame her: ſo he and the other three were beheaded; and all of them continued to the laſt to vindicate her. Smeton was hanged, and it was ſaid, that he retracted all before he died: but of that there is no certainty.

WHEN this was done, it was very variouſly cenſured. The popiſh party obſerved, that ſhe who had ſupplanted queen Catharine, did now meet with harder meaſure. Her faint way of ſpeaking concerning her innocence at laſt, was judged too high a compliment to the king in a dying woman, and ſhew'd more regard to her daughter than to her own honour; yet ſhe writ a letter to the king in ſo high a ſtrain both of wit and natural eloquence in her own juſtification, that it may be reckon'd one of the beſt compos'd pieces of that time. In her carriage, it ſeems there were ſome freedoms that became not her quality, and had encouraged thoſe unfortunate perſons to make ſome addreſſes to her, which is never done when there is ſuch difference of conditions, without ſome encouragement is firſt given. It was ſaid on the other hand, that the king of all men had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect her, ſince after ſix years courtſhip he gained nothing from her before he marry'd her; but the particulars ſhe confeſs'd, gave much matter for jealouſy, eſpecially in ſo violent a man, to work upon; and ſo it was no wonder if it tranſported him out of meaſure. Others condemned Cranmer as too obſequious for paſſing the ſentence annulling the marriage: yet when ſhe came and confeſſed a pre-contract in court, he could not avoid giving ſentence upon it. All that hated the reformation, inſulted and ſaid, it now appeared how bad that cauſe was, which was ſupported by ſuch a patron. But it was anſwer'd, that her faults could not reflect on thoſe, who being ignorant of them, had deſired her protection. Gregory the Great had courted and magnified Phocas and Brunichild, after he knew their villanies; and Irene, after her barbarous cruelties, was not a little extolled for her zeal in the matter of images. It has ſeemed ſtrange to ſome, that during her daughter's long and glorious reign, none writ in vindication of her mother, which officious courtiers are apt to do often without any good grounds, therefore that ſilence was made an argument of her guilt, and that ſhe could not be defended. But, perhaps, that was an effect of the wiſdom of the miniſters at that time, who would not ſuffer ſo nice a point, upon which the queen's legitimation depended, to be brought into diſpute. The day after Ann Boleyn's death, the king marry'd Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did: and ſhe was happy that ſhe did not out-live his love to her.

LADY Mary was adviſed, upon this turn of affairs, to make her ſubmiſſion to the king: She offer'd to confeſs the fault of her former obſtinacy, and, in general, to give up her underſtanding entirely to the king; but that would not ſatisfy, unleſs ſhe would be more particular; ſo at laſt ſhe was prevailed with, to do it in the fulleſt terms that could be deſir'd. 'She acknowledg'd the king to be 'the ſupream head on earth, under CHRIST, 'of the church of England, and did renounce 'the biſhop of Rome's authority; and pro-'miſed in all things to be obedient to the 'laws that were made, which ſhe ſaid flow-'ed from her inward belief, and judgment, 'and in which ſhe would for ever continue; 'and ſhe did alſo acknowledge that the 'king's marriage with her mother, was by 'GOD's law, and man's law, unlawful and 'inceſtuous.' All this ſhe writ with her own hand, and ſubſcribed it; upon which ſhe was again received into favour; and an eſtabliſhment was made for a family about her, in which 40 l. a quarter was all the allowance for her privy purſe, ſo great was the frugality of that time. Lady Elizabeth continued to be educated with great care, and was ſo forward, that before ſhe was four years old, ſhe wrote a good hand, and underſtood Italian; for there are letters extant written by her in that language to queen Jane, when ſhe was with child, in which ſhe ſubſcribed daughter.

ON the 8th of June the parliament met, which ſhews that it was ſummon'd before the juſts at Greenwich. The chancellor told them, That the king had called them to

ſettle

ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown, in caſe he ſhould die without children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the act made concerning his marriage made with queen Anne. It ſeems the parliament was not at firſt eaſily brought to comply with theſe things; and that it was neceſſary to take ſome pains to prepare them to it. For the bill of ſucceſſion was not put in till the 30th of June, but then it was quickly diſpatched without any oppoſition: 'by it the attainder of 'queen Anne, and her accomplices, is con-'firmed; both the ſentences of divorces 'paſs'd upon the king's two former mar-'riages, were alſo confirmed; and the iſſue 'by both was illegitimated, and for ever 'excluded from claiming the crown by lineal 'deſcent: and the ſucceſſion was eſtabliſh-'ed on the king's iſſue by his preſent queen, 'or any whom he might afterwards marry. 'But it not being fit to declare who ſhould 'ſucceed in default of that, leſt the perſon 'ſo named might be thereby enabled to 'raiſe commotions, in confidence of the 'king's wiſdom, and affection to his people, 'they left it to him to nominate his ſucceſ-'ſors, either by letters patents, or by his 'laſt will ſigned by his hand, and promiſed 'to obey the perſons ſo nominated by him. 'It was declar'd treaſon to maintain the 'lawfulneſs of his former marriages, or of 'his iſſue by them; and it was made not 'only treaſon, but a forfeiture of the right 'of ſucceſſion, if any of thoſe whom the 'king ſhould name in default of others, 'ſhould endeavour to get before them.' The Scots complained of this act, and ſaid, their queen dowager, being king Henry's eldeſt ſiſter, could not be put by her right, after the king's lawful iſſue. But by this the king was now made maſter indeed, and had the crown put entirely in his hands, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure; and his daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it alſo in his power, in a great meaſure, to pacify the emperor by providing that his kinſwoman might ſucceed to the crown.

POPE Clement the VIIth was now dead, and Farneſe ſucceeded by the name of Paul the IIId, who, after an unſucceſsful attempt, which he made for reconciling himſelf with the king, when that was rejected, and Fiſher was beheaded, thunder'd out a moſt terrible ſentence of depoſition againſt him: yet now, ſince both queen Catharine and queen Anne, upon whoſe account the breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done, and order'd Caſſali to let the king know, that he had always favour'd his cauſe when he was a cardinal; that he was driven very much againſt his mind to paſs ſentence againſt him; and that now it would be eaſy for him to recover the favour of the apoſtolick ſee.

BUT the king, inſtead of hearkening to the propoſition, got two acts to be paſſed: the one was, 'For the utter extinguiſhing 'the pope's authority; and it was made a 'premunire for any to acknowledge it, or to 'perſuade others to it: and a ſtrict charge 'was given to all magiſtrates under ſevere 'penalties to enquire after all offenders. 'By another, all bulls and all privileges 'flowing from them, were declar'd null and 'void; only marriages or conſecrations, 'made by virtue of them, were excepted. 'All who enjoyed privileges by theſe bulls 'were requir'd to bring them into the chan-'cery; upon which the archbiſhop was to 'make them a new grant of them, and that 'being confirmed under the great ſeal, was 'to be of full force in law.

ANOTHER act paſſed explaining an exception, that was in the act for the reſidence of all incumbents by which thoſe who were at the univerſities were diſpenſed with, upon which many went and lived idly there. It was therefore now declared, that none above the age of forty, except heads and publick readers, ſhould have the benefit of that proviſo, and that none under that age ſhould be comprehended in it, except they performed their exerciſes. Another act paſſed in favour of the king's heirs, if they ſhould reign before they were of full age, that they might any time before they were twenty-four repeal by letters patents all acts made during their minority. All theſe things being concluded, the parliament, after it had ſate ſix weeks, was diſſolved.

THE convocation ſat at the ſame time, and was much employed: for the houſe of lords was oft adjourned, becauſe the ſpiritual lords were buſy in the convocation. Latimer preached the latin ſermon: he was the moſt celebrated preacher of that time: the ſimplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expreſſing it, being preferred to more elaborate compoſures. They firſt confirmed the ſentence of the divorce of the king's marriage with queen Anne. Then the lower houſe made an addreſs to the upper houſe, complaining of ſixty-ſeven opinions that they found were much ſpread in the kingdom: they were either the tenets of the old lollards, or the new reformers, or of the anabaptiſts; and many of them were unſavoury and indiſcreet expreſſions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of ſome raſh zealots, who by petulant jeers, and an affectation of wit, had endeavour'd to diſgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They alſo complained of ſome biſhops who were wanting in their duty to ſuppreſs ſuch abuſes; which was underſtood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by queen Anne's fall; and the other two, who were raiſed by her, would not have ſtood long, if he had been once diſgraced; yet they premiſed to this a proteſtation, that they intended to do nothing that might diſpleaſe the king, whom they acknowledg'd to be their ſupream head; and they were reſolved to obey his laws; and they renounced the pope's authority with all his laws. All theſe projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully eſtabliſh'd in the king's favour; and Cromwell was ſent to them with a meſſage from the king, that they ſhould reform the rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the rules ſet down in ſcripture, which ought to be preferred to all gloſſes or decrees of popes. There was one Aleſſe, a

ſcotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his houſe; and he being appointed to deliver his opinion, largely ſhew'd, that there was no ſacraments inſtituted by CHRIST, but baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. Stokeſley anſwer'd him in a long diſcourſe upon the principles of the ſchool divinity; upon which Cranmer took occaſion to ſhew the vanity of that ſort of learning, and the uncertainty of tradition: and that religion had been ſo corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth, but by reſting in the authority of the ſcriptures. Fox, biſhop of Hereford, ſeconded him, and told them the world was now awake, and would be no longer impoſed on by the niceties and dark terms of the ſchools: for the laity now did not only read the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongues, but ſearched the originals themſelves; therefore they muſt not think to govern them as they had been in the times of ignorance. Among the biſhops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilſley, and Barlow, preſs'd a reformation; but Lee, archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley, Tonſtal, Gardiner, Longland, and ſeveral others oppoſed it as much: but the conteſt had been ſharper, if the king had not ſent ſome articles to them to be conſider'd of by them: ſo they, whoſe chief deſign it was to recommend themſelves to preferment by the eaſineſs of their compliance with him in all points, did agree on the following particulars.

'First, all biſhops and preachers muſt inſtruct the people to believe the whole bible, and the three creeds, that made by the apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very ſame words, and condemn all hereſies contrary to them, particularly thoſe condemned by the firſt four general councils.

'Secondly, of baptiſm the people muſt be inſtructed; that it is a ſacrament inſtituted by CHRIST, for the remiſſion of ſins, without which none could attain everlaſting life: and that, not only thoſe of full age, but infants, may and muſt be baptized, for the pardon of original ſin, and obtaining the gift of the HOLY GHOST, by which they became the ſons of GOD. That none baptized, ought to be baptized again. That the opinions of the anabaptiſts and pelagians were deteſtable hereſies; and that thoſe of ripe age, who deſired baptiſm, muſt with it join repentance and contrition for their ſins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith.

'Thirdly, concerning penance, they were to inſtruct the people, that it was inſtituted by CHRIST, and was abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. That it conſiſted of contrition, confeſſion and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity, which were the worthy fruits of penance. For contrition, it was an inward ſhame and ſorrow for ſin, becauſe it is an offence to GOD, which provokes his diſpleaſure. To this muſt be joined a faith of the mercy and goodneſs of GOD, whereby the penitent muſt hope, that GOD will forgive him, and repute him juſtified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthineſs of any merit or work done by him, but for the only merits of the blood and paſſion of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST. That this faith is got and confirmed by the application of the promiſes of the goſpel, and the uſe of the ſacraments: and for that end, confeſſion to a prieſt is neceſſary, if it may be had, whoſe abſolution was inſtituted by CHRIST, to apply the promiſes of GOD's grace to the penitent: therefore the people were to be taught, That the abſolution is ſpoken by an authority given by CHRIST in the goſpel to the prieſt, and muſt be believed, as if it were ſpoken by GOD himſelf, according to our Saviour's words; and therefore none were to condemn auricular confeſſion, but uſe it for the comfort of their conſciences. The people were alſo to be inſtructed, That tho' GOD pardoned ſin, only for the ſatisfaction of CHRIST, yet they muſt bring forth the fruits of penance, prayer, faſting, alms-deeds, with reſtitution and ſatisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of mercy and charity, and obedience to GOD's commandments, elſe they could not be ſaved; and that by doing theſe, they ſhould obtain everlaſting life, and mitigation of their afflictions in this preſent life, according to the ſcriptures.

'Fourthly, as touching the ſacraments of the altar, people were to be inſtructed, That under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and ſubſtantially given, the very ſame body of CHRIST that was born of the virgin Mary; and therefore it was to be received with all reverence, every one examining himſelf, according to the words of St. Paul.

'Fifthly, the people were to be inſtructed, That juſtification ſignifieth remiſſion of ſins, and acceptation into favour of GOD; that is to ſay, a perfect renovation in CHRIST; to the attaining which, they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which were all to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works neceſſary to ſalvation were not only outward civil works, but the inward motions and graces of GOD's holy ſpirit, to dread, fear, and love him; to have firm confidence in GOD, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adverſities, to hate ſin, and have purpoſes and wills not to ſin again; with ſuch other motions and virtues, conſenting and agreeable to the law of GOD.

THE other articles were about the ceremonies of the church. Firſt, of images. 'The people were to be inſtructed, That the uſe of them was warranted by the ſcriptures, and that they ſerv'd to repreſent to them good examples, and to ſtir up devotion; and therefore it was meet that they ſhould ſtand in the churches. But that the people might not fall into ſuch ſuperſtition, as it was thought they had done in times paſt, they were to be taught to reform ſuch abuſes, leſt idolatry might enſue; and that in cenſing, kneeling, offering, or worſhipping them, the people

were

'were to be inſtructed, not to do it to the 'image, but to GOD and his honour.

'Secondly, For the honouring of ſaints, 'they were not to think to attain theſe 'things at their hands, which were only ob-'tained of GOD, but that they were to ho-'nour them, as perſons now in glory, to 'praiſe GOD for them, and imitate their 'virtues, and not fear to die for the truth, 'as many of them had done.

'Thirdly, For praying to ſaints, the 'people were to be taught that it was good 'to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. 'And to correct all ſuperſtitious abuſes in 'this matter, they were to keep the days 'appointed by the church for their memo-'ries, unleſs the king ſhould leſſen the num-'ber of them, which if he did, it was to be 'obeyed.

'Fourthly, Of ceremonies. The people 'were to be taught, that they were not to 'be condemned and caſt away, but to be 'kept as good and laudable, having myſtical 'ſignifications in them, and being uſeful to 'lift up our minds to GOD. Such were the 'veſtments in the worſhip of GOD; the 'ſprinkling holy water to put us in mind of 'our baptiſm and the blood of CHRIST; 'giving holy bread, in ſign of our union in 'CHRIST, and to remember us of the ſa-'crament; bearing candles on candlemas-'day, in remembrance, that CHRIST was 'the ſpiritual light; giving aſhes on aſh-wed-'neſday, to put us in mind of penance, and 'of our mortality; bearing palms on palm-'ſunday, to ſhew our deſire to receive 'CHRIST in our hearts, as he enter'd into 'Jeruſalem; creeping to the croſs on Good-'Friday, and kiſſing it, in memory of his 'death, with the ſetting up the ſepulchre 'on that day; the hallowing the font, and 'other exorciſms and benedictions.

'And laſtly, As to purgatory, they were 'to declare it good and charitable to pray 'for the ſouls departed, which was ſaid to 'have continued in the church from the be-'ginning; and therefore the people were to 'be inſtructed, That it conſiſted well with 'the due order of charity, to pray for them, 'and to make others pray for them, in maſſes 'and exequies, and to give alms to them for 'that end. But ſince the place they were 'in, and the pains they ſuffered, were un-'certain by the ſcripture, we ought to re-'mit them wholly to GOD's mercy: there-'fore all theſe abuſes were to be put away, 'which, under the pretence of purgatory, 'had been advanced, as if the pope's par-'dons did deliver ſouls out of it, or maſſes 'ſaid in certain places, or before certain 'images, had ſuch efficiency with other ſuch 'like abuſes.

THESE articles being thus conceived, and in ſeveral places corrected, and temper-ed by the king's own hand, were ſigned by Cromwell, and the archbiſhop of Canter-bury, and ſeventeen other biſhops, forty ab-bots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower houſe of convocation, Among whom, Polydore Virgil, and Peter Vannes, ſigned with the reſt, as appears by the original yet extant. They being ten-dered to the king, he confirmed them, and order'd them to be publiſh'd with a preface in his name. 'It is ſaid in the preface, that 'he, accounting it the chief part of his 'charge, that the word and commandments 'of GOD ſhould be believed and obſerved, 'and to maintain unity and concord in opi-'nion; and underſtanding, to his great re-'gret, that there was great diverſity of opi-'nions ariſen among his ſubjects, about 'articles of faith and ceremonies, had, in his 'own perſon, taken great pains and ſtudy 'about theſe things, and had ordered alſo 'the biſhops, and other learned men of the 'clergy, to examine them; who after long 'deliberation had concluded on the moſt 'ſpecial points, which, the king thought, 'proceeded from a good, right, and true 'judgment, according to the laws of GOD; 'theſe would alſo be profitable, for eſtabliſh-'ing unity in the church of England: there-'fore he order'd them to be publiſhed, re-'quiring all to accept of them, praying GOD 'ſo to illuminiate their hearts, that they 'might have no leſs zeal and love to unity 'and concord in reading them, than he had 'in making them to be deviſed, ſet forth, 'and publiſhed; which good acceptance 'ſhould encourage him to take further pains 'for the future, as ſhould be moſt for the 'honour of GOD, and the profit and quiet-'neſs of his ſubjects.

THIS being publiſhed, occaſion'd great variety of cenſures. Thoſe that deſir'd re-formation, were glad to ſee ſo great a ſtep once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for the further changes. They rejoiced to ſee the ſcriptures, and the antient creeds, made the ſtandards of faith, without mentioning tradition, or the decrees of the church. Then the foundation of chriſtian faith was truly ſtated, and the terms of the covenant between GOD and Man in CHRIST were rightly opened, without the niceties of the ſchools of either ſide. Imme-diate worſhip of images and ſaints was re-moved, and purgatory was declared uncer-tain by the ſcripture. Theſe were great advantages to them, but the eſtabliſhing the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, the corporal preſence in the ſacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and the praying to ſaints, did allay their joy, yet they ſtill counted it a victory to have things brought under debate, and to have ſome groſſer abuſes taken away.

THE other party was unſpeakably trou-bled; four ſacraments were paſſed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the re-lief of purgatory was put down; for though it was ſaid to be good to give alms for pray-ing for the dead, yet ſince the dreadful ſto-ries of the miſeries of purgatory, and the certainty of redeeming ſouls out of them by maſſes, were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would ſoon a-bate: and, in a word, the bringing matters under diſpute, was a great mortification to them; for all concluded, that this was but a preamble to what they might expect after-wards.

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WHEN theſe things were ſeen beyond ſea, the papal party made every where great uſe of it, to ſhew the neceſſity of adhering to the pope; ſince the king of England, tho', when he broke off from the obedience to the apoſtolick ſee, he pretended he would maintain the catholick faith entire, yet was now making great changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledg'd, that there was great temper and prudence in contriving theſe articles. And, it ſeems, the emperor, and the more learned divines about him, both approved of the precedent, and liked the particulars ſo well, that not many years after, the emperor publiſhed a work not unlike this, called, The Interim; becauſe it was ſo to be in force that interim, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a general council, which, in many particulars, agreed with theſe articles. Yet ſome ſtricter peſons cenſured this work much, as being a political dawbing, in which, they ſaid, there was more pains taken to gratify perſons, and ſerve particular ends, than to aſſert truth in a free and unbiaſſed way, ſuch as became divines. This was again excuſed, and it was ſaid, that all things could not be attained on a ſudden: that ſome of the biſhops and divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer underſtanding of ſome matters, were not then ſo fully convinced about them, and ſo it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them complain in ſome things. Beſides, it was ſaid, that as our Saviour did not reveal all things to his diſciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the apoſtles did not of a ſudden aboliſh all the rites of Judaiſm, but for ſome time, to gain the Jews, complied with them, and went to the temple, and offered ſacrifices: ſo the people were not to be over-driven in this change. The clergy muſt be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better inſtructed; but to drive furiouſly, and do all at once, might have ſpoiled the whole deſign, and totally alienated thoſe who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have alſo much endanger'd the peace of the nation, the people being much diſpoſed by the practices of the friars to riſe in arms: therefore theſe ſlow ſteps were thought the ſurer and better method.

ON the laſt day of the convocation, there was another writing brought in by Fox, biſhop of Hereford, occaſion'd by the ſummons for a general council to ſit at Mantua, to which the pope had cited the king to appear. The king had made his appeal from the pope to a general council, but there was no reaſon to expect any juſtice in an aſſembly ſo conſtituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publiſh ſomewhat of the reaſons why the king could not ſubmit his matter to the deciſion of ſuch a council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the convocation ſhould give their aſſent of it.

THE ſubſtance of their anſwer was, 'That 'as nothing was better inſtituted by the 'ancient fathers, for the eſtabliſhment of the 'faith, the extirpation of hereſies, the healing of ſchiſms, and the unity of the chriſtian church, than general councils, gathered in the HOLY GHOST, duly called to an indifferent place; with other neceſſary requiſites: ſo on the other hand nothing could produce more peſtiferous effects than a general council called upon private malice, or ambition, or other carnal reſpects; which Gregory Nazianzen ſo well obſerved in his time, that he thought all aſſemblies of biſhops were to be eſchewed, for he never ſaw good come of any of them, and they had encreaſed, rather than healed the diſtempers of the church. For the appetite of vain glory, and a contentious humour bore down reaſon: therefore they thought chriſtian princes ought to employ all their endeavours to prevent ſo great a miſchief. And it was to be conſider'd, Firſt, who had authority to call one. Secondly, If the reaſons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, Who ſhould be the judges. Fourthly, What ſhould be the manner of proceeding. Fifthly, What things ſhould be treated of in it. And as to the firſt of theſe, they thought neither the pope, nor any one prince of what dignity ſoever, had authority to call one, without the conſent of all other chriſtian princes; eſpecially ſuch as had entire and ſupream government over all their ſubjects. This was ſigned on the 20th of July, by Cromwell, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with fourteen biſhops, and forty abbots, priors, and clerks of the convocation of Canterbury. Whether this and the former articles were alſo ſigned by the convocation of the province of York, does not appear by any record, but is hardly to be doubted. This being obtained, the king publiſhed a long and ſharp proteſtation againſt the council now ſummon'd to Mantua. In which he ſhews, that the pope had no power to call one: 'For, as it was done by 'the emperors of old, ſo it pertained to 'chriſtian princes now. That the pope had 'no juriſdiction in England, and ſo could 'ſummon none of this nation to come to any 'ſuch meeting. That the place was neither 'ſafe nor proper. That nothing could be 'done in a council to any purpoſe, if the 'pope ſat judge in chief in it, ſince one of 'the true ends, why a council was to be 'deſired, was to reduce his power within its 'old limits. A free general council was 'that which he much deſired; but he was 'ſure this could not be ſuch. And the preſent diſtractions of Chriſtendom, and the 'wars between the emperor and the French 'king, ſhewed this was no proper time for 'one. The pope, who had long refuſed or 'delayed to call one, did now chooſe this 'conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few 'would come to it, and ſo they might carry 'things as they pleaſed. But the world was 'now awake; the ſcriptures were again in 'mens hands, and people would not be ſo 'tamely couzen'd as they had been, Then 'he ſhews how unſafe it was for any Engliſhman to go to Mantua; how little regard 'was to be had to the pope's ſafe conduct, 'they having ſo oft broken their oaths and

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'promiſes. He alſo ſhews how little reaſon 'he had to truſt himſelf to the pope; how 'kind he had been to that ſee formerly, 'and how baſely they had requited it: and 'that now theſe three years paſt they had 'been ſtirring up all chriſtian princes againſt 'him, and uſing all poſſible means to create 'him trouble. Therefore he declared, he 'would not go to any council called by the 'biſhop of Rome; but when there was a 'general peace among chriſtian princes, he 'would moſt gladly hearken to the motion of 'a true general council: and, in the mean 'while, he would preſerve all the articles of 'the faith in his kingdom, and ſooner loſe 'his life and his crown, than ſuffer any of 'them to be put down. And ſo he proteſt-'ed againſt any council to be held at Man-'tua, or any where elſe, by the biſhop of 'Rome's authority: that he would not ac-'knowledge, nor receive any of their de-'crees.

AT this time Reginald Pool, who was of the royal blood, being by his mother deſcended from the duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the IVth, and in the ſame degree of kindred with the king by his father's ſide, was in great eſteem for his learning, and other excellent virtues. It ſeems the king had determined to breed him up to the greateſt dignity in the church, and to make him as eminent in learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for quality, and a natural ſweetneſs and nobleneſs of temper. Therefore the king had given him the deanry of Exeter, with ſeveral other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond ſea; and ſent him to Paris, where he ſtaid ſeveral years: there he firſt incurr'd the king's diſpleaſure. For, being deſir'd by him to concur with his agents, in procuring the ſubſcriptions and ſeals of the French univerſities, he excus'd himſelf; yet it was in ſuch terms, that he did not openly declare himſelf againſt the king: after that, he came over to England, and, as he writes himſelf, was preſent when the clergy made their ſubmiſſion, and acknowledg'd the king ſupream head: in which, ſince he was then dean of Exeter, and kept his deanry ſeveral years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place oblig'd to ſit in the convocation, ſo he concurred with the reſt in making that ſubmiſſion. From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was received into the friendſhip and ſociety of ſome celebrated perſons, who gave themſelves much to the ſtudy of eloquence, and of the Roman authors. Theſe were Centareno, Bembo, Caraffa, Sadolétti, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the World: but all thoſe gave Pool the preheminence, and that juſtly too, for he was accounted one of the moſt eloquent men of his time.

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THE king called him oft home to aſſiſt him in his affairs, but he ſtill declined it: at length, finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the king word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce, nor his ſeparation from the apoſtolick ſee. To this the king anſwered, deſiring his reaſons why he diſagreed from him, and ſent him over a book which Dr. Sampſon had writ in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his book De unione eccleſiaſtica, and ſent it over to the King, and ſoon after printed it. In which book he condemned the king's actions, and preſſed him to return to the obedience he owed the ſee of Rome, with many ſharp reflections: but the book was more conſidered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning, or deep reaſoning in it. He did alſo very much depreſs the royal, and exalt the papal authority: he compared the king to Nebuchadnezzar, and addreſſed himſelf in the concluſion to the emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather againſt the King than the Turk. And, indeed, the indecencies of his expreſſions againſt the king, not to mention the ſcurrilous language he beſtows on Sampſon, whoſe book he undertakes to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the Italian air had changed him; and that his converſe at Padua had for ſome time defaced that generous temper of mind, which was otherwiſe ſo natural to him.

UPON this, the king deſir'd him at firſt to come over, and explain ſome paſſages in his book: but when he could not thus draw him into his toils, he proceeded ſeverely againſt him, and diveſted him of all his dignities; but theſe were plentifully made up to him by the pope's bounty, and the emperor's. He was afterwards rewarded with a cardinal's hat; but he did not riſe above the degree of a deacon. Some believe, that the ſpring of this oppoſition he made to the king, was a ſecret affection he had for the lady Mary. The publiſhing of this book made the king ſet the biſhops on work to write vindications of his actions: which Stokeſley and Tonſtal did in a long and learned letter, that they wrote to Pool. And Gardiner publiſhed his book of true obedience: to which Bonner, who was hot on the ſcent of preferment, added a preface. But the king deſigned ſharper tools for Pool's puniſhment; yet an attainder in abſence was all he could do againſt himſelf: but his family and kindred felt the weight of the king's diſpleaſure very ſenſibly.

He is made a cardinal.

WE come next to an account of the diſſolution of the monaſteries, purſuant to the act of parliament; tho' the exact time when it was done cannot be fixed: the ſubſtance of the original inſtructions given to thoſe who were to viſit the monaſteries, was as follows:

'THE auditors of the court of augmen-'tations, were the perſons that were em-'ployed. Four, or any three of them, were 'commiſſioned to execute the inſtructions in 'every particular viſitation. One auditor, 'or receiver, and one of the clerks of the 'former viſitation, were to call for three 'diſcreet perſons in the county, who were 'alſo named by the king. They were to 'ſignify to every houſe the ſtatute of diſſo-'lution, and ſhew them their commiſſion. 'Then they were put to the governor, or 'any other officer of the houſe, to declare 'upon oath the true ſtate of it: and to re-

'quire him ſpeedily to appear before the 'court of augmentations, and in the mean 'time not to meddle with any thing belong-'ing to the houſe. Then to examine how 'many religious perſons were in the houſe, 'and what lives they led; how many of 'them were prieſts; how many of them 'would go to other religious houſes; and 'how many of them would take capacities 'and go into the world. They were to eſti-'mate the ſtate and fabrick of the houſe, 'and the number of the ſervants they kept; 'and to call for the convent ſeal, and wri-'tings, and put them in ſome ſure place, 'and take an inventory of all their plate, 'and their moveable goods, and to know 'the value of all that before the firſt of 'March laſt belonged to the houſe, and what 'debts they owed. They were to put the 'convent ſeal, with jewels and plate in ſafe 'keeping, and to leave the reſt (an inven-'tory being firſt taken) in the governors 'hands, to be kept by them till further or-'der. And the governors were to meddle 'with none of the rents of the houſe, except 'for neceſſary ſuſtenance, till they were an-'other way diſpoſed of. They were to try 'what leaſes and deeds had been made for 'a whole year before the 4th of February 'laſt. Such as would ſtill live in mo-'naſteries were to be recommended to ſome 'of the great monaſteries that lay next; 'and ſuch as would live in the world, muſt 'come to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or 'the lord chancellor, to receive capacities. '(From which it appears, that Cromwell 'was not at this time lord vicegerent; for he 'granted theſe capacities when he was in 'that power.) And the commiſſioners were 'to give them a reaſonable allowance for 'their journey, according to the diſtance 'they lived at. The governor was to be 'ſent to the court of augmentation, who 'were to aſſign him a yearly rent for his life.

WHAT report theſe commiſſioners made, or how they obeyed their inſtructions, we know not; for the account of it is eraſed out of the records. The writers that lived near that time repreſent the matter very odiouſly, and ſay, about ten thouſand perſons were ſet to ſeek for their livings, only forty ſhillings, and a gown, being given to every religious man. The rents of them all roſe to about thirty-two thouſand pounds; and the goods, plate, jewels, and other moveables, were valued at an hundred thouſand pounds; and, it is generally ſaid, and not improbably, that the commiſſioners were as careful to enrich themſelves, as to encreaſe the king's revenue. The churches and cloiſters were for the moſt part pulled down, and the lead, bells, and other materials were ſold; and this muſt needs have raiſed great diſcontents everywhere.

THE religious perſons that were undone, went about complaining of the ſacrilege and injuſtice of this ſuppreſſion; that what the piety of their anceſtors had dedicated to GOD and his ſaints, was now invaded and converted to ſecular ends. They ſaid, the king's ſeverity fell firſt upon ſome particular perſons of their orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miſcarriages of ſome individual perſons, to proceed againſt theſe houſes, and ſuppreſs them, was an unheard of practice. The nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded or enriched theſe houſes, and who provided for their younger children, or empoveriſh'd friends, by putting them into theſe ſanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they ſuſtained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the abbots tables, were ſenſible of their loſs; for generally, as they travelled over the country, the abbies were their ſtages, and were houſes of reception to travellers and ſtrangers. The devouter ſort of people, of their perſuaſion, thought their friends muſt now lie in purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a prieſt, who ſhould daily ſay maſs for their ſouls. The poor, that fed on their daily alms, were deprived of that ſupply.

TO compoſe theſe diſcontents, firſt many books were publiſhed, to ſhew what crimes, cheats, and impoſtures, thoſe religious perſons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for, they ſaid, why were not theſe abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed? But muſt whole houſes, and the ſucceeding generations, be puniſhed for the faults of a few? Moſt of theſe reports were alſo denied, and even thoſe who before envied the eaſe and plenty in which the abbots and monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings againſt them. But, to allay this general diſcontent, Cromwell adviſed the king to ſell their lands at very eaſy rates to the gentry in the ſeveral counties, obliging them, ſince they had them upon ſuch terms, to keep up the wonted hoſpitality. This drew in the gentry apace, both to be ſatisfied with what was done, and to aſſiſt the crown for ever in the defence of the laws, their own intereſt being ſo interwoven with the crown. The commoner ſort, who, like thoſe of old that follow'd CHRIST for the loaves, were moſt concerned for the loſs of a good dinner on a holiday, or when they went over the country about their buſineſs, were now alſo in a great meaſure ſatisfied, when they heard that all to whom theſe lands were given, were obliged, under heavy forfeitures, to keep up the hoſpitality; and when they ſaw that put in practice, their diſcontent, which lay chiefly in their ſtomach, was appeas'd.

AND to quiet other people, who could not be ſatisfied with ſuch things, the king made uſe of a clauſe in the act that gave him the leſſer monaſteries, which empower'd him to continue ſuch as he ſhould think fit. Therefore, on the 17th of Auguſt, he, by his letters patents, did of new give back, in perpetuam eleemoſynam, for perpetual alms, five abbies. The firſt of theſe, was the abbey of St. Mary of Berleſden of the ciſtercian order in Bedfordſhire; ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen nunneries were alſo confirmed; in all thirty-one houſes. The patents (in moſt of which ſome manors are excepted, that had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of) are all enrolled; and yet none of our writers

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have taken any notice of this. It ſeems theſe houſes had been more regular than the reſt: ſo that in a general calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the ſuppreſſion of the reſt of the monaſteries, they fell under the common fate of other houſes. By theſe new endowments, they were obliged to pay tenths and firſt-fruits, and to obey all the ſtatutes and rules that ſhould be ſent to them from the king, as ſupream head of the church: but it is not unlikely, that ſome preſents, to the commiſſioners, or to Cromwell, made theſe houſes out-live this ruin; for there was great trading in bribes at this time, which is not to be wonder'd at, when there was ſo much to be ſhared.

GREAT diſorders follow'd upon the diſſolution of the other houſes. People were ſtill generally diſcontented. The ſuppreſſion of religious houſes occaſioned much out-crying, and the articles then lately publiſhed about religion, encreaſed the diſtaſte they had conceived at the government. The old clergy were alſo very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every ſpark. And the pope's power of depoſing kings had been for almoſt five hundred years received as an article of faith. The ſame council that eſtabliſhed tranſubſtantiation, had aſſerted it: and there were many precedents, not only in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, but alſo in England, of kings that were depoſed by popes, whoſe dominions were given to other princes. This had begun in the eighth century, in two famous deprivations. The one in France, of Childeric the IIId, who was deprived, and the crown given to Pepin: and about the ſame time, thoſe dominions in Italy which were under the eaſtern emperors, renounced their allegiance to them. In both theſe the popes had a great hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved of thoſe treaſonable mutations, than gave the firſt riſe to them. But, after pope Gregory the VIIth's time, it was clearly aſſumed, as a right and prerogative of the papal crown, to depoſe princes, and abſolve ſubjects from the oaths of allegiance, and ſet up others in their ſtead. And all thoſe emperors or kings, that conteſted any thing with popes, ſat very uneaſy and unſafe in their thrones, ever after that. But, if they were tractable to the demands of the court of Rome, then they might oppreſs their ſubjects, and govern as unjuſtly as they pleaſed; for they had a mighty ſupport from that court. This made princes more eaſily bear the pope's uſurpations, becauſe they were aſſiſted by them in all their other proceedings. And the friars, having the conſciences of the people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their general at Rome, ſo they diſpoſed people, either to be obedient, or ſeditious, as they pleaſed.

NOW, not only their own intereſts, mixed with their zeal for the antient religion, but the pope's authority, gave them a good warrant to incline the people to rebel, as many had in former times, of whom, ſome were canonized for the like practices. For, in Auguſt the former year, the pope had ſummoned the king to appear within ninety days, and to anſwer for putting away his queen, and taking another wife; and for the laws he had made againſt the church, and putting the biſhop of Rocheſter and others to death for not obeying theſe laws: and if he did not reform theſe faults, or did not appear to anſwer to them, the pope excommunicated him, and all that favour'd him, deprived the king; put the kingdom under an interdict; forbad all his ſubjects to obey, and other ſtates to hold commerce with him; diſſolved all his leagues with foreign princes; commanded all the clergy to depart out of England; and his nobility to riſe in arms againſt him. But now, the force of thoſe thunders, which had formerly produced great earthquakes and commotions, were much abated; yet ſome ſtorms were raiſed by this, though not ſo violent as had been in former times.

THE people were quiet till they had reaped their harveſt. And though ſome injunctions were publiſhed a little before, to help it the better forward, moſt of the holidays in harveſt being aboliſhed by the king's authority; yet that rather inflamed them the more. Other injunctions were alſo publiſhed in the king's name by Cromwell his vicegerent, which was the firſt act of pure ſupremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. But theſe, it is likely, were penned by Cranmer.

THE ſubſtance of them was, 'That firſt, 'all eccleſiaſtical incumbents were for a 'quarter of a year after that, once every 'ſunday, and ever after that, twice every 'quarter, to publiſh to the people, That 'the biſhop of Rome's uſurped power had 'no ground in the law of GOD; and there-'fore was, on good reaſons, aboliſhed in 'this kingdom: and that the king's power 'was by the law of GOD ſupream over all 'perſons in his dominions. And they were 'to do their utmoſt endeavour, to extirpate 'the pope's authority, and to eſtabliſh the 'king's.

'Secondly, They were to declare the ar-'ticles lately publiſhed and agreed to by 'the convocation, and to make the people 'know which of them were articles of faith, 'and which of them rules for the decent 'order of the church.

'Thirdly, They were to declare the ar-'ticles lately ſet forth, for the abrogation 'of ſome ſuperfluous holidays, particularly 'in harveſt-time.

'Fourthly, They were no more to extol 'images or relicks, for ſuperſtition or gain; 'nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, 'as if bleſſings and good things were to be 'obtained of this or that ſaint or image: 'But, inſtead of that, the people were to 'be inſtructed, to apply themſelves to the 'keeping of GOD's commandments, and 'doing works of charity, and to believe that 'GOD was better ſerved by them, when 'they ſtayed at home and provided for their 'families, than when they went in pilgri-'mage: and that the monies laid out on theſe, 'were better given to the poor.

'Fifthly,

'Fifthly, They were to exhort the people to teach their children the LORD's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh; and every incumbent was to explain theſe, one article a day, till the people were inſtructed in them, and to take great care that all children were bred up to ſome trade or way of living.

'Sixthly, They muſt take care that the ſacraments and ſacramentals be reverently adminiſtered in their pariſhes, from which, when at any time they were abſent, they were to commit the cure to a learned and expert curate, who might inſtruct the people in wholeſome doctrine: that they might all ſee, that their paſtors did not purſue their own profits or intereſts, ſo much as the glory of GOD, and the good of the ſouls under their cure.

'Seventhly, They ſhould not, except on urgent occaſion, go to taverns or ale-houſes; nor ſit too long at any ſort of games after their meals, but give themſelves to the ſtudy of the ſcripture, or ſome other exerciſe; and remember, that they muſt excel others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well and chriſtianly.

'Eighthly, Becauſe the goods of the church were the goods of the poor, every beneficed perſon that had twenty pounds or above, and did not reſide, was yearly to diſtribute the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor of the pariſh.

'Ninthly, Every incumbent that had a hundred pounds a year, muſt give an exhibition for one ſcholar at ſome grammar ſchool, or univerſity, who after he had compleated his ſtudies, was to be partner of the cure and charge, both in preaching and other duties: and ſo many hundred pounds as any had, ſo many ſtudents he was to breed up.

'Tenthly, Where parſonage or vicarage-houſes were in great decay, the incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his profits to the repairing of them, till they were finiſhed, and then to maintain them in the ſtate they were in.

'Eleventhly, All theſe injunctions were to be obſerved, under pain of ſuſpenſion and ſequeſtration of the mean profits till they were obſerved.

THESE were equally ungrateful to the corrupt clergy, and to the laity that adhered to the old doctrine. The very ſame opinions about pilgrimages, images, and ſaints departed, and inſtructing the people in the principles of chriſtian religion in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now ſet up by the king's authority. From whence they concluded, that whatſoever the king ſaid of his maintaining the old doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The clergy alſo were much troubled at this precedent of the king's giving ſuch injunctions to them, without the conſent of the convocation: from which they concluded, they were now to be ſlaves to the lord vicegerent. The matter of the injunctions was alſo very uneaſy to them. The great profits they made by their images and relicks, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet ſevere impoſitions and heavy taxes were laid on them; a fifth part for repairs, a tenth at leaſt for an exhibitioner, and a fortieth for charity, which were cryed out on as intolerable burdens. Their labour was alſo encreaſed, and they were bound up to many ſeverities of life. All theſe things touched the ſecular clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the regular clergy in diſpoſing the people to rebel.

THIS was ſecretly fomented by the great abbots: For tho' they were not yet ſtruck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their houſes were oppreſſed with crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſſed houſes. There were ſome pains taken to remove their fears; for a letter was ſent to them all in the king's name, to ſilence the reports that were ſpread abroad, as if all monaſteries were to be quite ſuppreſſed. This they were required not to believe, but to ſerve GOD according to their order; to obey the king's injunctions; to keep hoſpitality; and make no waſtes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them ſmall comfort; and as all ſuch things do, rather encreaſed than quieted their jealouſies and fears. So many ſecret cauſes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and ſeditious practices.

A rebellion in Lincolnſhire.

THE firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire in the beginning of October, where a churchman, diſguiſed into a cobler, and directed by a monk, drew a great body of men after him. About twenty thouſand were gathered together. They ſwore to be true to GOD, the king, and the commonwealth, and digeſted their grievances into a few articles, which they ſent to the king, deſiring a redreſs of them.

'THEY complained of ſome things that related to ſecular concerns, and ſome acts of parliament that were uneaſy to them: They alſo complained of the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes; that the king had mean perſons in high places about him, who were ill counſellors: They alſo complained of ſome biſhops who had ſubverted the faith; and they apprehended the jewels and plate of their churches ſhould be taken away; therefore they deſired the king would call to him the nobility of the realm, and, by their advice, redreſs their grievances; concluding with an acknowledgment of the king's being the ſupream head, and that the tenths and firſt-fruits of all livings, belonged to him of right.

WHEN the king heard of this inſurrection, he preſently ſent the duke of Suffolk with a commiſſion to raiſe forces for diſperſing them; but with him he ſent an anſwer to their petition. He began with that about his counſellors, and ſaid: 'It was 'never before heard of that the rabble pre-'ſumed to dictate to their prince, what 'counſellors he ſhould chooſe. That was 'the prince's work, and not theirs. The 'ſuppreſſion of religious houſes was done 'purſuant to an act of parliament, and was 'not ſet forth by any of his counſellors.

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'The heads of theſe religious houſes had 'under their own hands confeſſed thoſe hor-'rid ſcandals, which made them a reproach 'to the nation: and in many houſes there 'were not above four or five religious per-'ſons. So it ſeemed they were better plea-'ſed that ſuch diſſolute perſons ſhould con-'ſume their rents in idle and riotous living, 'than that their prince ſhould have them 'for the common good of the whole king-'dom. He alſo anſwered their other de-'mands in the ſame high and commanding 'ſtrain, and required them to ſubmit them-'ſelves to his mercy, and to deliver their 'captains and lieutenants into the hands of 'his lieutenants, and to diſperſe and carry 'themſelves as became good and obedient 'ſubjects, and to put an hundred of their 'number into the hands of his lieutenants, 'to be ordered as they had deſerved.

WHEN this anſwer was brought to them, it raiſed their ſpirits higher. The practiſing clergymen continued to inflame them. They perſuaded them that the chriſtian religion would be very ſoon defaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorouſly defend it: That it would come to that, that no man ſhould marry a wife, receive any of the ſacraments, nor eat a piece of roaſt-meat, but he ſhould pay for it: That it were better to live under the Turk, than under ſuch oppreſſion. Therefore there was no cauſe in which they could with more honour, and a better conſcience, hazard their lives, than for the holy faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the gentry of the country to go along with them. Theſe ſent a ſecret meſſage to the duke of Suffolk, letting him know what ill effects the king's rough anſwer had produced: That they had joined with the people only to moderate them a little; and they knew nothing that would be ſo effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the duke of Suffolk, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, ſent to the king to know his pleaſure, and earneſtly adviſed a gentle compoſing of the matter without blood. At that ſame time the king was advertiſed from the north, that there was a general and formidable riſing there. Of which he had the greater apprehenſions, becauſe of their neighbourhood in Scotland; whoſe king, being the king's nephew, was the heir preſumptive of the crown, ſince the king had illegitimated both his daughters. And though the king's firm alliance with France made him leſs apprehenſive of trouble from Scotland, and their king was at this time in France, to marry the daughter of Francis; yet he did not know how far a general riſing might invite that king, to ſend orders to head and aſſiſt the rebels in the north. Therefore he reſolved firſt to quiet Lincolnſhire: and, as he had raiſed a great force about London, with which he was marching in perſon againſt them, ſo he ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of mercy. By theſe means they were melted away. Thoſe who had been carried in the ſtream, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and promiſed all obedience for the future: others, that were obſtinate, and knew themſelves unpardonable, fled northward, and joined themſelves to the rebels there: ſome of their other leaders were apprehended, in particular the cobler, and were executed.

FOR the northern rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at a greater diſtance from the court, had larger opportunities to gather themſelves into a huge body; ſo the whole contrivance of it was better laid. One Ask commanded in chief. He was a gentleman of an ordinary condition, but underſtood well how to draw on and govern a multitude. Their march was called, The pilgrimage of grace; and, to inveigle the people, ſome prieſts marched before them with croſſes in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds, and a chalice; and every one wore on his ſleeve, as the badge of the party, an emblem of the five wounds of CHRIST, with the name JESUS wrought in the midſt. All that joined to them took an oath, 'That they enter'd in-'to this pilgrimage of grace, for the love of 'GOD, the preſervation of the king's per-'ſon, and iſſue; the purifying the nobility, 'and driving away all baſe-born and ill 'counſellors; and for no particular profit of 'their own, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, 'nor to kill any for envy; but to take be-'fore them the croſs of CHRIST, his faith, 'the reſtitution of the church, and the ſup-'preſſion of the hereticks, and their opi-'nions.' Theſe were ſpecious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and diſcontented multitude. So the people flocked about their croſſes and ſtandards in great numbers; and they grew to be 40,000 ſtrong. They went over the country without any great oppoſition. The archbiſhop of York, and the lord Darcy, were in Pomfret-caſtle; which they yielded to them, and were made to ſwear their covenant. They were both ſuſpected of being ſecret promoters of the rebellion: the latter ſuffered for it; but how the former excuſed himſelf, is not known. They alſo took York, and Hull; but tho' they ſummoned the caſtle of Skipton, yet the earl of Cumberland, who would not degenerate from his noble anceſtors, held it out againſt all their force: and tho' many of the gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own coſt, deſerted him, yet he made a brave reſiſtance. Scarborough-caſtle was alſo long beſieged; but there Sir Ralph Evers, that commanded it, gave an unexampled inſtance of his fidelity and courage; for though his proviſions fell ſhort, ſo that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they ſtood till they were relieved.

THIS riſing in Yorkſhire encouraged thoſe of Lancaſhire, the biſhoprick of Durham, and Weſtmoreland, to arm. Againſt theſe the earl of Shrewsbury, that he might not fall ſhort of the gallantry and loyalty of his renowned anceſtors, made head: though he had no commiſſion from the king. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would eaſily procure him a pardon; which he modeſtly asked for the ſervice he had done. The king ſent

him not only that, but a commiſſion to command in chief all his forces in the north. To his aſſiſtance he order'd the earl of Derby to march, and ſent Courtney, marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntington and Rutland, to join him. He alſo order'd the duke of Suffolk, with the force that he had led into Lincolnſhire, to lie ſtill there, leſt they, being but newly quieted, ſhould break out again, and fall upon his armies behind; when the Yorkſhire men met them before.

ON the 20th of October, he ſent the duke of Norfolk with more forces to join the earl of Shrewsbury: but the rebels were very numerous and deſperate. When the duke of Norfolk underſtood their ſtrength, he ſaw great reaſon to proceed with much caution; for if they had got the leaſt advantage of the king's troops, all the diſcontents in England would, upon the report of that, have broken out. He ſaw their numbers were now ſuch, that the gaining ſome time was their ruin; for ſuch a great body could not ſubſiſt long together, without much proviſions; and that muſt be very hard for them to bring in; ſo he ſet forward a treaty. It was both honourable for the king to offer mercy to his diſtracted ſubjects, and of great advantage to his affairs; for as their numbers did every day leſſen, ſo the king's forces were ſtill encreaſing. He wrote to the king, that conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, he thought the offering ſome fair conditions might perſuade them to lay down their arms, and diſperſe themſelves; yet when the earl of Shrewsbury ſent a herald with a proclamation, ordering them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy, Ask received him ſitting in ſtate, with the archbiſhop on the one hand, and the lord Darcy on the other; but would not ſuffer any proclamation to be made, till he knew the contents of it. And when the herald told what they were, he ſent him without ſuffering him to publiſh it. And then the prieſts uſed their endeavours to engage the people to a firm reſolution of not diſperſing themſelves, till all matters about religion were fully ſettled.

AS they went forward, they every-where re-poſſeſſed the ejected monk of their houſes; and this encouraged the reſt, who had a great mind to be in their old neſts again. They publiſhed alſo many ſtories among them of the growing burdens of the king's government, and made them believe that impoſitions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or ſold. But the king hearing how ſtrong they were, ſent out a general ſummons to all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. And the forces ſent againſt the rebels advanced to Doncaſter, to hinder them from coming further ſouthward; and took the bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the river to maintain that paſs.

THE writers of that time ſay, that the day of battle was agreed on; but that the night before, exceſſive rains falling, the river ſwelled ſo, that it was unpaſſable next day, and they could not force the bridge. Yet it is not likely the earl of Shrewsbury, having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitch'd battel with thoſe who were ſix times his number, being then 30,000. Therefore it is more likely, that the rebels only intended to paſs the river the next day, which the rain that fell hinder'd. But the duke of Norfolk continu'd to preſs a treaty, which was hearkened to by the other ſide, who were reduced to great ſtraits, for their captain would not ſuffer them to ſpoil the country; and they were no longer able to ſubſiſt without doing that. The duke of Norfolk directed ſome that were ſecretly gained, or had been ſent over to them as deſerters, to ſpread reports among them, That their leaders were making terms for themſelves, and would leave the reſt to be undone. This, joined to their neceſſities, made many fall off every day. The duke of Norfolk finding his arts had ſo good an operation, offered to go to court, with any whom they would ſend with their demands, and to intercede for them. This, he knew, would take up ſome time, and moſt of them would be diſperſed before he could return. So they ſent two gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them to the king, to Windſor. Upon this, the king diſcharged the rendezvous at Northampton, and delayed the ſending an anſwer as much as could be: but, at laſt, hearing that tho' moſt of them were diſperſed, yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no anſwer came; he ſent the duke of Norfolk to them with a general pardon, ſix only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the king's counſels were generally cenſured, for every one was now in fear; and ſo the rebels rejected the propoſition. The king alſo ſent them word by their own meſſenger, 'That he took it 'very ill at their hands, that they had cho-'ſen rather to riſe in arms againſt him, than 'to petition him about theſe things which 'were uneaſy to them.' And, to appeaſe them a little, by new injunctions, he commanded the clergy to continue the uſe of all the ceremonies of the church. This, it is likely, was intended for keeping up the four ſacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former articles. The clergy, that were with the rebels, met at Pomfret to draw up articles to be offered at the treaty that was to be at Doncaſter, where three hundred were ordered to come from the rebels to treat with the king's commiſſioners; ſo great a number was called, in hopes that they would diſagree about their demands, and ſo fall out among themſelves. On the 6th of December they met to treat, and it ſeems had ſo laid their matters before, that they agreed upon theſe following demands.

'A general pardon to be granted; a par-'liament to be held at York; and courts of 'juſtice to be there; that none on the north 'of Trent might be brought to London upon 'any law-ſuit. They deſired a repeal of 'ſome acts of parliament: thoſe, for the laſt 'ſubſidy, for uſes, for making words miſ-'priſion of treaſon, and for the clergy's pay-'ing their tenths and firſt-fruits to the king. 'They deſired the princeſs Mary might be

'reſtored

'restored to her right of ſucceſſion; the 'pope, to his wonted juriſdiction, and the 'monks to their houſes again, that the Lu-'therans might be puniſhed; that Audley, 'the lord chancellor, and Cromwell, the 'lord privy-ſeal, might be excluded from 'the next parliament; and Lee, and Leigh-'ton, that had viſited the monaſteries, 'might be impriſoned for bribery and ex-'tortion.

BUT the lords, who knew that the king would by no means agree to theſe propoſitions, rejected them. Upon which, the rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and deſperate; ſo that the duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, that if ſome content were not given, it might end very ill, for they were much ſtronger than his forces were: and both he, and the other commanders of the king's forces, in their hearts, wiſhed that moſt of their demands were granted, being perſons, who tho' they complied with the king, and were againſt that rebellion, yet were great enemies to Lutheraniſm, and wiſhed a reconciliation with Rome; of which the duke of Norfolk was afterwards accuſed by the Lord Darcy, as if he had ſecretly encouraged them to inſiſt on theſe demands. The king ſeeing the humour was ſo obſtinate, reſolved to uſe gentle remedies, and ſo ſent to the duke of Norfolk a general pardon, with a promiſe of a parliament, ordering him not to make uſe of theſe, except in extremity. This was no eaſy thing to that duke, ſince he might be afterwards made to anſwer for it, whether the extremity was really ſuch, as to juſtify his granting theſe things. But the rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had reſolved to croſs the river, and to force the king's camp, which was ſtill much inferior to theirs in number. But rains falling the ſecond time, made the fords again unpaſſable. This was ſpoken of by the king's party, as little leſs than a miracle; that GOD's providence had twice ſo opportunely interpoſed for the ſtopping of the progreſs of the rebels: and it is very probable that, on the other ſide, it made great impreſſion on the ſuperſtitious multitude, and both diſcouraged them, and diſpoſed them, to accept of the offer of pardon, and a parliament to be ſoon called, for conſidering their other demands. The king ſigned the pardon at Richmond, the 9th of December, by which all their treaſons and rebellion to that day were pardoned, provided they made their ſubmiſſion to the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury, and lived in all due obedience for the future. 'The king ſent like-'wiſe a long anſwer to their demands, as to 'what they complained about the ſubverſion 'of the faith; he proteſted his zeal for the 'true chriſtian faith, and that he would live 'and die in the defence and preſervation of 'it. But the ignorant multitude were not 'to inſtruct him what the true faith was, 'nor to preſume to correct what he and the 'whole convocation had agreed on. That 'as he had preſerved the church of England 'in her true liberties, ſo he would do ſtill; 'and that he had done nothing that was ſo 'oppreſſive, as many of his progenitors had 'done upon leſs grounds. But he took that 'very ill of them, who had rather one churl 'or two ſhould enjoy the profits of their mo-'naſteries, to ſupport them in their diſſolute 'and abominable courſe of living, than that 'their king ſhould have them for defraying 'the great charge he was at for their de-'fence againſt foreign enemies. For the 'laws, it was high preſumption in a rude 'multitude to take on them to judge what 'laws were good, and what not. They had 'more reaſon to think, that he, after twen-'ty-eight years reign, ſhould know it bet-'ter than they could. And, for his govern-'ment, he had ſo long preſerved his ſub-'jects in peace and juſtice; had ſo defend-'ed them from their enemies; had ſo ſecu-'red his frontier; had granted ſo many 'general pardons; had been ſo unwilling to 'puniſh his ſubjects, and ſo ready to receive 'them into mercy; that they could ſhew no 'parallel to his government among all their 'former kings. And whereas it was ſaid, 'that he had many of the nobility of his 'council, in the beginning of his reign, and 'few now; he ſhewed them in that one in-'ſtance, how they were abuſed by the lying 'ſlanders of ſome diſaffected perſons: for 'when he came to the crown, there were 'none that were born noble, of his council, 'but only the earl of Surrey, and the earl of 'Shrewsbury; whereas now, the dukes of 'Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Exe-'ter, the lord ſteward, the earls of Oxford 'and Suſſex, and the lord Sands, were of 'the privy council: and for the ſpirituality, 'the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops 'of Wincheſter, Hereford and Chicheſter, 'were alſo of it: and he and his whole 'council judging it neceſſary to have ſome at 'the board who underſtood the law of Eng-'land, and the treaties with foreign princes, 'he had, by their unanimous advice, brought 'in his chancellor, and the lord privy ſeal. 'He thought it ſtrange, that they who were 'but brutes, ſhould think they could better 'judge who ſhould be his counſellors than 'himſelf and his whole council. Therefore 'he would bear no ſuch thing at their hands, 'it being inconſiſtent with the duty of good 'ſubjects, to meddle in ſuch matters. But 'if they, or any of his other ſubjects, could 'bring any juſt complaint againſt any about 'him, he was ready to hear it; and if it 'were proved, he would puniſh it according 'to law. As for the complaints againſt ſome 'of the prelates for preaching againſt the 'faith, they could know none of theſe things 'but by the report of others; ſince they 'lived at ſuch a diſtance, that they them-'ſelves had not heard any of them preach. 'Therefore he required them not to give 'credit to lies, nor be miſled by thoſe who 'ſpread ſuch calumnies and ill reports: 'and he concluded all with a ſevere expoſ-'tulation; adding, that ſuch was his love to 'his ſubjects, that imputing this inſurrec-'tion rather to their folly and lightneſs, 'than to any malice or rancour, he was wil-'ling to paſs it over more gently, as they 'would perceive by his proclamation.

Now

Now the people were come to themſelves again, and glad to get off ſo quietly; and they all chearfully accepted the king's offers, and went home again to their ſeveral dwellings. Yet the clergy were no way ſatisfied, but continued ſtill to practiſe amongſt them, and kept the rebellion ſtill on foot; ſo that it broke out ſoon after. The duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury, were order'd to lie ſtill in the country with their forces, till all things were more fully compoſed. They made them all come to a full ſubmiſſion; and firſt, to revoke all oaths and promiſes made, during the rebellion, for which they asked the king's pardon on their knees. 2dly, To ſwear to be true to the king, and his heirs and ſucceſſors. 3dly, To obey and maintain all the acts of parliament made during the king's reign. 4thly, Not to take arms again but by the king's authority. 5thly, To apprehend all ſeditious perſons. 6thly, To remove all the monks, nuns, and friars, whom they had placed again in the diſſolved monaſteries. There were alſo orders given to ſend Ask, their captain, and the lord Darcy, to court. Ask was kindly received, and well uſed by the king. He had ſhewed great conduct in commanding the rebels, and, it ſeems, the king had a mind either to gain him to his ſervice, or, which perhaps was the true cauſe, to draw from him a diſcovery of all thoſe, who, in the other parts of the kingdom, had favour'd or relieved them. For he ſuſpected, not without cauſe, that ſome of the great abbots had given ſecret ſupplies of money to the rebels: for which many of them were afterwards tried and attainted. The lord Darcy was under great apprehenſions, and ſtudied to purge himſelf, that he was forced to a compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important ſervices he had done the crown for fifty years, he being then fourſcore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's diſpleaſure: but he was made priſoner. Whether this gave thoſe who had been in arms new jealouſies that the king's pardon would not be inviolably obſerved, or whether the clergy had of new prevailed on them to riſe in arms, is not eaſily determined: but it broke out again, though not ſo dangerouſly as before. Two gentlemen of the north, Muſgrave and Tilby, raiſed a body of 8000 men, and thought to have ſurprized Carliſle, but were repulſed by thoſe within. And in their return the duke of Norfolk fell on them, and routed them. He took many priſoners, and, by martial law, hanged up all their captains, and ſeventy other priſoners, on the walls of Carliſle. Others, at that ſame time, thought to have ſurprized Hull; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that party were alſo taken and executed.

MANY other riſings were in ſeveral places in the country, which were all ſoon repreſſed; the ground of them all was, that the parliament which was promiſed, was not called: but the king ſaid, They had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a parliament till all things were quieted. But the duke of Norfolk's vigilance everywhere prevented their gathering together in any great body. And after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, at length the country was abſolutely quieted in January following. And then the duke of Norfolk proceeded according to the martial law againſt many whom he had taken. Ask had alſo left the court without leave, and had gone amongſt them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were ſent to ſeveral places, to be made publick examples. He ſuffered at York, the others at Hull, and in other towns in Yorkſhire. But the lord Darcy, and the lord Huſſy, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and attainted of treaſon; the former for the northern, and the other for the Lincolnſhire Inſurrection. The Lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower-hill, and was much lamented. Every body thought, that conſidering his merits, his age, and former ſervices, he had hard meaſure. The lord Huſſy was beheaded at Lincoln. The lord Darcy, in his tryals accuſed the duke of Norfolk; that in the treaty at Doncaſter, he had encouraged the rebels to continue in their demands. This the duke denied, and deſired a trial by combat, and gave ſome preſumptions to ſhew that the lord Darcy bore him ill-will, and ſaid this out of malice. The king either did not believe this, or would not ſeem to believe it: and the duke's great diligence in the ſuppreſſion of theſe commotions ſet him beyond all jealouſies. But after thoſe executions, the king wrote to the duke in July next, to proclaim an abſolute amneſty over all the north; which was received with great joy, every body being in fear of himſelf: and ſo this threatening ſtorm was diſſipated without the effuſion of much blood, ſave what the ſword of juſtice drew. At the ſame time the king of Scotland returning from France with his queen, and touching on the coaſt of England, many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to aſſiſt them, and he ſhould have all. But he was, it ſeems, bound up by the French king; and ſo went home without giving them any encouragement. And thus ended this rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the clergy, under pretence of religion.

AND now the king was deliver'd of all his apprehenſions that he had been in for ſome years in fear of ſtirs at home. But they being now happily compoſed, as he knew it would ſo over-awe the reſt of his diſcontented ſubjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; ſo it encouraged him to go on in his other deſigns, of ſuppreſſing the reſt of the monaſteries, and reforming ſome other points of religion. Therefore there was a new viſitation appointed for all the monaſteries of England. And the viſitors were ordered to examine all things that related either to their converſation, their affection to the king, and the ſupremacy, or to their ſuperſtition, in their ſeveral houſes: to diſcover what cheats and impoſtures there were, either in their images, relicks, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their houſes on pilgrimages, and gotten from them many great

great preſents. Alſo to try how they were affected during the late commotions, and to diſcover every thing that was amiſs in them, and report it to the lord vicegerent. In the records of the whole twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, there is but one original ſurrender of any religious houſe. The abbot of Furneſe in Lincolnſhire valued at 960 l. with thirty monks reſigning up that houſe to the king, on the 9th of April, which was very near the end of that year of the king's reign; for it commenced on the 22d of April. Two other ſurrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of Bermondſey in Surrey, the firſt of June, in the 28th of the king's reign. The preamble was, That they ſurrender'd in hopes of greater benevolence from the king: but this was the effect of ſome ſecret practice, and not of the act of parliament; for it was valued at 548 l. and ſo fell not within the act. The other was of Buſhliſham, or Biſhtam, in Berkſhire, made by Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, that was commendator of it, and a great promoter of the reformation. It was valued at 327 l. But, in the following year, they made a quicker progreſs, and found ſtrange enormities in the greater houſes. It ſeems all the houſes under 200 l. of rent were not yet ſuppreſſed; for there were many within that value that afterwards reſigned their houſes. There were but twenty-one ſurrenders, till the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign, either in the rolls or the augmentation-office; but then not only ſmall abbies, but greater ones, were ſurrender'd to the king. The abbots were brought to do it upon ſeveral motives. Some had been faulty during the late rebellion, and were liable to the king's diſpleaſure: and theſe, to redeem themſelves, compounded the matter by a reſignation of their houſe. Others began to like the reformation, and that made them the more willing to ſurrender their houſes: ſuch as Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, who not only ſurrender'd up his own houſe of Buſhliſham, but prevailed on many others to do the like. Others were convicted of great diſorders in their converſation; and theſe not daring to ſtand a trial, were glad to accept of a penſion for life, and deliver up their houſe. Others were guilty of making great waſtes and dilapidations; for they all ſaw the diſſolution of their houſes approaching; and ſo every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himſelf, and his kindred; ſo that the viſitors found in ſome of the richeſt abbies of England, as St. Alban's, and Battel, ſuch depredations made, that at St. Alban's an abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents were ſo low; and, in Battel, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 l. ſo both in houſe and chapel, they had not 400 marks worth of plate. In other houſes they found not above twelve or fifteen ounces of plate, and no furniture at all, but only ſuch things as they could not embezel, as the walls, windows, bells and lead. In other houſes, the abbot and monks were glad to accept of a penſion for themſelves during life: and ſo being only concerned for their own particular intereſts, reſigned their houſe to the king. Generally, the monks had eight marks a year penſion, till they were provided for. The abbots penſions were proportioned to the value of their houſe, and to their innocence. The abbots of St. Alban's, and Tewksbury, had 400 marks a year a piece. The abbot of St. Edmund's Bury was more innocent, for the viſitors wrote from thence, that they could find no ſcandals in that houſe: ſo he (it ſeems) was not eaſily brought to reſign his houſe, and had 500 marks penſion reſerved to him. And, for their inferior officers, ſome had 30, ſome 10 or 8, and the loweſt 6 l. penſion.

IN other places, upon a vacancy, either by death, or deprivation, they did put in an abbot only to reſign up the houſe. For, after the king's ſupremacy was eſtabliſhed, all thoſe abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the pope, were placed in this manner. The king granted a Conge d'elire to the prior and convent, with a miſſive letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chooſe: then they returned an election to the King, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a warrent under the great ſeal, which was certified to the lord vicegerent; who thereupon confirmed the election, and returned him back to the king, to take the oaths: upon which, the temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to biſhopricks, or to be ſuffragan biſhops, as the inferior ſort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themſelves to the king's favour, by a quick and cheerful ſurrender of their monaſtery. Upon ſome of theſe inducements it was, that the greateſt number of the religious houſes were reſigned to the king, before there was an act of parliament made for their ſuppreſſion. In ſeveral houſes, the viſitors, who were generally either maſters of chancery, or auditors of the court of augmentations, ſtudied not only to bring them to reſign their houſes, but to ſign the confeſſions of their paſs'd lewd and diſſolute lives. Of theſe, there is only one now extant, which (it is like) eſcaped the general raſure and deſtruction of all papers of that kind, in queen Mary's time. But from letters it appears, that there were ſuch confeſſions made by many other houſes. That confeſſion of the prior and benedictines of St. Andrew's in Northampton is to be ſeen in the records of the court of augmentations. In which, with the moſt aggravating expreſſions that could be deviſed, they acknowledged their paſt ill life, 'For which the 'pit of hell was ready to ſwallow them up. 'They confeſſed that they had neglected 'the worſhip of GOD, lived in idleneſs, 'gluttony, and ſenſuality; with many other 'woful expreſſions to that purpoſe.

Confeſſions made of horrid Crimes in ſeveral houſes.

OTHER houſes, as the monaſtery of Bettleſden, reſigned with this preamble, 'That 'they did profoundly conſider, that the manner and trade of living, which they, and 'others of their pretended religion, had for 'a long time followed, conſiſted in ſome 'dumb

'dumb ceremonies, and other conſtitutions, 'of the biſhops of Rome, and other foreign 'potentates, as the abbot of Ciſteaux, by 'which they were blindly led, having no 'true knowledge of GOD's laws; procur-'ing exemptions from their ordinary and 'dioceſan, by the power of the biſhop of 'Rome, and ſubmitting themſelves wholly 'to a foreign power, who never came hither 'to reform their abuſes, which were now 'found among them. But that now know-'ing the moſt perfect way of living is ſuffi-'ciently declared by CHRIST and his 'apoſtles; and that it was moſt fit for them 'to be govern'd by the king, who was their 'ſupream head on earth; they ſubmitted 'themſelves to his mercy, and ſurrender'd 'up their monaſtery to him on the 25th of 'September, in the 30th year of his reign.' This writing was ſigned by the abbot, the ſub-prior, and nine monks. There are five other ſurrenders to the ſame purpoſe; by the grey and white friars of Stamford; the grey friars of coventry, Bedford, and Aileſbury, yet to be ſeen. Some are reſigned upon this preamble, 'That they hoped the 'king would of new found their houſe, which 'was otherwiſe likewiſe to be ruined both 'in ſpirituals and temporals.' So did the abbot of Chertſey in Surrey, with fourteen monks, on the 14th of July, in the 29th year of his reign, whoſe houſe was valued at 744 l. There was ſome reaſon to believe that this abbot was for the reformation, and intended to have had his houſe new founded to be a houſe of true and well-regulated devotion: and likewiſe the prior of great Malverine in Worceſterſhire offered ſuch a reſignation. He was recommended by biſhop Latimer to Cromwell, with an earneſt deſire that his houſe might ſtand, not in monkery, but ſo as to be converted to preaching, ſtudy, and prayer. And the good prior was willing to compound for his houſe by a preſent of 500 marks to the king, and 200 to Cromwell. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good houſe-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this Latimer adds, Alas! my good lord! ſhall we not ſee two or three in every ſhire changed to ſuch remedy?

BUT, the reſolution was taken once to extirpate all: and therefore, tho' the viſitors interceeded earneſtly for one nunnery in Oxfordſhire and Godſtow, where there was great ſtrictneſs of life, and to which were moſt of the young gentlewomen of the county ſent to be bred, the gentry of the country deſired the king would ſpare the houſe; yet all was ineffectual.

The form of moſt ſurrenders.

THE general form, in which moſt of theſe reſignations begin, is, 'That the abbot 'and brethren, upon full deliberation, cer-'tain knowledge, of their own proper mo-'tion, for certain juſt and reaſonable cauſes, 'ſpecially moving them in their ſouls and 'conſciences, did freely, and of their own 'accord, give and grant their houſes to the 'king.' Others (it ſeems) did not ſo well like this preamble; and therefore did, without any reaſon or preamble, give away their houſes to the viſitors, as feoffees in truſt for the king's uſe: And thus they went on, procuring daily more ſurrenders. So that in the thirtieth year of the king's reign there were 159 reſignations enrolled, of which the originals of 155 do yet remain: but there was no law to force any to make any ſuch reſignations. So that many of the great abbots would not comply with the king in this matter, and ſtood it out till after the following parliament that was in the 31ſt year of his reign.

IT was queſtion'd by many, whether theſe ſurrenders could be good in law, ſince the abbots were but truſtees and tenants for life. It was thought they could not abſolutely alienate, and give away their houſe for ever. But the parliament afterwards declared the reſignations were good in law. For, by their foundations, all was truſted to the abbots and the ſenior brethren of the houſe; who putting the convent ſeal to any deed, it was of force in law. It was alſo ſaid, that they thus ſurrendering, had forfeited their charters and foundations; and ſo the king might ſeize and poſſeſs them with a good title, if not upon the reſignation, yet upon forfeiture. But others thought, that, whatſoever the nicety of law might give the king, yet there was no ſort of equity in it, that a few truſtees, who were either bribed, or frighted, ſhould paſs away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in truſt and for life. Other abbots were more roughly handled. The prior of Wooburn was ſuſpected of favouring the rebels, of being againſt the king's ſupremacy, and for the pope's, and of being for the general council then ſummoned to Mantua. And he was dealt with to make a ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment. In an account of a long conference which he had with a privy counſellor under his own hand, the great thing which he took offence at, was, That Latimer, and ſome other biſhops, preached againſt the veneration of the bleſſed virgin, and the other ſaints: and that the Engliſh bible then ſet out, differed in many things from the Latin; with ſeveral leſs matters. So that they looked on their religion as changed, and wonder'd that the judgments of GOD upon queen Ann had not terrify'd others from going on to ſubvert the faith; yet he was prevailed with, and did again ſubmit to the king, and acknowledg'd his ſupremacy; but he afterwards joined himſelf to the rebels, and was taken with them, together with the abbot of Whaley, and two monks of his houſe; and the abbot of Gervanx, with a monk of his Houſe, and the abbot of Sawley in Lincolnſhire, with the prior of that houſe; and the prior of Burlington; who were all attainted of high treaſon, and executed. The abbots of Glaſtenbury and Reading were men of great power and wealth. The one was rated at 3508 l. and the other at 2116 l. They ſeeing the ſtorm like to break out on themſelves, ſent a great deal of the plate and money that they had in their houſe to the rebels in the north. Which being afterwards diſcovered, they were attainted of high treaſon. There is an account given to Cromwell of the proceedings againſt the abbot of Glaſtenbury in

two

two letters, the one was writ by the ſheriff of the county, the other by Sir John Ruſſel, who was preſent at his tryal, and was reputed a man of as great integrity and virtue as any in that time; which he ſeems to have left as an inheritance to that noble family that has deſcended from him. Theſe inform, that he was indicted of burglary, as well as treaſon; for having broken the houſe in his monaſtery where the plate was kept, and taken it out, which, as Sir William Thomas ſays, was ſent to the rebels. The evidence being brought to the jury, who (as Sir John Ruſſel writes) were as good and worthy men as had been on any jury in that county, they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of execution, near his own monaſtery, where (as the ſheriff writes) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged GOD and the king's pardon for it. The abbot of Colcheſter was alſo attainted of high treaſon. What the particulars were, is uncertain; for the record of their attainders was loſt: but ſome of our own writers deſerve a ſevere cenſure, who write it was for denying the king's ſupremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the hiſtory without any information at all, they muſt have ſeen that the whole clergy, but moſt particularly the abbots, had over and over again acknowledg'd the king's ſupremacy.

FOR clearing which, and diſcovering the impudence of Saunders's relation of this matter, biſhop Burnet lays before the reader, the evidences that he found of the ſubmiſſion of theſe and all the other abbots to the king's ſupremacy. Firſt, In the convocation, in the 22d year of this reign, they all acknowledg'd the king ſupream head of the church of England. They did all alſo ſwear to maintain the act of the ſucceſſion of the crown, made in the 25th year of his reign, in which the pope's power was plainly condemned. For, in the proceedings againſt More and Fiſher, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the clergy had ſworn it. It is alſo enter'd in the journal of the houſe of lords, that all the members of both houſes ſwore it at their breaking up. And the ſame journals inform us, that the abbots of Colcheſter and Reading ſat in that parliament; and as there was no proteſtation made againſt any of the acts paſſed in that ſeſſion, ſo it is often enter'd, that the acts were agreed to by the unanimous conſent of the lords. It appears alſo by ſeveral original letters, that the heads of all the religious houſes in England had ſigned that petition, that the pope had no more juriſdiction in this kingdom, than any foreign biſhop whatſoever. And it was rejected by none but ſome carthuſians and franciſcans of the obſervance, who were proceeded againſt, for refuſing to acknowledge it. When they were ſo preſſing in it, none can imagine that a parliamentary abbot would have been diſpenſed with. And, in the laſt parliament, in which the ſecond oath about the ſucceſſion to the crown was enacted, it was added, that they ſhould alſo ſwear the king to be the ſupream head of the church. The abbots of Glaſſenbury and Reading were then preſent, as appears by the journals, and conſented to it; ſo little reaſon there is for imagining that they refuſed that, or any other compliance that might ſecure them in their abbies.

IN particular, the abbot of Reading had ſo got into Cromwell's good opinion, that in ſome differences between him and Shaxton, biſhop of Salisbury, who was Cromwell's creature, he had the better of the biſhop. Upon which, Shaxton, who was a proud ill-natur'd man, wrote an high expoſtulating letter to Cromwell; 'Complaining of an injunction he had granted againſt him at the abbot's deſire. He alſo ſhew'd, that in ſome conteſts between him and his reſidentiaries, and between him and the mayor of Salisbury, Cromwell was always againſt him: he likewiſe challenged him for not anſwering his letters. He tells him, GOD will judge him for abuſing his power as he did; he prays GOD to have pity on him, and to turn his heart, with a great deal more provoking language.' He alſo adds many inſolent praiſes of himſelf; and his whole letter is an extravagant piece of vanity and inſolence. To this, Cromwell wrote an anſwer, that ſhews him to have been, indeed, a great man, and to have carried his greatneſs with modeſty and diſcretion.

HOW juſtly ſoever theſe abbots were attainted, the ſeizing on their abbey lands, purſuant to thoſe attainders, was thought a great ſtretch in law; ſince the offence of an eccleſiaſtical incumbent is a perſonal thing, and cannot prejudice the church, no more than a ſecular man, who is in an office, does by being attainted, bring any diminution of the rights of his office on his ſucceſſors. It is true, there were ſome words caſt into the thirteenth act of the parliament, in the 26th year of this reign, by which divers offences were made treaſon, that ſeemed to have been deſigned for ſuch a purpoſe. The words are, that whatſoever lands any traitor had of any eſtate of inheritance in uſe or poſſeſſion, by any right, title or means, ſhould be forfeited to the king. By which, as it is certain, eſtates in tail were comprehended, ſo the lands that any traitor had in poſſeſſion or uſe, ſeem to be included; and that the rather, becauſe by ſome following words, their heirs and ſucceſſors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the biſhop of Rocheſter was attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, ſince the king intended not to leſſen the number of biſhopricks, but rather to increaſe them. Beſides, the words of the ſtatute ſeem only to belong to an eſtate of inheritance; within which, church-benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true, the word ſucceſſor favoured theſe ſeizures, except that be thought an expletory word put in, out of form, but ſtill to be limited to an eſtate of inheritance. That word does alſo import, that ſuch criminals might have ſucceſſors. But if the whole abbey was forfeited, theſe abbots could have no ſucceſſors: yet it ſeems the ſeizures of theſe abbies were founded on that ſtatute; and this ſtretch of the law occaſioned that explanation, which was added

of the words, eſtate of inheritance, in the ſtatute made in Edward the VIth's reign about treaſon, where it is expreſſed, That traitors ſhould forfeit to the crown, what lands they had of any eſtate of inheritance, to which is added in their own right, it ſeems, on deſign to cut off all pretence for ſuch proceedings for the future, as had been in this reign. But if there was any illegality in theſe ſeizures, the following parliament did at leaſt tacitly juſtify them. For they excepted out of the proviſo's made concerning the abbies that were ſuppreſſed, ſuch as had been forfeited and ſeized on by any attainders of treaſon.

ANOTHER ſurrender is not unlike theſe, but rather leſs juſtifiable. Many of the carthuſian monks of London were executed for their open denying of the king's ſupremacy, and for receiving books from foreign parts againſt his marriage and other proceedings; divers alſo of the ſame houſe, that favoured them, but ſo ſecretly, that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept priſoners in their cells, till they died. But the prior was a worthy man, of whom Thoms Bedyl, one of the viſitors, writes, that he was a man of ſuch charity, that he had not ſeen the like; and that the eyes of the people were much on that houſe, and therefore he adviſed that the houſe might be converted to ſome good uſe. But the prior was made to reſign, with this preamble, 'That many of that houſe had offended the king, ſo that their goods might 'be juſtly confiſcated, and themſelves adjudged to a ſevere death: which they deſired to avoid, by an humble ſubmiſſion, 'and ſurrender of their houſe to the king.' But there were great complaints made of the viſitors, as if they had practiſed with the abbots and priors to make theſe ſurrenders: and that they had conſpired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezelled moſt of the plate and furniture. The abbeſs of Cheapſtow complained in particular of Dr. London, one of the viſitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns: and generally it was cryed out on, that underhand and ill practices were uſed: therefore, to quiet theſe reports, and give ſome colour to juſtify what they were about, all the foul ſtories that could be found out were publiſhed to defame theſe houſes. Battel-Abbey was repreſented to be a little Sodom; ſo was Chriſt-church in Canterbury, with ſeveral other houſes. But, for whoredom and adultery, they found inſtances without number; and for many other unnatural practices and ſecret luſts, with arts to hinder conceptions and make abortions. But no ſtory became ſo publick, as a diſcovery made of the prior of the croſſed friars in London, who on Friday at eleven o'clock in the day, was found in bed with a whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed thoſe who ſurprized him, not to publiſh his ſhame; but they had a mind to make ſome advantage by it, and asked him money. He gave them 30 l. which he proteſted was all he had; but he promiſed them 30 l. more; yet failing in the payment, a ſuit followed on it; and, in a bill given to Cromwell, then maſter of the rolls, the caſe is related.

ALL ſtories of this kind ſerved only to diſgrace thoſe abbots or monks that were ſo faulty. And the people generally ſaid, theſe were perſonal crimes which ought to be puniſhed: but they were no way ſatisfied with the juſtice of the king's proceedings againſt whole houſes for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which proved more effectual, both for recovering the people out of the ſuperſtitious fondneſs they had for their images and relicks, and for diſcovering the ſecret impoſtors that had been long practiſed in theſe houſes. And this was, to order the viſitors to examine well all the relicks, and feigned images, to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this, Dr. London did great ſervice. From Reading he writes, 'That the chief relicks 'of idolatry, in the nation, were there; an 'angel with one wing, that brought over 'the ſpear's head that pierced our ſaviour's 'ſide. To which he adds, a long inventory 'of their other relicks, and ſays, there were 'as many more as would fill four ſheets of 'paper. He alſo writes from other places, 'that he had every where taken down their 'images and trinkets.' At St. Edmund's-Bury, as John ap Rice informed, they found ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas a Becket's penknife, and boots; with as many pieces of the croſs of our ſaviour as would make a large whole croſs. They had alſo relicks againſt rain, and for hindering weeds to ſpring. But, to purſue this further, were endleſs, the relicks were ſo innumerable. And the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this; that a piece of St. Andrew's finger, ſet in an ounce of ſilver, was laid to pledge by the houſe of Weſtacre for 40 l. but the viſitors, when they ſuppreſſed that houſe, did not think fit to redeem it at ſo high a rate.

The impoſtors of images diſcover'd.

FOR their images, ſome of them were brought to London, and were there at St. Paul's croſs in the ſight of all the people, broken, that they might be fully convinced of the juggling impoſtors of the monks. And, in particular, the crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rood of Grace; to which many pilgrimages had been made, becauſe it was obſerved ſometimes to bow, and lift itſelf up, to ſhake, and to ſtir head, hands, and feet; to roll the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows: all which were looked on by the abuſed multitude, as the effects of a divine power. Theſe were now publickly diſcovered to have been cheats; for the ſprings were ſhewed, by which all theſe motions were made. Upon which John Hiſley, then biſhop of Rochester, made a ſermon, and broke the rood in pieces. There was alſo another famous impoſtor diſcovered at Hales in Gloceſterſhire, where the blood of CHRIST was ſhewed in a viol of chriſtal, which the people ſometimes ſaw, but ſometimes they could not ſee it; ſo they were made believe, that they were not capable of ſo ſignal a favour, as long as they were in mortal ſin; and ſo they continued

Images publickly broken.

to make preſents, till they bribed heaven to give them the ſight of ſo bleſſed a relick. This was now diſcovered to have been the blood of a duck, which was renewed every week: and the one ſide of the viol was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it; but the other was clear and tranſparent: and it was ſo placed near the altar, that one in a ſecret place behind, could turn either ſide of it outward. So when they had drained the pilgrims that came thither, of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear ſide outward; who, upon that, went home very well ſatisfied with their journey, and the expence they had been at. There was brought out of Wales, an image of wood, called, Darvel Gatheren, of which one Ellis Price, viſitor of the dioceſe of St. Aſaph, gave this account. On the 6th of April 1537, 'That 'the people of the country had a great ſu- 'perſtition for it, and many pilgrimages 'were made to it; ſo that the day before 'he wrote, there was reckon'd to be above 'five or ſix hundred pilgrims there: ſome 'brought oxen and cattel, and ſome brought 'money; and it was generally believed, 'that if any offered to that image, he had 'the power to deliver his ſoul from hell.' So it was order'd to be brought to London, where it ſerved for fewel to burn Friar Forreſt. There was an huge image of our lady at Worceſter, that was had in great reverence; which when it was ſtript of ſome veils that covered it, was found to be the the ſtatue of a biſhop.

Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, did alſo give many advertiſements of the ſuperſtition of his country, and of the clergy and monks of that dioceſe, who were guilty of heathenish idolatry, groſs impiety, and ignorance, and of abuſing the people with many evident forgeries: about which he ſaid, he had good evidence when it ſhould be called for. But that which drew moſt pilgrims and preſents in thoſe parts, was an image of our lady with a taper in her hand, which was believed to have burnt nine years, till one forſwearing himſelf upon it, it went out, and was then much reverenced and worſhipped. He found all about the cathedral ſo full of ſuperſtitious conceits, that there was no hope of working on them; therefore he propoſed the tranſlating the epiſcopal ſeat from St. David's to Caermarthen; which he preſſed by many arguments, and in ſeveral letters, but with no ſucceſs. Then many rich ſhrines of our lady of Walſingham, of Ipſwich, and Iſlington, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwel's orders.

Thomas a Becket's ſhrine broken.

THE richeſt ſhrine of England, was that of Thomas a Becket, called St. Thomas of Canterbury the martyr, who being raiſed up by king Henry the IId to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, did afterwards give that king much trouble, by oppoſing his authority, and exalting the pope's. And tho' he once conſented to the articles agreed on at Clarendon, for bearing down the papal, and ſecuring the regal power, yet he ſoon after repented of that only piece of loyalty, of which he was guilty all the while he was archbiſhop. He fled to the pope, who received him as a confeſſor for the deareſt article of the Roman belief. The king and kingdoms were excommunicated, and put under an interdict upon his account. But afterwards, upon the interceſſion, of the French king, king Henry and he were reconciled, and the interdict was taken off: yet his unquiet ſpirit could take no reſt, for he was no ſooner at Canterbury, than he began to embroil the kingdom again, and was proceeding, by cenſures, againſt the archbiſhop of York, and ſome other biſhops, for crowning the king's ſon in his abſence. Upon the news of that, the king being then in Normandy, ſaid, If he had faithful ſervants, he would not be ſo troubled with ſuch a prieſt: whereupon ſome zealous or officious courtiers came over and killed him: for which, as the king was made to undergo a ſevere penance, ſo the monks were not wanting in their ordinary arts to give out many miraculous ſtories concerning his blood. This ſoon drew a canonization from Rome; and being a martyr for the papacy, was more extolled than all the apoſtles or primitive ſaints had ever been; ſo that for 300 years he was accounted one of the greateſt ſaints in heaven, as may appear from the accounts of the leger-books, of the offerings made to the three greateſt altars in CHRIST'S Church in Canterbury; one was to CHRIST, the other to the virgin, and the third to St. Thomas. In one year there was offered at CHRIST'S altar, 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. To the virgin's altar, 63 l. 5 s. 6 d. But to St. Thomas's altar, 832 l. 12 s. 3 d. The next year the odds grew greater, for there was not a penny offered at CHRIST'S altar, and, at the virgin's, only 4 l. 1 s. 8 d. But at St. Thomas's, 954 l. 6 s. 3 d. By ſuch offerings it came, that his ſhrine was of ineſtimable value. There was one ſtone offered there by Lewis the VIIth of France, who came over to viſit it in a pilgrimage, that was believed the richeſt in Europe. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the kalendar, the 29th of December, but unuſual honours were deviſed for this martyr, of the liberties of the church, greater than any that had been given to the martyrs for chriſtianity. The day of raiſing his body, or, as they called it, of his tranſlation, being the 7th of July, was not only a holiday, but every 50th year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence was granted to all that came to viſit his ſhrine, as appears from the record of the ſixth jubilee, after his tranſlation, An. 1420, which bears, that there were then about an hundred thouſand ſtrangers come to viſit his tomb. The jubilee began at twelve o'clock on the vigil of the feaſt, and laſted fifteen days. By ſuch arts, they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his ſhrine. The riches of that, together with his diſloyal practices, made the king reſolve both to unſhrine and unſaint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worſhipped, was found an impoſture; for the true skull was lying with the reſt of his bones in his grave:

grave: the ſhrine was broken down and carried away; the gold that was about it, filling two cheſts, which were ſo heavy, that they were a load to eight ſtrong men to carry them out of the church; and his bones were, as ſome ſay, burnt; ſo it was underſtood at Rome; but others ſay they were ſo mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a miracle, indeed, to have diſtinguiſhed them afterwards. The king alſo ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the kalendar, and the office of his feſtivity to be daſh'd out of all breviaries. And thus was the ſuperſtition of England to images and relicks extirpated.

YET the king took care to qualify the diſtate which the articles publiſhed the former year had given. And though there was no parliament in the year 1537, yet there was a convocation; upon the concluſion of which, there was printed an explanation of the chief points of religion, ſigned by nineteen biſhops, eight archdeacons, and ſeventeen doctors of divinity and law. In which there was the expoſition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with an account of juſtification and purgatory. When all theſe proceedings of the king's were known at Rome, all the ſatyrical pens there were employed to paint him out, as the moſt infamous ſacrilegious tyrant that ever was. They repreſented him as one that made war with heaven, and the ſaints that were there; that committed outrages on the bodies of the ſaints, which the heatheniſh Romans would have puniſhed ſeverely in any that committed the like on thoſe that were dead, how mean or bad ſoever they had been. All his proceedings againſt the prieſts or monks that were attainted and executed for high treaſon, were repreſented as the effects of ſavage and barbarous cruelty. His ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, and devouring what the devotion of former ages had conſecrated to GOD, and his ſaints, were called ravenous and impious ſacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear, to poſterity, the blackeſt tyrant that ever wore a crown. They compared him to Pharaoh, Nebuchadonoſor, Belſhazzar, Nero, Domitian, and Diocleſian; but chiefly ro Julian the apoſtate. This laſt parallel liked them beſt, and his learning, his apoſtacy, and pretence of reforming, were all thought copied from Julian; only they ſaid his manners were worſe. Theſe things were every day printed at Rome, and the informations that were brought out of England, were generally addreſſed to cardinal Pool, whoſe ſtile was alſo known in ſome of them. All which poſſeſs'd the king with the deepeſt and moſt implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any perſon, and did provoke him to all theſe ſeverities that follow'd on his kindred and family.

Invectives againſt the king printed at Rome.

THE malice of the court of Rome did not ſtop there: for now the pope publiſhed all theſe thunders which he had threaten'd three years before. The bull of depoſition is printed in Cherubin's Bullarum Romanarum: the ſubſtance of which is as follows, 'The 'pope being GOD's vicar on earth, and, 'according to Jeremy's prophecy, ſet over 'nations and kingdoms, to root and deſtroy; 'and having the ſupream power over all the 'kings in the whole world, was bound to 'proceed to due correction, when milder 'courſes were ineffectual; therefore ſince 'king Henry, who had been formerly a 'defender of the faith, had fallen from it, 'had, contrary to an inhibition made, put 'away his queen, and married Anne Bullen, 'and had made impious and hurtful laws, 'denying the pope to be the ſupream head 'of the church, but aſſuming that title to 'himſelf, and had required all his ſubjects, 'under pain of death, to ſwear it, and had 'put the cardinal of Rocheſter to death, 'becauſe he would not conſent to theſe 'hereſies; and by all theſe things had 'render'd himſelf unworthy of his regal 'dignity, and had harden'd his heart (as 'Pharaoh did) againſt all the admonitions 'of pope Clement the VIIth: therefore, 'ſince theſe crimes were ſo notorious, he, 'in imitation of what the apoſtle did to Elimas the magician, proceeds to ſuch cenſures as he had deſerved; and, with the 'advice of his cardinals, does firſt exhort 'him, and all his accomplices, to return 'from their errors; to annul the acts lately 'made; and to proceed no farther upon 'them: which he requires him and them 'to do, under the pains of excommunication and rebellion, and of the king's loſing 'his kingdom, whom he required, within 'ninety days, to appear at Rome, by himſelf or proxy, and his accomplices within 'ſixty days, to give an account of their actions, otherwiſe he would then proceed to 'a further ſentence againſt them: and declares, That if the king and his accomplices do not appear, he has fallen from 'the right to his crown, and they from the 'right of their eſtates; and, when they die, 'they were to be denied chriſtian burial. 'He puts the whole kingdom under an interdict, and declares all the king's children, by the ſaid Anne, and the children 'of all his accomplices, to be under the 'ſame pains, though they be now under 'age; and incapacitates them from all honours or employments; and declares all 'the ſubjects or vaſſals of the king, or his 'accomplices, abſolved from all oaths or 'obligations to them, and requires them to 'acknowledge them no more: and declares 'him and them infamous, ſo that they 'might neither be witneſſes nor make wills. 'He requires all other perſons to have no 'dealings with him or them, neither by 'trading, nor any other way, under the 'pain of excommunication; the annulling 'their contracts, and the expoſing goods ſo 'traded in, to all that ſhould catch them. 'And that all clergymen ſhould, within 'five days after the expiration of the time 'prefixed, go out of the kingdom, (leaving 'only ſo many prieſts as would be neceſſary 'for baptizing infants, and giving the ſacrament to ſuch as died in penitence) under the pains of excommunication and de-

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'privation. And charges all noblemen and 'others in his dominions, under the ſame 'pains, to riſe up in arms againſt him, and 'to drive him out of his kingdom; and 'that none ſhould take arms for him, or any 'way aſſiſt him: and declares all other 'princes abſolved from any confederacies 'made, or to be made, with him; and ear-'neſtly obteſts the emperor and all kings, 'and requires other princes under the for-'mer pains, to trade no more with him; and, 'in caſe of their diſobedience, he puts their 'kingdoms under an interdict, and requires 'all princes and military perſons, in the 'virtue of holy obedience, to make war 'upon him, and to force him to return to 'the obedience of the apoſtolick ſee, and 'to ſeize on all goods, or merchandize be-'longing to the king or his accomplices, 'where-ever they could find them; and that 'ſuch of his ſubjects that were ſeized on, 'ſhould be made ſlaves. And requires all 'biſhops, three days after the time ſet 'down was elapſed, to intimate this ſen-'tence in all their churches, with put-'ting out of candles, and other ceremonies 'that ought to be uſed, in the moſt ſolemn 'and publick manner that might be. And 'all who hinder'd the publication of this 'ſentence, are put under the ſame pains. 'He ordained this ſentence to be affixed at 'Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk; which 'ſhould ſtand for a ſufficient publication; 'and concludes, that if any ſhould endea-'vour to oppoſe, or enervate any of the pre-'miſes, he ſhould incur the indignation of 'almighty GOD, and the holy apoſtles St. 'Peter and Paul. Dated at Rome the 30th 'of Auguſt 1635.' But the pope found the princes of Chriſtendom liked the precedent of uſing a king in that manner, ſo ill, that he ſuſpended the execution of this bull till this time, that the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, and the burning Thomas a Becket's bones (for it was ſo repreſented at Rome, though our writers ſay they were buried) did ſo in-flame the pope, that he could forbear no longer, and therefore, by a new ſentence, he did all he could to ſhake him in his throne.

THE preamble of it was, 'That as our 'Saviour had pity on St. Peter after his fall, 'ſo it became St. Peter's ſucceſſors to imi-'tate our Saviour in his clemency; and that 'therefore though he having heard of king 'Henry's crimes, had proceeded to ſentence 'againſt him. [Here the former bull was 'recited.] Yet ſome other princes, who 'hoped he might be reclaimed by gentler 'methods, had interpoſed for a ſuſpenſion 'of the ſentence; and he being eaſy to be-'lieve what he ſo earneſtly deſired, had, 'upon their interceſſion, ſuſpended it. But 'now he found they had been deceived in 'their hopes, and that he grew worſe and 'worſe, and had done ſuch diſhonour to the 'ſaints, as to raiſe St. Thomas of Canter-'bury's body; to arraign him of high trea-'ſon, and to turn his body, and ſacrile-'giouſly to rob the riches that had been 'offered to his ſhrine; as alſo to ſuppreſs 'St. Auſtin's abbey in Canterbury; and that 'having thruſt out the monks, he had put 'in wild beaſts into their grounds, having 'transformed himſelf into a beaſt. There-'fore he takes off the ſuſpenſion, and pub-'liſhes the bull, commanding it to be exe-'cuted; declaring, that the affixing it at 'Diepe, or Bulloign in France, at St. An-'drew's or Calliſtren (that is, Callſtream, a 'town near the border of England) in Scot-'land or Tuam, or Artifert in Ireland; or 'any two of theſe, ſhould be a ſufficient 'publication. Dated the 7th of Decem-'ber, Anno Dom. 1538.

NO man can read theſe bulls, but he muſt conclude, that if the pope be the infallible and univerſal paſtor of the church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all kings, to proceed to the higheſt cenſures poſſible: and ſince the matters of fact, enumerated in the ſentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true, then the pope is either cloathed with the powers of depoſing princes; or if otherwiſe, he lied to the world when he thus pretended to it, and taught falſe doctrine, which cannot ſtand with infallibility. And the pretended grounds of the ſentence, as to matter of fact, being evidently true, this muſt be a juſt ſentence; and therefore all that acknowledg'd the in-fallibility of that ſee, were bound to obey it, and all the rebellions that follow'd, during the reign of the king or his children, were founded on this ſentence, and muſt be juſtify'd by it; otherwiſe the pope's infalli-bility muſt fall to the ground. But this was to be ſaid for the pope, That though he had raiſed the ſeveral branches of this ſentence higher than any of his predeceſſors ever had done, yet, as to the main, he had very good and authentick precedents for what he did, from the depoſitions of emperors or kings, that were made by former popes, for about 500 years together. Hereby every one that will conſider things, muſt needs ſee that the belief of the pope's infallibility does ne-ceſſarily infer the acknowledgment of their power of depoſing heretical kings. For, it is plain, the pope did this, ex cathedra, and as a paſtor feeding and correcting his flock.

NOT content with what he had done, he alſo wrote to other princes, inflaming them againſt the king; particularly to the kings of France and Scotland. To the laſt of thoſe he ſent a breve, declaring king Henry an heretick, a ſchiſmatick, a manifeſt adulte-rer, a publick murtherer, a rebel, and con-vict of high treaſon againſt him, the pope his lord; for which crimes he had depoſed him, and offered his dominions to him, if he would go and invade them. And thus the breach between him and the pope was paſt reconciling. And at Rome it was de-clared equally meritorious to fight againſt him, as againſt the Turk. But cardinal Pool made it more meritorious in his book. Yet the thunders of the Vatican had now loſt their force; ſo that theſe had no other effect but to enrage the king more againſt all ſuch as were ſuſpected to favour their intereſts, or to hold any correſpondence with cardinal Pool: therefore he firſt procured a decla-

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ration againſt the pope's pretenſions, to be ſigned by all the biſhops of England: in which, after they declared againſt the pope's eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, 'That 'the people ought to be inſtructed, that 'CHRIST did expreſly forbid his apoſtles, 'or their ſucceſſors, to take to themſelves 'the power of the ſword, or the authority 'of kings: And that, if the biſhop of Rome, 'or any other biſhop, aſſumed any ſuch 'power, he was a tyrant, and uſurper of 'other mens rights, and a ſubverter of the 'kingdom of CHRIST.' This was ſubſcribed by nineteen biſhops, (all that were then in England) and twenty-five doctors of divinity and law. It was ſome time before May 1538. For Edward Fox, biſhop of Hereford, who was one that ſigned it, died the 8th of May that year. There was no convocation called by writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any ſuch writ in the regiſters, ſo if it had been done by convocation, Cromwell had ſigned it firſt; but his hand not being to it, it is more probable that a meeting of the clergy was called by the king's miſſive letters, or that, as was once done before, the paper was drawn at London, and ſent over the kingdom to the epiſcopal ſees, for the biſhops hands to it.

THERE is another original paper extant, ſigned at this time by eight biſhops; from which it may be ſuppoſed, thoſe were all that were then about London. It was to ſhew, 'That by the commiſſion which 'CHRIST gave to churchmen, they were 'only miniſters of his goſpel, to inſtruct 'the people in the purity of the faith: but 'that, by other places of ſcripture, the au-'thority of chriſtian princes over all their 'ſubjects, as well biſhops and prieſts, 'as others, was alſo clear. And that the 'biſhops and prieſts have charge of ſouls 'within their cures, power to adminiſter ſa-'craments, and to teach the word of GOD; 'to which word of GOD, chriſtian princes 'acknowledg'd themſelves ſubject; and 'that in caſe the biſhops be negligent, it is 'the chriſtian princes office to ſee them do 'their duty.' This, being ſigned by John Hilſey, biſhop of Rocheſter, muſt be after the year 1537, in which he was conſecrated; and Latimer and Shaxton alſo ſigning, it muſt be before the year 1539, in which they reſigned. It is likely this was ſigned at the ſame time that the other was: and the deſign of it was to refute thoſe calumnies ſpread at Rome, as if the king had wholly ſuppreſſed all eccleſiaſtical offices, and denied them any divine authority, making them wholly dependent on the civil power, and acting by commiſſion only from him: and therefore they explained the limits of both theſe powers, in ſo clear and moderate a way, that it muſt have ſtopt the mouths of all oppoſers. But whether there was any publick uſe made of this paper, is uncertain.

THE king did alſo ſet forward the printing of the Engliſh Bible, which was finiſhed this year, at London, by Grafton the printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own charge. This bible Cromwell preſented to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his ſubjects, in all his dominions, to read it, without controul or hazard. For which, the archbiſhop wrote Cromwell a letter of moſt hearty thanks, dated the 13th of Auguſt. 'Who did now rejoice that he 'ſaw this day of reformation, which he con-'cluded was now riſen in England, ſince the 'light of GOD's Word did ſhine over it with-'out any Cloud.' The tranſlation had been ſent over to France to be printed at Paris: the workmen in England not being thought able to do it as it ought to be. Therefore, in the year 1537, it was recommended to Bonner's care, who was then ambaſſador at Paris, and was much in Cromwell's favour, who was ſetting him up againſt Gardiner. He procured the king of France's leave to print it at Paris, in a large volume: but, upon a complaint made by the French clergy, the preſs was ſtopt, and moſt of the copies were ſeized on and publickly burnt: but ſome copies were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms were brought over to England; where it was finiſhed and pnbliſhed. And injunctions were given out in the king's name, by Cromwell, to all incumbents, 'to 'provide one of theſe Bibles, and ſet it up 'publickly in the church, and not to hin-'der or diſcourage the reading of it, but to 'encourage all perſons to peruſe it, as being 'the true lively word of GOD, which every 'Chriſtian ought to believe, embrace and 'follow, if he expected to be ſaved. And 'all were exhorted, not to make conteſts 'about the expoſition or ſenſe of any diffi-'cult place, but to refer that to men of 'higher judgment in the ſcriptures. Then 'ſome other rules were added, about the 'inſtructing the people in the principles of 'religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lord's 'Prayer, and Ten Commandments in Eng-'liſh: and that in every church there ſhould 'be a ſermon, made every quarter of a year, 'at leaſt, to declare to the people the true 'goſpel of CHRIST, and to exhort them to 'the works of charity, mercy, and faith, and 'not to truſt in other mens works, or pilgri-'mages to images, or relicks, or ſaying over 'beads, which they did not underſtand, 'ſince theſe things tended to idolatry and 'ſuperſtition, which of all offences did moſt 'provoke GOD's indignation. They were 'to take down all images, which were abu-'ſed by pilgrimages, or offerings made to 'them; and to ſuffer no candles to be ſet 'before any image, only there might be 'candles before the croſs, and before the 'ſacrament, and about the ſepulchre; and 'they were to inſtruct the people, that ima-'ges ſerved only as the books of the un-'learned, to be remembrances of the con-'verſations of them whom they repreſented: 'but if they made any other uſe of images, 'it was idolatry; for remedying whereof, 'as the king had already done in part, ſo he 'intended to do more for the aboliſhing ſuch 'images, which might be a great offence to 'GOD, and a danger to the ſouls of his ſub-'jects. And if any of them had formerly

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'magnified ſuch images, or pilgrimages, to 'ſuch purpoſes, they were order'd openly to 'recant, and acknowledge, that in ſaying 'ſuch things they had been led by no ground 'of ſcripture, but were deceived by a vul-'gar error, which had crept into the church, 'through the avarice of thoſe who had pro-'fit by it. They were alſo to diſcover all 'ſuch as were letters of the reading of GOD's 'word in Engliſh, or hinder'd the execu-'tion of theſe injunctions. Then follow'd 'orders for keeping of regiſters in their pa-'riſhes, for reading all the king's injunc-'tions once every quarter at leaſt: that 'none were to alter any of the holidays 'without directions from the king: and all 'the eves of the holidays formerly abro-'gated, were declared to be no faſting-days. 'The commemoration of Thomas a Becket 'was to be clean omitted. The kneeling 'for the avies after ſermon, were alſo for-'bidden; which were ſaid in hope to ob-'tain the pope's pardon. And whereas in 'their proceſſions they uſed to ſay ſo many 'ſuffrages with an [ora pro nobis] to the 'ſaints, by which they had not time to ſay 'the ſuffrages to GOD himſelf, they were 'to teach the people, that it were better to 'omit the [ora pro nobis] and to ſing the 'other ſuffrages which were moſt neceſſary 'and moſt effectual.

THESE injunctions ſtruck at three main points of popery, containing encouragements to the vulgar, to read the ſcriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all wor-ſhip of images, and leaving it free for any curate to leave out the ſuffrages to the ſaints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that religion; yet all the clergy ſubmitted to them without murmuring.

Prince Edward born, A.D. 1538.

PRINCE Edward was this year born; and this very much blaſted the hopes of the popiſh party, which were chiefly built on the probability of lady Mary's ſucceeding to the crown, which was now ſet at a greater diſ-tance: therefore Lee, Gardiner, and Stokeſ-ley, ſeemed to vie with the biſhops of the other party, which of them ſhould moſt zea-louſly execute the injunctions, and thereby inſinuate themſelves moſt into the king's eſteem and favour. Gardiner was ſome years ambaſſador in France; but Cromwell got Bonner to be ſent in his room, who ſeemed at that time to be the moſt zealous promo-ter of the reformation that was then in Eng-land. After that, Gardiner was ſent to the emperor's court with Sir Henry Knevet, and there he gave ſome occaſion to ſuſpect that he was treating a reconciliation with the pope's legate. But the Italian, that manag'd it, being ſent with a meſſage to the ambaſſador's ſecretary, he miſtook Knevet's ſecretary for Gardiner's, and told his buſineſs to him. Knevet tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far; for the Italian was diſowned, and put in priſon upon it: and Gardiner complained of it, as a trapan laid to ruin him. The king continued ſtill to employ him; but rather made uſe of him than truſted him: yet Gardiner's artifices and flatteries were ſuch, that he was ſtill preſerved in ſome degrees of favour, as long as the king lived; but he knew him ſo well, that he neither named him one of his execu-tors, nor one of his ſon's council, when he made his will. Gardiner uſed one topick which prevailed much with the king, that his zeal againſt hereſy was the greateſt ad-vantage that this cauſe could have over all Europe; and therefore he preſs'd him to be-gin with the ſacramentaries (ſo were thoſe of the Helvetian confeſſion called) and thoſe being condemned by the German princes, he had leſs reaſon to be afraid of embroiling his affairs by his ſeverities againſt them.

THIS meeting ſo well with the king's own perſuaſions about the corporal preſence, had a great effect on them; and an occaſion did quickly offer itſelf to him, to declare his zeal in that matter. Lambert was at that time accuſed before the archbiſhop of Can-terbury: he had been chaplain to the factory of Antwerp, and there he aſſociated himſelf to Tindal: afterwards he was ſeized on coming over to England; but, upon the changes that follow'd, he was ſet at liberty. Dr. Taylor had preached on the corporal preſence in his hearing. This offended him, and he drew up his reaſons againſt it, and gave them to Taylor. He communicated it to Barns, who was a hot man, and a fierce Lutheran: and they thought that the vent-ing that opinion would ſtop the progreſs of the reformation, give prejudice to the peo-ple, and divide them among themſelves: and therefore they brought this matter be-fore Cranmer, who was at that time likewiſe a Lutheran: he dealt with Lambert to re-tract his paper; but he took a fatal reſolu-tion, and appealed to the king. Upon which, the king reſolved to judge him in perſon, and to manage the trial with great ſolemnity; and, for that end, many of the nobility and biſhops were ſent for. When the day came there was a vaſt appearance. The king's guards, and cloth of ſtate, were all in white, to make it look the more like a divine ſer-vice. Lambert begun with a compliment, acknowledging the king's great learning, and his goodneſs in hearing the cauſes of his ſubjects. The king ſtopp'd him, and bade him forbear flatteries, and ſpeak to the matter: and he argued againſt him from CHRIST's words, that the ſacrament muſt be his body. Lambert anſwer'd in St. Au-ſtin's words, That it was his body in a cer-tain manner; but that a body could not be in two places at once. To this, the king com-manded Cranmer to ſpeak; and he argued, That ſince CHRIST is ſtill in heaven, and yet he appeared to St. Paul, that therefore he may be in different places at once. Lam-bert ſaid, That was but a viſion, and was not the very body of CHRIST. Tonſtal argued, That the divine omnipotence was not to be meaſured by our notions, of what was impoſſible. Stokeſly argued, That one ſubſtance may be changed into another, and yet the accidents remain: ſo water, when it boiled, did evaporate in air, and its moiſture remained. This was received with great applauſe, tho' it was an ill inference, that becauſe there was an accidental converſion,

therefore there might be a ſubſtantial one, in which one ſubſtance was annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another, diſputed, and their arguments, with the ſtern words and looks that the king interpoſed, together with the length of the action, in ſo publick an aſſembly, put Lambert in ſome confuſion; and, upon his ſilence, a great ſhout of applauſe followed. In concluſion, the king asked him if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he continued firm in his opinion: ſo Cromwell was commanded to read the ſentence of his condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a moſt barbarous manner, in Smithfield; for there was not fire enough put under him to conſume him ſuddenly, ſo that his legs and thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, None but CHRIST, none but CHRIST. He was a man of conſiderable learning, and of a very good judgment. The popiſh party improved this, and perſuaded the king of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this ſee his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had ſaid, as if it had been uttered by an oracle; which proved him to be both defender of the faith, and ſupream head of the church. All this wrought ſo much on the king, that he reſolved to call a parliament, both for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, and the new opinions.

Lambert condemned and burnt for denying the corporal preſence.

FOX, biſhop of Hereford, died at this time: he had been much employed in Germany, and had ſettled a league between the king and the German princes. The king was acknowledg'd the patron of their league; and he ſent them over 100,000 crowns a year, for the ſupport of it. There was a religious league alſo propoſed; but, upon the turn that follow'd in the court upon queen Anne's death, that fell to the ground; and all that was put in their league relating to religion, was, That they ſhould join againſt the pope as the common enemy, and ſet up the true religion according to the goſpel. But the treaty about other points was afterwards ſet on foot. The king deſired Melanchthon to come over; and ſeveral letters paſſed between them; but he could not be ſpared out of Germany, tho' he was then invited both to France and England. The Germans ſent over ſome to treat with the king; the points they inſiſted moſt on were, The granting the chalice to the people, and the putting down private maſſes, in which the inſtitution ſeemed expreſs; the having the worſhip in a known tongue, which both common ſenſe, and the authority of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſeemed to juſtify much. The third was, The marriage of the clergy; for they being extream ſenſible of the honour of their families, reckon'd that could not be ſecured, unleſs the prieſts might marry. Concerning theſe things, their ambaſſadors gave a long and learned memorial to the king; to which an anſwer was made, penned by Tonſtall, in which the things they complained of, were juſtified by the ordinary arguments. Upon Fox's death, Bonner was promoted to Hereford; and Stokeſly dying not long after, he was tranſlated to London. Cromwell thought he had raiſed a man that would be a faithful ſecond to Cranmer in his deſigns of reformation, who, indeed, needed help; not only to ballance the oppoſition made him by other biſhops, but to leſſen the prejudices he ſuffered by the weakneſs and indiſcretion of his own party, who were generally rather clogs than helps to him. Great complaints were brought to the court of the raſhneſs of the new preachers, who were flying at many things not yet aboliſhed. Upon this, letters were writ to the biſhops, to take care, that as the people ſhould be rightly inſtructed, ſo they ſhould not be offended with too many novelties. Thus was Cranmer's intereſt ſo low, that he had none to depend on but Cromwell. There was not a queen now in the king's boſom to ſupport them; and therefore Cromwell ſet himſelf to contrive how the king ſhould be engaged in ſuch an alliance with princes of Germany, as might prevail with him, both in affection and intereſt, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the beauty of Anne of Cleve was ſo repreſented to him, that he ſet himſelf to bring about that match.

A parliament was ſummoned to the 28th of April, in which twenty of the abbots ſat in perſon. On the 5th of May, a motion was made, that ſome might be appointed to draw a bill againſt diverſity of opinions in matters of religion; theſe were Cromwell, Cranmer, the biſhops of Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Bangor, Carliſle, and Worceſter; they were divided in their minds; and tho' the popiſh party were five to four, yet the authority that Cromwell and Cranmer were in, turned the ballance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the duke of Norfolk propoſed the ſix articles; the 1ſt was, For the corporal preſence; the 2d, For communion in one kind; the 3d, For obſerving the vows of chaſtity; the 4th, For private maſſes; the 5th, For the celibate of the clergy; and the 6th, was for auricular confeſſion. Againſt moſt of theſe, Cranmer argued ſeveral days. It is not likely that he oppoſed the firſt, both becauſe of that which he had declared in Lambert's caſe ſo lately, and, in his own opinion, he was then for it; but he had the words of the inſtitution, and the conſtant practice of the church for twelve ages to object to the ſecond: and for the third, ſince the monks were ſet at liberty to live in the world, it ſeemed hard to reſtrain them from marriage; and nothing did ſo effectually cut off their pretenſions to their former houſes, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private maſſes were uſeful, then the king had done very ill to ſuppreſs ſo many houſes that were chiefly founded for that end. The ſacrament was alſo, by its firſt inſtitution, and the practice of the primitive church, to be a communion; and all thoſe private maſſes were invented to cheat the world. For the fifth, It touched Cranmer to the quick; for it was believed that he was married; but the arguments uſed for that, will be found hereafter. For auricular confeſſion,

The act of the ſix articles.

confeſſion, Lee, Gardiner, and Tonſtal, preſſed much to have it declared neceſſary by the law of GOD. Cranmer argued againſt this, and ſaid, It was only a good and profitable thing. The king came often to the houſe in perſon, and diſputed in theſe points: for the greateſt part, he was againſt Cranmer; but in this particular he joined with him. Tonſtal drew up all the quotations brought from antient authors for it, in a paper which he deliver'd to the king: this the king anſwered in a long letter, written with his own hand, in which he ſhewed, That the fathers did only adviſe confeſſion, but did not impoſe it as neceſſary: and ſo it was concluded in general, only that it was neceſſary and expedient. On the 24th of May, the parliament was prorogued a few days, but, by a vote, it was provided, that the bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were in. At their next meeting, two committees were appointed to draw the bill of religion; Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other; both their draughts were carried to the king, and were in many places corrected with his own hand; in ſome parts he writ whole periods a-new. That which Lee drew, was more agreeable to the king's opinion; ſo it was brought into the houſe. Cranmer argued three days againſt it; and when it came to the vote, the king, who was much ſet on in having it paſs'd, deſired him to go out; but he excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was bound in conſcience to vote againſt it: but the reſt, that oppoſed it, were more compliant; and it alſo paſſed without any conſiderable oppoſition in the houſe of commons; and was aſſented to by the king.

THE ſubſtance of it was, 'That the king 'being ſenſible of the good of the union, 'and the miſchief of diſcord, in points of 'religion, had come to the parliament in 'perſon, and opened many things of high 'learning there; and that with the aſſent 'of both, he ſet forth theſe articles:

1. 'THAT in the ſacrament there was no 'ſubſtance of bread and wine, but only the 'natural body and blood of CHRIST.

2. 'THAT CHRIST was entirely in 'each kind; and ſo communion in both 'was not neceſſary.

3. 'THAT prieſts, by the law of God, 'ought not to marry.

4. 'THAT vows of chaſtity, taken after 'the age of twenty-one, ought to be kept.

5. 'THAT private maſſes were lawful and 'uſeful.

6. 'THAT auricular confeſſion was ne'ceſſary, and ought to be retained. Such 'as did ſpeak or write againſt the firſt of 'theſe, were to be burned without the be'nefit of abjuration; and it was made fe'lony to diſpute againſt the other five: and 'ſuch as did ſpeak againſt them, were to be 'in a premunire for the firſt offence; the 'ſecond was made felony. Married prieſts, 'that did not put away their wives, were to 'be condemned of felony, in thoſe that lived 'incontinently; the firſt offence was a pre'munire, and the ſecond felony. Women 'that offended, were to be puniſhed as the 'prieſts were. Thoſe that contemned con'feſſion and the ſacrament, and abſtain'ed from it at the accuſtomed times, were, 'for the firſt offence in a premunire, the ſe'cond was felony. Proceedings were to be 'made in the forms of common law, by pre'ſentments, and a jury; and all churchmen 'were charged to read the act in their 'churches once a quarter.

THIS act was received with great joy by all the popiſh party; they reckon'd that now hereſy would be extirpated, and that the king was as much engaged againſt it, as he was when he writ againſt Luther. This made the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries paſs much the eaſier. The poor reformers were now expoſed to the rage of their enemies, and had no comfort from any part of it, but one, That they were not delivered up to the cruelty of the eccleſiaſtical courts, or the other trials [ex officio] but were to be tried by juries; yet the denying the benefit of abjuration, was a ſeverity without a precedent, and was a forcing martyrdom on them, ſince they were not to be the better for their apoſtacy. It was ſome ſatisfaction to the married clergy, that the incontinent prieſts were to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed; which Cromwell put in, and the clergy knew not how they could decently oppoſe it. Upon the paſſing the act, the German ambaſſadors being ſet on to it by thoſe that favour'd their doctrine in England, deſired an audience of the king, and told him of the grief with which their maſters would receive the news of this act; and therefore earneſtly preſs'd him to ſtop the execution of it. The king anſwer'd, That he found it neceſſary to have the act made, for repreſſing the inſolence of ſome people; but aſſured them, it ſhould not be put in execution, except upon great provocation. When the princes had heard of the act, they writ to the king to the ſame purpoſe; they warned him of many biſhops that were about him, who in their hearts loved popery, and all the old abuſes; and took this method to force the king to return back to the former yoke, hoping, that if they once made him cruel to all thoſe they called hereticks, it would be eaſy to bring him back to ſubmit to that tyranny which he had ſhaken off; and therefore they propoſed a conference between ſome divines of both ſides, in order to an agreement of doctrine. The king was only concerned upon ſtate maxims, to keep up their league in oppoſition to the emperor; but they ſtill preſs'd a religious, as well as a civil league.

An act for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries.

AFTER the act of the ſix articles, the act for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries was brought in; and tho' there were ſo many abbots ſitting in the houſe, none of them proteſted againſt it. 'By it no monaſtery was 'ſuppreſſed, but only the reſignations made, 'or to be made, were confirmed; and the 'king's right founded either on their ſur'renders, forfeitures, or attainders of trea'ſon, was declared good in law. Houſes 'ſurrender'd were to be managed by the 'court of augmentations; but thoſe ſeized 'on by attainders, were to come to the ex'chequer. All perſons, except the found-

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'ers and donors were to have the ſame 'rights to the lands, belonging to theſe 'houſes, that they had before this act was 'made. All deeds and leaſes made for a 'year before this, to the prejudice of theſe 'houſes, were annulled; and all the churches 'belonging to them, and formerly exempted, 'were put under the juriſdiction of the bi-'ſhop, or of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by 'the king.' This laſt proviſo had produced a great miſchief in this church; for many that purchaſed abbey lands had this clauſe put in their grants, That they ſhould be the viſitors of the churches; and by this they continu'd ſtill exempted from the epiſcopal juriſdiction: and this has emboldened many to break out into ſcandals, which have been made uſe of by prejudiced men to caſt an obloquy on the church; tho' this diſorder proceeds only from the want of authority in the biſhops to cenſure them. A queſtion was raiſed upon this ſuppreſſion, Whether the lands ſhould have reverted to the donors, or been eſcheated to the crown? By a judgment of the Roman ſenate, in Theodoſius's time, all the endowments of the heatheniſh temples were given to the fiſc; and tho' the heirs of the donors pretended to them, yet it was ſaid, That by the gifts that their anceſtors made, they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. When the order of the templers was ſuppreſſed, their lands went to the lord by an eſcheat. This might ſeem reaſonable in endowments that were ſimple gifts, without any conditions. But the grants to religious houſes were of the nature of covenants, given in conſideration of the maſſes, that were to be ſaid for them and their families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the cheat of redeeming ſouls out of purgatory was diſcovered, and theſe houſes were ſuppreſſed, then the lands ought to revert to the heirs of the donors; and, upon that account, it was thought neceſſary to exclude them by a ſpecial proviſo.

An act for new biſhopricks.

ANOTHER bill was brought in, impowering the king to erect new biſhops by his letters patents; it was read three times in one day in the houſe of lords. The preamble ſet forth, 'That the ill lives of 'thoſe that were called religious, made it 'neceſſary to change their houſes to better 'uſes, for teaching the Word of GOD, in-'ſtructing of children, educating of clerks, 'relieving of old infirm people, the endow-'ing of the readers for Greek, Latin, and 'Hebrew, mending of high-ways, and 'bettering the condition of the pariſh 'prieſts; and for this end the king was im-'powered to erect new ſees, and to aſſign 'what limits and diviſions, and appoint 'them what ſtatutes he pleaſed.' Biſhop Burnet ſaith, He ſaw the firſt draught of this preamble all written with the king's own hand; and, indeed, he uſed extraordinary care in correcting both acts of parliament and proclamations with his own hand: All papers, in matters of religion, that were ſet out by publick authority in this reign, were reviſed by him, and in many places large corrections are to be ſeen, made with his own hand, which ſhew both his great judgment in thoſe matters, and his extraordinary application to buſineſs; but as he was fond of his two acquired titles, of defender of the faith, and ſupream head of the church, and loved to ſhew, that he did not carry them in vain; ſo there was nothing which he affected more, than to diſcover his learning and underſtanding in matters of religion. He writ alſo a liſt of all the new ſees which he intended to found, which were Waltham for Eſſex, St. Albans for Hertford, another for Bedfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire, out of the monaſteries of Dunſtable, Newenham, and Clowſtown; another for Oxfordſhire and Berkſhire, out of the rents of Oſney and Tame; one for Northampton and Huntington, out of Peterborough; one for Middleſex, out of Weſtminſter; one for Leiceſter and Rutland, out of Leiceſter; one for Gloceſterſhire, out of St. Peter's in Gloceſter; one for Lancaſhire, out of Fountain, and the archdeaconry of Richmond; one for Suffolk, out of St. Edmund's-Bury; one for Stafford and Salop, out of Shrewsbury; one for Nottingham and Derby, out of Welbeck, Warſop, and Turgarton; and one for Cromwell, out of the rents of Launceſton, Bodmyn, and Wardreth: over theſe he writ, Biſhopricks to be made; and, in another part of the ſame paper, he writ, Places to be altered, which have ſees in them, and names Chriſt-church in Canterbury, St. Swithin's, and ſeveral others; a little under that he writ, Places to be altered into colleges and ſchools; but mentions only Burton upon Trent. Neither Cheſter nor Briſtol are named here, tho' epiſcopal ſees were afterwards erected in them. The king had formed a great deſign of endowing many ſees, and making many other noble foundations; yet the great change that was made in the councils and miniſtry, before this took effect, made that only a ſmall part of that, which he now intended, was accompliſhed. Another act was brought in concerning the obedience due to the king's proclamations, which ſet forth, 'That great exceptions had 'been made to the legality of the king's 'proclamations, by ſome who did not con-'ſider what a king might do by his royal 'power; which the king took very ill: and 'ſince many occaſions called for ſpeedy re-'medies, and could not admit of delays till 'a parliament might be called; therefore it 'was enacted, That ſuch proclamations as 'the king ſet out by advice of his council, 'with pains upon offenders, ſhould be obey-'ed as if they were acts of parliament; yet 'it was provided, that no laws nor cuſtoms 'might be taken away by them, and that the 'ſubjects ſhould not ſuffer in their eſtates, li-'berties, or perſons by them. If any offended 'againſt them, and fled out of the kingdom, 'that was made treaſon. It was alſo provided, 'That if the king's heirs ſhould reign before 'they were of age, the proclamations ſet 'out by the privy council, ſhould have the 'like force in law.' By this the injunctions that had been given, or ſhould be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The ſtatute of precedence paſs'd in this parliament. The king's vicegerent was to take

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place of all after the royal family; and next him, among the clergy, came the two archbiſhops, then the biſhops of London and Durham, after them, the biſhop of Wincheſter, as prelate of the garter, and all the other biſhops were to take place according to the date of their conſecrations.

A bill of attainder paſs'd, not only confirming the ſentences that had been given againſt the marquis of Exeter, the lord Mountacute, and others, that had been condemned at common law; but of ſome that were of new attainted without a trial: of theſe, ſome were abſent, and others were in priſon; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their anſwers. The chief of theſe were the marchioneſs of Exeter, and the counteſs of Sarum (mother to cardinal Pool.) It was queſtioned, whether this could be done in law or not. The judges deliver'd their opinion, that it was againſt natural juſtice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the parliament proceeded as a court, they were obliged to follow the common rules of equity; but if they did otherwiſe, yet ſince they were the ſupream court of the nation, whatſoever they did, could not be reverſed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected; ſo that act paſs'd. This counſel was aſcribed to Cromwell, and he being the firſt that was executed upon ſuch a ſentence, gave occaſion to many to obſerve the juſtice of GOD, in making ill counſels turn upon thoſe that gave them.

WHEN the parliament was prorogued, the king order'd Cranmer to put in writing all the arguments he had uſed againſt the ſix articles, and bring them to him. He ſent alſo both Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and to aſſure him of the conſtancy of his kindneſs to him. At table they expreſſed great eſteem for him, and acknowledg'd, that he had oppoſed the ſix articles with ſo much learning and gravity, that thoſe who differ'd moſt from him, could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the king: Cromwell ſaid the king made that difference between him and the reſt of his council, that he would not ſo much as hearken to any complaints that were made of him, and made a parallel between him and cardinal Wolſey; the one loſt his friends by his pride, and the other gained on his enemies, by his humility and mildneſs. The duke of Norfolk ſaid he could ſpeak beſt of the cardinal, having been his man ſo long. This heated Cromwell, who anſwered, That he never liked his manners; and tho' Wolſey had intended, if he had been choſen pope, to have carry'd him with him to Italy; yet he was reſolved not to have gone, tho' he knew the duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the duke of Norfolk ſwore he lied, and gave him foul language. This put all the company in great diſorder. They were in ſome ſort reconciled, but were never hearty friends after this. Cranmer put his reaſons againſt the ſix articles together, and gave them to his ſecretary to be written out in a fair hand for the king's uſe; but he croſſing the Thames, with the book in his boſom, met with ſuch an adventure on the water as might have, at another time, ſent the author to the fire. There was a bear baited near the river, which breaking looſe, run into it, and happen'd to overturn the boat in which Cranmer's ſecretary was, and he being in danger of his life, took no care of the book, which falling from him, floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-herd, and put in the hand of a prieſt that ſtood by, to ſee what it might contain; he preſently found it was a confutation of the ſix articles, and ſo told the bear-herd, that the author of it would certainly be hanged: ſo when the ſecretary came to ask for it, and ſaid it was the archbiſhop's book, the other, who was an obſtinate papiſt, refuſed to give it, and reckon'd that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined: but the ſecretary acquainted Cromwell with it; he called for him the next day, and chid him ſeverely for preſuming to keep a privy counſellor's book; and ſo took it out of his hands: Thus Cranmer was delivered out of this danger. Shaxton and Latimer not only reſigned their biſhopricks, but being preſented for ſome words ſpoken againſt the ſix articles, they were put in priſon, where they lay till a recantation diſcharged the one, and the king's death ſet the other at liberty. There were about five hundred others preſented on the ſame account; but, upon the interceſſions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were ſet at liberty, and there was a ſtop put to the further execution of the act till Cromwell fell.

The king's kindneſs to Cranmer.

THE biſhops of the popiſh Party took ſtrange methods to inſinuate themſelves into the king's confidence; for they took out commiſſions, by which they acknowledg'd, 'That all juriſdiction, civil and eccleſiaſtical, flowed from the king, and that they exercis'd it only at the king's courteſy; and as they had it of his bounty, ſo they would be ready to deliver it up when he ſhould be pleaſed to call for it; and therefore the king did empower them in his ſtead, to ordain, give inſtitution, and do all the others parts of the epiſcopal function, which was to laſt during his pleaſure: and a mighty charge was given to them to ordain none but perſons of great integrity, good life, and well learned; for ſince the corruption of religion flowed from ill paſtors, ſo the reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good paſtors.' By this they were made, indeed, the king's biſhops: in this Bonner ſet an example to the reſt; but it does not appear that Cranmer took out any ſuch commiſſion all this reign.

Biſhops hold their ſees at the king's pleaſure.

NOW came on the total diſſolution of the abbies; fifty-ſeven ſurrenders were made this year, of which thirty are yet extant; of theſe, thirty-ſeven were monaſteries, and twenty were nunneries; and among them twelve were parliamentary abbies; which were in all twenty-eight, Abington, St. Alban's, St. Auſtin's Canterbury, Battel, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirenceſter, Colcheſter, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmund's Bury, Eveſham, Glaſtenbury, Gloceſter,

All the monaſteries ſuppreſs'd.

ceſter, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramſey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Taviſtock, Tewksbury, Thorney, Waltham, Weſtminſter, and Winchelcomb. When all had thus reſigned, commiſſioners were appointed by the court of augmentation to ſeize on the revenues and goods belonging to theſe houſes, to eſtabliſh the penſions that were given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the churches, or ſuch other parts of the fabrick as they thought ſuperfluous, and to ſell the materials of them. When this was done, others began to get hoſpitals to be ſurrender'd to the king. Thirleby being maſter of St. Thomas's hoſpital in Southwark, was the firſt that ſet an example to the reſt; he was ſoon after made a biſhop, and turned with every change that follow'd, till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he refuſed to comply, tho' he had gone along with all the changes that were made in king Edward's time. The valued rents of the abbey-lands, as they were then let, was 132,607 l. 6 s. 4 d. but they were worth above ten times as much in true value. The king had now in his hand the greateſt advantage that ever king of England had, both for enriching the crown, and making royal foundations. But ſuch was his eaſineſs to his courtiers, and his laviſhneſs, that all this melted away in a few years, and his deſigns were never accompliſhed: he intended to have founded eighteen new biſhopricks, but he founded only ſix: other great projects did alſo become abortive; in particular, one that was deſigned by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a ſeminary for ſtateſmen. He propoſed the erecting a houſe for perſons of quality, or of extraordinary endowments, for the ſtudy of the civil law, and of the Latin and French tongues; of whom, ſome were to be ſent with every ambaſſador beyond ſea, to be improved in the knowledge of foreign affairs, in which they ſhould be employed as they grew capable of them; and others were to be ſet to work to write the hiſtory of the tranſactions abroad, and of affairs at home. This was to ſupply one loſs that was like to follow on the fall of abbies; for in moſt of them there was kept a chronicle of the times. Theſe were written by men that were more credulous than judicious; and ſo they are often more particular in the recital of trifles, than of important affairs, and an invincible humour of lying, when it might raiſe the credit of their order or houſe, runs thro' all their manuſcripts. All the ground that Cranmer gained this year, in which there was ſo much loſt, was a liberty that all private perſons might have bibles in their houſes, the managing of which was put in Cromwell's hands, by a ſpecial patent: Gardiner oppoſed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without tradition it was impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of the ſcriptures; and one day, before the king, he challenged Cranmer to ſhew any difference between the ſcriptures and the apoſtles canons. It is not known how Cranmer managed the debate; but the iſſue of it was this, the king judged in his favour, and ſaid, He was an old experienc'd captain, and ought not to be troubled by freſh men and novices. The king was now reſolved to marry again, and both the emperor and the king of France propoſed matches to him; but they came to no effect. The emperor endeavour'd, by all means poſſible, to ſeparate the king from the princes of the ſmalcadick league; and the act of the ſix articles had done that already in a great meaſure; for they complained much of the king's ſeverity in thoſe points, which were the principal parts of their doctrine; ſuch as communion in both kinds, private maſſes, and marriage of the clergy. Gardiner ſtudied to animate the king much againſt them; he often told him, it was below his dignity to ſuffer dull Germans to dictate to him: and he ſuggeſted, that they who would not acknowledge the emperor's ſupremacy in matters of religion, could not be hearty friends to the authority which the king had aſſumed in them. But the Germans did not look on the emperor as their ſovereign, but only as the head of the empire; and they did believe that every prince in his dominions, and the diet for the whole empire, had ſufficient authority for making laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs; but what other conſiderations could not induce the king to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the match with Anne of Cleve, which was now ſet on foot.

A treaty for a marriage with Anne of Cleve.

THERE had been a treaty between her father and the duke of Lorrain, for the prince of Lorrain and her; but it had gone no farther than a contract between the fathers. Hans Holbin, the famous painter of that age, took her picture very much to her advantage; for the king never liked the original ſo well as he had done the picture. The duke of Saxe diſſuaded the match, becauſe the king was going backward in the matter of the reformation: but Cromwell ſet it on vigorouſly. It was ſaid, the lady had great charms in her perſon; but ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, which the king underſtood not; nor was ſhe bred to muſick: and ſhe had a ſtiffneſs in her breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the king's inclinations. The match was at laſt agreed on, and, in the end of December, ſhe was brought over. The king was impatient, and ſo went incognito to Rocheſter; but was ſtruck when he ſaw her. There was a rudeneſs in her, which did not at all pleaſe him: he ſwore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him; and took up an incurable averſion to her. He reſolved to break the match, if it were poſſible; but his affairs made the friendſhip of the German princes to be then very neceſſary to him; ſo that he did not think it adviſeable to put any affront on the duke of Saxe and Cleve, her brother, and her brother-in-law. The emperor had at this time made a haſty journey thro' France; and Francis and he had an interview, where, as the king was informed, a project was laid down againſt him, which was chiefly ſet on by the pope. Francis was thinking how to take Calais, and the other places the king had in France, from him; it had been alſo eaſy for him to have engaged the king of

Scotland

Scotland againſt him: and the people in the north were thought to retain their former diſpoſition, to riſe ſtill; ſo that a war made on the king in ſuch circumſtances, was like to find him at a great diſadvantage. This made the king more tender of offending the Germans. But he tried if that pre-contract with the duke of Lorrain's ſon, could furniſh him with a fair excuſe to break the match. The king expreſſed the great trouble he was in, both to Cromwell, and many of his other ſervants; and one of them pleaſantly told him, that ſubjects had this advantage over princes, that they choſe wives for themſelves, whereas princes were obliged to take ſuch as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that pre-contract, which was only an agreement between the fathers, their children being under age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the parents. So Cranmer and Tonſtall being required to give their opinions as divines, ſaid, There was nothing in it to hinder the king's marrying the lady.

ON the 6th of January the king marry'd her, but expreſſed his diſlike of her ſo viſibly, that all about him took notice of it; and the day after he told Cromwell that he had not conſummated his marriage; and he believed he ſhould never do it: he ſuſpected ſhe was not a virgin: and ſhe had ill ſmells about her; ſo that his averſion to her was increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he believed he ſhould never be able to change it. Cromwell did what he could to overcome theſe inclinations; but that was not to be done. And tho' the king lived five months with her, and lay often in the bed with her, yet his averſion to her rather encreaſed than abated. She ſeemed little concerned at it, and expreſſed a great readineſs to concur in every thing that might diſengage him from a marriage that was ſo unacceptable to him. Inſtruments were brought over, to ſhew that the contract between her and the prince of Lorrain was void: but they took ſome advantage, becauſe it was not declared, whether the contract was in the words of the preſent, or of the future tenſe.

A new parliament.

IN April there was a ſeſſion of parliament, and at the opening of it, as the lord chancellor declared the matters relating to the ſtate, for which the king had called them, ſo the vicegerent ſpake to them concerning the matters of religion: he told them, there was nothing which the king deſired ſo much, as an entire union among all his ſubjects; but ſome incendiaries oppoſed it as much as he promoted it; and between the raſhneſs on the one hand, and inveterate ſuperſtition on the other, great diſſentions had ariſen. Theſe were inflamed by the reproachful names of papiſt and heretick: and tho' they had now the Word of GOD in all their hands, yet they ſtudied rather to juſtify their paſſions out of it, than to govern their lives by it. In order to the removing this, the king reſolved to ſet forth an expoſition of the doctrine of CHRIST, without any corrupt mixtures, and to retain ſuch ceremonies as might be of good uſe; and that being done, he was reſolved to puniſh all tranſgreſſors, of what ſide ſoever they might be: for that end, he had appointed the two archbiſhops and the biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Hereford, and St. David's; and eleven divines, Thirleby, Robertſon, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symons, Robins, and Threſham, for ſettling the doctrine: and the biſhops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chicheſter, Worceſter, and Landaff, for the ceremonies. Theſe committees for religion, ſat as often as the affairs of the parliament could allow of. Two days after the parliament met, Cromwell was made earl of Eſſex, which ſhews it was not the king's diſlike of the queen that wrought his ruin, otherwiſe he had not now raiſed his title.

A bill was brought into the parliament for ſuppreſſing the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Theſe were at firſt only an hoſpital, for entertaining the pilgrims that went to viſit the holy grave: and after that, they became an order of knights; and they and the knights templers conducted and guarded the pilgrims. It was thought for ſome ages one of the higheſt expreſſions of devotion to CHRIST, to go and viſit the places where he was crucified, buried, and aſcended to heaven: and it was looked on as highly meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels; ſo that almoſt every one that died, either vowed to go to the holy war, or left ſomewhat to ſuch as ſhould go. If they recovered, they bought off their vow, by giving ſome lands for the entertainment of thoſe knights. There were great complaints made of the templers; but whether it was their wealth that made them a deſirable prey, or their guilt that drew ruin on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a council, and all of them, that could be found, were cruelly put to death. But the other order was ſtill continued; and being beaten out of Judea, they ſettled at Rhodes, out of which they were lately driven, and were now ſettled in Malta. They were under a great maſter, who depended on the pope and the emperor. But ſince they could not be brought to ſurrender of their own accord, as others had done, it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs them by act of parliament. Another houſe which they had in Ireland, was alſo ſuppreſſed, and penſions were reſerved for the priors and knights. On the 14th of May, the parliament was prorogued to the 25th, a vote having paſs'd, that the bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were in.

Cromwell's fall.

ON the 12th of June, there was a ſudden turn at court; for the duke of Norfolk arreſted Cromwell of high treaſon, and ſent him priſoner to the Tower. He had many enemies: the meanneſs of his birth made the nobility take it ill, to ſee the ſon of a blackſmith made an earl, and have the garter given him; beſides, his being lord privy ſeal, lord chamberlain of England, lord vicegerent; and a little while before, he had alſo the maſterſhip of the rolls. All the popiſh clergy hated him violently: they imputed the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly

to

to his counſels: and it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the king and the emperor continued to be in ſuch ill terms. The king did now underſtand, that there was no agreement like to be made betweeen the emperor and Francis, for it ſtuck at the matter of the dutchy of Milan; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the king was ſure, they would both court his friendſhip in caſe of a war; and this made him leſs concerned for the favour of the German princes. So, now Cromwell's counſels became unacceptable: with this a ſecret reaſon concurred. The king did not only hate the queen, but was now come to be in love with Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; which both raiſed his intereſt, and depreſs'd Cromwell, who had made the former match. The king was alſo willing to caſt upon him all the errors that had been committed of late; and by making him a ſacrifice, he hoped he ſhould regain the affections of his people. The king had alſo informations brought him, that he ſecretly encouraged thoſe that oppoſed the ſix articles, and diſcouraged thoſe who went about the execution of it. His fall came ſo ſuddenly, that he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of it before the ſtorm brake on him. He had the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters; his friends forſook him, and his enemies inſulted over him; only Cranmer ſtuck to him, and wrote earneſtly to the king in his favour. 'He ſaid, he found that he 'had always loved the king above all things, 'and had ſerved him with ſuch fidelity and 'ſucceſs, that he believed no king of Eng-'land had ever a more faithful ſervant: and 'he wiſhed the king might find ſuch a 'counſellor, who both could, and would, 'ſerve him as he had done.' So great and generous a ſoul had Cranmer, that was not turned by changes in his friends fortunes, and would venture on the diſpleaſure of ſo imperious a prince, rather than fail in the duties of friendſhip. But the king was now reſolved to ruin Cromwell, and that unjuſt practice of attainting, without hearing the parties anſwer for themſelves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himſelf. He had ſuch enemies in the houſe of lords, that the bill of attainder was diſpatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer was abſent, and no other would venture to ſpeak for him. But he met with more juſtice in the houſe of commons, for it ſtuck ten days there. And, in the concluſion, a new bill was drawn up againſt him, and ſent up to the lords; to which they conſented; and it had the royal aſſent.

IN it they ſet forth, 'That tho' the king 'had raiſed him from a baſe ſtate to great 'dignities, yet it appeared by many wit-'neſſes, that were perſons of honour, that 'he had been the moſt corrupt traitor that 'ever was known. That he had ſet many 'at liberty that were condemned, or ſuſpec-'ted of miſpriſion of treaſon. That he had 'given licences for tranſporting out of the 'kingdom things prohibited by proclama-'tion; and granted many paſſports without 'ſearch made. That he had ſaid, He was 'ſure of the king. That he had diſperſed 'many erroneous books, contrary to the 'belief of the ſacrament: and had ſaid, 'That every man might adminiſter it as 'well as a prieſt. That he had licenſed 'many preachers ſuſpected of hereſy; and 'had order'd many to be diſcharged that 'were committed on that account; and had 'diſcharged all informers. That he had 'many hereticks about him. That above a 'year before he had ſaid, The preaching of 'Barnes and others was good; and that he 'would not turn, tho' the king did turn; 'but if the king turned, he would fight in 'perſon againſt him, and all that turned; 'and drawing out his dagger, he wiſhed 'that might pierce him to the heart, if he 'ſhould not do it: he had alſo ſaid, If he 'lived a year or two longer, it ſhould not 'be in the king's power to hinder it. He 'had likewiſe been found guilty of great 'oppreſſion and bribery; and when he heard 'that ſome lords were taking counſel againſt 'him, he had threaten'd, that he would 'raiſe great ſtirs in England. For theſe 'things, he was attainted both of high trea-'ſon and hereſy.' A proviſo was added, for ſecuring the church of Wells, of which he had been dean.

THIS was look'd on as very hard meaſure. It was believed, that he had at leaſt verbal orders from the king, for the licences and orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have ſhewed ſome in writing, if he had been heard to make his anſwers. Bribery ſeemed to be caſt on him, only to render him odious; but no particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, that he could have ſpoken ſuch words of the king, as were alledged, eſpecially when he was in the height of his favour, and if he had ſpoken them above a year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſo long kept ſecret; and what was ſaid of his drawing out a dagger, look'd like a deſign to affix an overt act to them.

THIS being done, the king went on to move for a divorce. An addreſs was moved to be made to him by the lords, That he would ſuffer his marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were ſent down to deſire the concurrence of the commons; and they ordered twenty of their number to go along with the lords, who went all in a body to the king. He granted their deſire, the matter being concerted before. So a commiſſion was ſent to the convocation, to diſcuſs it; Gardiner open'd it to them, and they appointed a committee for the examination of witneſſes. The ſubſtance of the whole evidence amounted to theſe particulars, That the matter of the pre-contract with the prince of Lorrain was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, that it was made by the queen; or whether it was in the words of the preſent time or not. That the king had marry'd her againſt his will, and had not given an inward and compleat conſent; and that he had never conſummated the marriage; ſo that they ſaw he could have no iſſue by the queen. Upon theſe

The king's marriage annulled.

theſe grounds the whole convocation, with one conſent, annulled the marriage, and declared both parties free. This was the groſſeſt piece of compliance that the king had from his clergy in his whole reign: for as they knew that there was nothing in the pretended pre-contract, ſo by voiding the marriage, becauſe the conſent was not internal and free, they made a moſt pernicious precedent for breaking all publick treaties; for ſince none can know mens hearts, it would be eaſy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect conſent; and that being allowed, there could be no confidence nor ſafety among men any more. And, in the proceſs for the king's firſt divorce, they had laid it down as a principle, that a marriage was compleat, tho' it were never conſummated. But, in a word, the king was reſolved to be rid of the queen; and the clergy were reſolved not to offend him: and they rather ſought out reaſons to give a colour to their ſentence, than paſte it on the force of thoſe reaſons. Cromwell was required to ſend a declaration of all he knew concerning the marriage, which he did; but ended in theſe moſt abject words, 'Written with the heavy heart, and trembling hand of your highneſs's moſt heavy, and moſt miſerable priſoner, and poor ſlave, Tho. Cromwell.' And under his ſubſcription he wrote, 'Moſt ſacred prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.' The judgment of the convocation was reported to the houſe of lords by Cranmer; and the reaſons were open'd by Gardiner: they were ſent down to the commons to give them the ſame account; and both houſes were ſatisfied with it. Next day, ſome lords were ſent to the queen, who had retired to Richmond. They told her, the king was reſolved to declare her his adopted ſiſter, and to ſettle 4000 l. a year on her, if ſhe would conſent to it; which ſhe chearfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in England, or to return to her brother, ſhe preferred the former. They preſs'd her to write to her brother, that all this matter was done with her good will; that the king uſed her as a father; and that therefore he, and the other allies, ſhould not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averſe to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the act confirming the judgment of the convocation, paſs'd without any oppoſition. An act paſs'd, mitigating one clauſe in the act of the ſix articles; by which, the pains of death for the marriage or incontinence of the clergy, were changed into a forfeiture of their goods and benefices. Another act paſs'd, authorizing thoſe committees of biſhops and divines that had been named by the king, both for their doctrine and ceremonies, to go on in it, and appointing that what ſhould be agreed on by them, and publiſhed with the king's approbation, ſhould bind the ſubjects as much as if every particular in it had been enumerated in that act, any law or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding. But a proviſo was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the laws then in force. Which contradiction in the proviſo's ſeems to have been put in on deſign to keep all eccleſiaſtical proceedings under the inſpection of the ſecular courts, ſince they are the only expounders of acts of parliament. Another act paſs'd, That no pretence of a pre-contract ſhould be made uſe of to annul a marriage duly ſolemnized and conſummated: and that no degrees of kindred, but thoſe enumerated in the law of Moſes, might hinder a marriage. This laſt was added, to enable the king to marry Catharine Howard, that was couſin-german to Anne Boleyn, which was one of the degrees prohibited by the canon law; but the reaſon of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the king's divorce of Anne Boleyn, grounded on a pretended pre-contract.

THE province of Canterbury gave the king a ſubſidy of 4 s. in the pound, to be payed in two years, with a preamble of high acknowledgments of their happineſs under his protection. A ſubſidy was alſo asked of the laity; but in the houſe of commons it was much oppoſed: many ſaid, They had given the king the abbey-lands, in hopes that no ſubſidies ſhould have been any more demanded; and it ſhewed a ſtrange profuſeneſs, that now, within a year after that, a ſubſidy was demanded. But it was anſwered, That the king had been at great charge in fortifying his coaſts, and in keeping up ſuch leagues beyond ſea, as preſerved the nation in ſafety; a tenth, and four fifteenths were granted. Several bills of attainder were paſs'd: and, in concluſion, the king ſent a general pardon, out of which Cromwell and divers others were excepted; and then the parliament was diſſolved. Cromwell's mean addreſſes could not preſerve him: ſo he was executed on the 28th of July: he thanked GOD for bringing him to die in that manner, 'which was juſt on the account of his 'ſins againſt GOD, and his offences againſt 'his prince. He declared, that he doubted 'of no article of the catholick faith, nor of 'any ſacrament of the church. He ſaid, he 'had been ſeduced, but now he died in the 'catholick faith, and denied he had ſup-'ported the preachers of ill opinions.' He deſired all their prayers, and prayed very fervently for himſelf; and thus did he end his days.

HE roſe meerly by the ſtrength of his natural parts, for his education was ſuitable to his mean extraction; only he had all the New Teſtament in latin, by heart. He carried his greatneſs with extraordinary moderation, and fell rather under the weight of popular odium, than guilt. At his death he mixed none of the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome with his devotions: ſo it was ſaid, that he uſed the word [catholick faith] in its true ſenſe, and in oppoſition to the novelties of the church of Rome: yet his ambiguous way of expreſſing himſelf made the papiſts ſay, That he died repenting of his hereſy. But the proteſtants ſaid, that he died in the ſame perſuaſions in which he lived. With him fell the office of the king's vicegerent, and none after him have aſpired

to that character, that proved ſo fatal to him who firſt carry'd it. It was believed that the king lamented his death when it was too late; and the miſeries that fell on the new queen, and on the duke of Norfolk and his family, were look'd on as ſtrokes from heaven on them, for their cruel proſecuting this unfortunate miniſter. With his fall, the progreſs of the reformation ſtopt; for Cranmer could never gain much ground after this, and, indeed, many hoped that he ſhould be quickly ſent after Cromwell: ſome complained of him in the houſe of commons, and informations were brought the king, that the chief encouragement that the hereticks had, came from him.

A book of religion publiſh'd by the biſhops.

THE eccleſiaſtical committees, imployed by the king, were now at work, and gave the laſt finiſhing to a book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many particulars. They began with the explanation of faith, which, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the church propoſed: but the reformers made it the chief ſubject of their books and ſermons, to perſuade people to believe in CHRIST, and not in the church; and made great uſe of thoſe places in which it was ſaid, That Chriſtians are juſtified by faith only: tho' ſome explained this in ſuch a manner, that it gave their adverſaries advantages to charge them that they denied the neceſſity of good works; but they all taught, that tho' they were not neceſſary to juſtification, yet they were neceſſary to ſalvation. They differ'd alſo in their notion of good works. The church of Rome taught, That the honour done to GOD in images, or to the ſaints in their ſhrines and relicks, or to the prieſts, were the beſt ſort of good works; whereas the reformers preſs'd juſtice and mercy moſt, and diſcover'd the ſuperſtition of the other. The opinion of the merit of good works was alſo ſo highly raiſed, that many thought they purchaſed heaven by them. This the reformers did alſo correct, and taught the people to depend meerly upon the death and interceſſion of CHRIST. Others moved ſubtiller queſtions; as, whether obedience was an eſſential part of faith, or only a conſequent of it? This was a nicety ſcarce becoming divines, that built only on the ſimplicity of the ſcriptures, and condemned the ſubtilties of the ſchools: and it was ſaid, that men of ill lives abuſed this doctrine, and thought, that if they could but aſſure themſelves that CHRIST died for them, they were ſafe enough.

SO now, when they ſettled the notion of faith, they divided it into two ſorts: the one was a perſuaſion of the truth of the goſpel; but the other carry'd with it a ſubmiſſion to the will of GOD; and both hope, love, and obedience belong'd to it; which was the faith profeſſed in baptiſm, and ſo much extolled by St. Paul. It was not to be ſo underſtood, as if it were a certainty of our being predeſtinated, which may be only a preſumption, ſince all GOD's promiſes are made to us on conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole goſpel according to our baptiſmal vows. Cranmer took great pains to ſtate this matter right, and made a large collection of many places, all written with his own hand, both out of antient and modern authors, concerning faith, juſtification, and the merit of good works, and concluded with this, That our juſtification was to be aſcribed only to the merits of CHRIST; and that thoſe who are juſtified muſt have charity as well as faith; but that neither of theſe was the meritorious cauſe of juſtification. After this was ſtated, they made next a large and full explanation of the Apoſtle's Creed, with great judgment; and many excellent practical inferences. The definition they gave of the catholick church, runs thus: 'It comprehended all aſſemblies 'of men in the whole world that received 'the faith of CHRIST, who ought to hold 'an unity of love and brotherly agreement 'together, by which they became members 'of the catholick church.' After this, they explained the ſeven ſacraments.

IN opening theſe, there were great debates; for, as was formerly mention'd, the method uſed was to open the point enquired into, by propoſing many queries, and every one was to give in his anſwer to theſe, with the reaſons of it; and then others were appointed to make an abſtract of thoſe things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The original papers, relating to theſe points, are yet preſerved, which ſhew with how great conſideration they proceeded in the changes that were then made. Cranmer had at this time ſome particular opinions concerning eccleſiaſtical offices; that they were derived from the king, as other civil offices were, and that ordination was not indiſpenſably neceſſary, and was only a ceremony that might be uſed or laid aſide; but that the authority was conveyed to churchmen only by the king's commiſſion; yet he deliver'd his opinion in this matter with great modeſty; and he not only ſubſcribed the book in which the contrary doctrine was eſtabliſhed, but afterwards publiſhed it in a book which he writ in king Edward's days; from whence it appears, that he changed his mind in this particular. Baptiſm was explained as had been done formerly; penance was made to conſiſt in the abſolution of the prieſts, which had been formerly declared only to be deſirable where it could be had. In the communion, both tranſubſtantiation, private maſſes, and communion in one kind, were aſſerted. They aſſerted the obligation of the Levitical Law about the degrees of marriage, and the indiſſolubleneſs of that bond. They ſet out the divine inſtitution of prieſts and deacons; and that no biſhop had authority over another; they made a long excurſion againſt the pope's pretenſions, and for juſtifying the king's ſupremacy. They ſaid, Confirmation was inſtituted by the apoſtles, and was profitable, but not neceſſary to ſalvation: and they aſſerted extream unction to have been commanded by the apoſtles, for the health both of ſoul and body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the ſecond was added to the firſt, but the words, "For I am the Lord thy God, &c.' were

were left out. It was declared, That no godly honour was to be done unto images, and that they ought only to be reverenced for their ſakes whom they repreſented: therefore the preferring of one image to another, and the making pilgrimages and offerings to them, was condemned; but the cenſing them, or kneeling before them, was permitted; yet the people were to be taught that theſe things were done only to the honour of GOD. Invocation of ſaints, as interceſſors, was allowed; but immediate addreſs to them for the bleſſings that were prayed for, was condemned. The ſtrict reſt from labour on the ſeventh day, was declared to be ceremonial; but it was neceſſary to reſt from ſin and carnal pleaſure, and to follow holy duties. The other commandments were explained in a very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was aſſerted, That the people ought only to pray in their vulgar tongues for exciting their devotion the more: the angels ſalutation to the Virgin was alſo paraphraſed. They handled free-will, and defined it to be a power, by which the will, guided by reaſon, did, without conſtraint, diſcern and chooſe good and evil; the former by the help of GOD's ſpirit, and the latter of itſelf. Grace was ſaid to be offered to all men, but was made effectual by the application of the free-will to it: and grace and free-will did conſiſt well together, the one being added for the help of the other, and therefore preachers were warned not to depreſs either of them too much, in order to the exaltation of the other. Men were juſtified freely by the grace of GOD, but that was applied by faith, in which both the fear of GOD, repentance, and amendment of life were included. All curious reaſonings about predeſtination were condemned: for men could not be aſſured of their election, but by feeling the motions of GOD's holy ſpirit appearing in a good and virtuous life, and perſevering in that to the end. Good works were neceſſary, which were not the ſuperſtitious inventions of monks and friars, nor only moral good works done by the power of nature, but were the works of charity flowing from a pure heart, and faith unfeigned: faſting, and the other fruits of penance, were alſo good works, but of an inferior nature to juſtice and the other virtues: good works were meritorious, yet ſince they were wrought in men by GOD's Spirit, all boaſting was excluded. They ended with an account of prayer for ſouls departed, almoſt the ſame that was in the articles publiſhed before.

THE book was writ in a plain and maſculine ſtile, fit for weak capacities, and yet ſtrong and weighty: and the parts of it that related to practice were admirable. To this they added a preface, declaring the care they had uſed in examining the ſcriptures and antient doctors, out of whom they compiled this book. The king added another preface, in which he condemned the hypocriſy and ſuperſtition of one ſort, and the preſumption of another ſort; to correct both, he had order'd this book to be made and publiſhed: and he required his people to read and print it in their hearts, and pray to GOD to grant them the Spirit of humility for receiving it aright: and he charged the inferior people to remember that their office was not to teach, but to be taught; and to practiſe what they heard, rather than diſpute about it. But this preface was not added till two years after the book was put out; for it mentions the approbation that was given to it in parliament, and the reſtraint that was put on reading the ſcriptures, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards.

THE reformers were diſſatisfied with many things in the book, yet were glad to find the morals of religion ſo well opened; for the purity of ſoul, which that might effect, would diſpoſe people to ſound opinions; many ſuperſtitious practices were alſo condemned, and the goſpel-covenant was rightly ſtated. One article was alſo aſſerted in it, which open'd the way to a further reformation; for every national church was declared to be a compleat body with power to reform hereſies, and do every thing that was neceſſary for preſerving its own purity, or governing its members. The popiſh party, though they had recovered much ground, that ſeemed loſt formerly, they knew the reformers would never ſubmit to all things in this book, which would alienate the king from them; but they were ſafe, being reſolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be uneaſy to live in England; for the king's peeviſhneſs grew upon him with his age. Now the correſpondence between the king and the German princes fell upon the change that was made in the miniſtry, and a ſecret treaty was ſet on foot between the king and the emperor. All the changes that the committee appointed for the ceremonies made, were only the razure of ſome offices and collects, and the ſetting out of a new primer, with the vulgar devotions for the common people; but the changes were not ſo great, as that it was neceſſary to reprint the miſſals or breviaries; for the old books were ſtill made uſe of. Yet theſe raſures were ſuch, that in queen Mary's time the old books were all called in, and the nation was put to the charge of buying new ones, which was conſiderable, ſo great was the number of the books of offices.

Barnes and others fall into Trouble.

THE popiſh party ſtudied now to engage the king into new ſeverities againſt the reformers; the firſt inſtances of theſe fell on three preachers, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, who had been early wrought on by Luther's books. Barnes had, during Wolſey's greatneſs, reflected much on him in a ſermon which he preached at Cambridge; but Gardiner was then his friend, and brought him off, he having abjured ſome articles that were objected to him: yet upon new complaints he was again put in priſon, but he made his eſcape, and fled to Germany, and became ſo conſiderable, that he was ſent over to England by the king of Denmark, as chaplain to his ambaſſadors; but he went back again. The biſhop of Hereford meeting him at Smalcald, ſent him over to England, with a ſpecial recommendation

dation to Cromwell: he was after that much imployed in the negotiations which the king had with the Germans; and had the misfortune to be the firſt that was ſent with the propoſition for Anne of Cleve. In Lent, this year, Bonner appointed thoſe three to have their turns at St. Paul's Croſs. Gardiner preached alſo there, and fell on juſtification, which he handled according to the notions of the ſchools; but Barnes and the other two did directly refute his ſermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent reflections on his perſon. This was repreſented to the king as a great inſolence, he being both a biſhop and a privy counſellor: ſo the king commanded them to go and give him ſatisfaction: he ſeemed to carry the matter with much moderation, and readily forgave all that was perſonal, tho' it was believed that it ſtuck deep in him. In concluſion, they confeſſed their indiſcretion, and promiſed for the future to be more cautious, and renounced ſome articles, of which it was thought their ſermons favoured; as, that GOD was the author of ſin; that good works were not neceſſary to ſalvation; and that princes ought not to be obeyed in all their juſt laws. Some other niceties were in diſpute concerning juſtification; but the king thought theſe were not of ſuch conſequence, that it was neceſſary to make them abjure them. Barnes and his friends were required to preach a recantation ſermon at the Spittle, and to ask Gardiner's pardon; but tho' they obeyed this, yet it was ſaid, that in one place they juſtified what they recanted in another; at which the king was ſo much provoked, that without hearing them, he ſent them to the Tower. At that time Cromwell either could not protect them, or would not interpoſe in a matter which gave the king ſo great offence. When the parliament came, they were attainted of hereſy, without being brought to make their anſwers: no particular errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as deteſtable hereticks in general words. In the ſame act, by which they were condemned, four other were attainted of treaſon, for being confederated with Reginald Pool, and for intending to ſurprize Calais; and as there was a ſtrange mixture in their condemnation, ſo the like was in their execution: for Abel, Featherſton, and Powell, that were attainted in the ſame parliament for owning the pope's ſupremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the hurdles in which they were carried to Smithfield; the king in this affecting an extravagant appearance of impartiality in his juſtice.

BARNES being tied to the ſtake, went over the articles of the Creed, and declared his belief of them all, and that he abhorred the impious opinions of ſome German anabaptiſts. He aſſerted the neceſſity of good works, but aſcribed juſtification wholly to the merits of CHRIST; he profeſſed all due reverence to the ſaints, but ſaid he ſaw no warrant to pray for them; he asked the ſheriff and the people, If they knew for what they were condemned, and what hereſies they were accuſed of? but none made anſwer; he prayed GOD to forgive all that ſought their death, and, in particular, Gardiner, if he had done it: then prayed for the king and the prince, and expreſſed his loyalty to the king; that he believed all his juſt laws were to be obeyed for conſcience ſake, and that in no caſe it was lawful to reſiſt him: he ſent ſome deſires to the king, as that he would apply the abbey-lands to good uſes, and the relief of his poor ſubjects; that he would puniſh the contempt of marriage that was ſo common, and would put a ſtop to the liberty many took of caſting off their wives, and living in whoredom; that ſwearers might be puniſhed; and that ſince the king had begun to ſet forth the chriſtian religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal remained yet to be done: he asked the forgiveneſs of all people whom he might have at any time offended; and ſo turned and prepared himſelf for death. Then the other two ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; they declared their faith, and exhorted the people to a good life, and mutual love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the fire was ſet to. The conſtancy they expreſſed, together with the gentleneſs of their deportment towards their enemies, made great impreſſions on the ſpectators, and caſt a heavy imputation on Gardiner, as the procurer of their deaths, tho' he juſtified himſelf in an apology which he printed; in which he denied any other acceſſion to it, but giving his vote to the bill of attainder. Bonner began now to ſhew himſelf in his own colour: he had courted Cromwell more than any perſon whatſoever; yet the very day after his diſgrace, he ſhewed his ingratitude; for Grafton, that had printed the bible, and was much in Cromwell's favour upon that account, meeting Bonner, expreſſed his ſorrow for Cromwell's being ſent to the Tower; but the other anſwered, That it had been good he had been there much ſooner. Grafton ſaw his error in ſpeaking ſo freely, and went from him: but ſome verſes being printed in Cromwell's praiſe, Bonner informed the council what Grafton had ſaid to him, and ſo thought it was probable he had printed them; yet he had ſo many friends, that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the act of the ſix articles; but an order came from the king to ſtop further proceedings; yet he picked out one inſtance which did equally diſcover his brutal cruelty, and his want of judgment. One Mekins, not above fifteen years old, had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the corporal preſence, and in commendation of Dr. Barnes: the witneſſes differed in their evidence; one ſwore he had ſaid the ſacrament was only a ceremony; the other ſwore he had ſaid, it was only a ſignification: ſo two grand juries returned an ignoramus on the bill; upon which he fell into a fit of curſing and violent rage; and he made the ſecond grand jury go aſide and conſider better of it; they being terrified, found a bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but hoping to be preſerved by what he ſhould ſay at the ſtake, he railed at Barnes, and

praiſed

praiſed Bonner much: yet that did not ſave him. Two were burnt at Salisbury, and two at Lincoln, upon the ſame ſtatute: beſides great numbers that were put in priſon.

New ſees founded.

IN the end of this year the king began to endow the new biſhopricks: Weſtminſter was the firſt, in which he endow'd a biſhoprick, a deanary, twelve prebendaries, a choir, and other officers. The year after this, he endowed Cheſter, Gloceſter, and Peterborough; but in theſe cathedrals he only endowed ſix prebendaries; two years after he likewiſe endowed Oxford and Briſtol. The foundations had preambles almoſt the ſame with that of the act of parliament that empower'd him to erect them; he promoted the biſhops to thoſe ſees by a ſpecial writ, tho' that was to go thereafter in the way of election, as it was in the other ſees: he alſo converted the priories of Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worceſter, Ely, Rocheſter, and Carliſle, into collegiate churches, conſiſting of deans and prebendaries. But as all this came far ſhort of what the king had at firſt intended, ſo the channel in which thoſe foundations run, differed much from what Cranmer had projected, whoſe intereſt was ſo low at court, that his opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have reſtored the cathedrals to what they had been at firſt, to be colleges and nurſeries for the dioceſe, and to have ſet up readers of the learned tongues, and of divinity, in them, that ſo a conſiderable number of young clerks might have been trained up under the biſhop's eye, both in their ſtudies, and in a courſe of devotion; to be by him put afterwards into livings, according to their merit and improvement. The want of ſuch houſes for the ſtrict education of thoſe who are to ſerve in the church, has been the occaſion of many fatal conſequences ſince that time, by the ſcandals which men, initiated to the ſacred functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the world. The popiſh party beyond ſea cenſured theſe endowments, both as being a very defective reſtitution of the lands that had been invaded, and as an invaſion on the ſpiritual authority, when the king divided dioceſes, and removed churches from one juriſdiction, and put them under another. To which it was anſwered, That as their practices againſt the king had put him to ſuch a charge, that he could not execute what he at firſt intended; ſo both the Roman emperors, and other chriſtian kings, had regulated and divided the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and made primates and patriarchs as they pleaſed. Ely in England was taken out of Lincoln, only by the king and his parliament, tho' P. Nicolaus did officiouſly ſend a confirmation of it, that being an art of the papacy to offer confirmations unſought, and afterwards to found a right on ſuch a precedent: ſo that receiving a confirmation, was made to paſs for an acknowledgment of an authority in that ſee to grant it; upon which the popes afterwards pretended, that ſuch things could not be done without their conſent. Here the ſeries of the king's advance towards a reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by ſtarts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: nor was he ſteady in his councils in ſtate affairs: he had no miniſter about him, that had any aſcendant over him. Sickneſs and years increaſed his imperious temper; ſo that his counſellors had a hard task pleaſe him, and many errors were committed by him.

The Bible ſet up in churches.

A new impreſſion of the bible was at this time finiſhed; and the king required all pariſhes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowtide, under the pain of 40s. a month after that, till they had got one. The people were alſo charged not to diſpute about it, nor to diſturb divine ſervice by reading it during the maſs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their inſtruction and edification. Six of theſe were ſet up in divers places of St. Paul's: but Bonner being afraid of the miſchief they might do, poſted up near them, an admonition to the people, That none ſhould read them with vain-glory and corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about thoſe that read; and ſuch as had good voices, uſed to be reading them aloud a great part of the day. Many ſent their children to ſchool, and when they had learned to read, they carried them to church to read the bibles; ſome began likewiſe to argue from them, particularly againſt taking away the chalice in the communion, and the worſhip in an unknown tongue; upon which Bonner ſet up a new advertiſement, and threatened to remove them, if theſe abuſes were not corrected: and upon the complaints made of thoſe things, the free uſe of the ſcriptures was afterwards much reſtrained. This year the king added to his former foundations, two collegiate churches at Burton upon Trent, and Thornton, conſiſting of a dean and four prebendaries a-piece. Cranmer obſerving the exceſſes in biſhops tables, by which, under the name of hoſpitality, ſo much was conſumed in great entertainments, that they were diſabled from more neceſſary and profitable acts of charity, made a regulation, that an archbiſhop ſhould not have above ſix diſhes of meat, and four of banquet; a biſhop not above five of meat, and four of banquet; a dean or archdeacon not above four, and two of one and the other; and inferior churchmen might not have above two diſhes. But this did not take effect; and ſumptuous tables ſtill continued, though the revenues were much impaired; and thus, beſides the other ill effects of theſe, a great part of the church-rents goes for entertaining the rich, which ſhould be applied to the poor.

The affairs of Scotland.

THIS ſummer the king went to York, to meet his nephew the king of Scotland, who promiſed him an interview there. He was an extraordinary prince, a great patron, both of learning and juſtice; but out of meaſure addicted to his pleaſures. The clergy of Scotland were very apprehenſive of his ſeeing his uncle, leſt king Henry might have perſuaded him to follow the copy he had ſet to his neighbours: and they uſed ſuch perſuaſions, that theſe, ſeconded by a meſſage from

France, diverted the king from his purpoſe. Biſhop Burnet, in this place, digreſſes a little to give an account of the ſtate of Scotland at that time.

THE long alliance between Scotland and France made it, that Paris was the place where the learned of that nation had their education: yet after the year 1412, learning came to have more footing there, and univerſities were ſet up in ſeveral epiſcopal ſees; at the ſame time ſome of Wickliff's followers began to creep into Scotland; and one Resby, an Engliſhman, was burnt (1407) for teaching ſome opinions contrary to the pope's authority. Some years after that Paul Craw, an Huſſite and Bohemian, was burnt, for infuſing the opinions of that party into ſome at St. Andrews. About the end of that century, Lollardy, as it was then called, was ſpread into many parts of the dioceſe in Glaſgow; for which ſeveral perſons of quality were accuſed: but they anſwered the archbiſhop of that ſee with ſuch aſſurance, that he diſmiſſed them, having admoniſh'd them to content themſelves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines. The ſame ſpirit of ignorance, immorality, and ſuperſtition, had over-run the clergy there, that was ſo much complained of in the other parts of Europe: only it may be ſuppoſed, that in nations leſs polite and learned, it was in proportion greater than it was elſewhere. The total neglect of the paſtoral care, and the groſs ſcandals of the clergy, poſſeſſed the people with ſuch prejudices againſt them, that they were eaſily diſpoſed to hearken to new preachers. Patrick Hamilton, nobly born, nephew by his father to the earl of Arran, and to the duke of Albany by his mother, was bred up on deſign to be highly preferred, and had an abbey given him for proſecuting his ſtudies. He went to travel, and in Germany grew acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and being poſſeſſed with their opinions, he returned to Scotland, and laid open the errors and corruptions then received in the church. He was invited to St. Andrew's, to confer concerning theſe points; upon which he was condemned and put in priſon. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refuſing to abjure them, Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three biſhops, and five abbots, condemn'd him as an obſtinate heretick, and deliver'd him to the ſecular power, and order'd the execution to be that afternoon; for the king had gone in pilgrimage to Roſs, and they were afraid, leſt upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually for him. He was tied to the ſtake, and expreſſed great joys in his ſufferings, ſince by theſe he was to enter into everlaſting life. A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fewel, but only burnt his face; ſo a ſtop was made till more powder was brought; and in that time the friars call'd oft to him to recant, and pray to the virgin, and to ſay the ſalve regina. One friar Campbel was very officious among the reſt, who had been oft with him in priſon. He anſwer'd him, That he knew he was not an heretick, and had confeſſed it to him in private; and he charged him to anſwer for that to GOD. By this time the gun-powder was brought, and the fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating theſe words: Lord Jeſus, receive my ſoul. Campbel became ſoon after frantick, and died within a year. Both theſe laid together, made great impreſſions on the people: and now theſe points began to be inquired into, many received the new opinions. Seaton, a dominican, the king's confeſſor, preaching in Lent, ſet out the nature of true repentance, and the method to it, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that ſubject; and when another friar ſhewed the defectiveneſs of what he had taught, he defended himſelf in another ſermon, and reflected on thoſe biſhops that did not preach, and called them dumb dogs. But the clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill terms with the king: and the freedom he uſed in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated the king from him; upon which, they reſolved to fall upon him; but he withdrew into England, and wrote to the king, taxing the clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to reſtrain it. One Forreſt, an ignorant benedictine, was accuſed for having ſpoken honourably of Patrick Hamilton, and was put in priſon. In confeſſion to a friar, he acknowledg'd, he thought he was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The friar diſcover'd this, and it was received as evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the biſhops courts, of whom the greateſt part abjured; but two were more reſolute: one Gourley denied purgatory, and the pope's authority; another was David Smeton, who being a fiſherman, had refuſed to pay the tithe of his fiſh; and when the vicar came to take them, he ſaid, The tithe was taken where the ſtock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth fiſh into the ſea: for this and other opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one ſtake. Several others were accuſed; of whom, ſome fled to England, and others went over to Germany. The changes made in England, raiſed in all the people a curioſity of ſearching into matters of religion; and that was always fatal to ſuperſtition. Pope Clement the VIIth wrote earneſtly to the king of Scotland to continue firm to the catholick faith: upon which he called a parliament, and made new laws for maintaining the pope's authority, and proceeding againſt hereticks; yet the pope could not engage him to make war on England. King Henry ſent Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, to him, with ſome books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and deſired him to examine them impartially. He alſo propoſed an interview at York, and a match between him and lady Mary, the king's eldeſt daughter, and promiſed that he ſhould be made duke of York, and lord lieutenant of the whole kingdom: yet the clergy diverted him from this, and perſuaded him to go in perſon to France, and court the daughter of that king, Magdalene. He married

married her in January 1537; but ſhe died in May. She had been bred in the queen of Navarre's court, and ſo was well diſpoſed towards the reformation. Upon her death, the king marry'd Mary of Guiſe; ſhe was a branch of the family, of all Europe, that was moſt zealouſly addicted to the old ſuperſtition; and her intereſt, joined with the clergy's, engaged the king to become a violent perſecutor of all that were of another mind.

A perſecution ſet on foot in Scotland.

THE king was very expenſive, both in his pleaſures and buildings; and had a numerous race of baſtards; ſo that he came to want money much. The nobility propoſed to him the ſeizing on the abbey lands, as his uncle had done. The clergy, on the other hand, adviſed him to proceed ſeverely againſt all ſuſpected of hereſy: by which means, according to the liſts they ſhewed him, he might raiſe 100,000 crowns a year: they alſo adviſed him to provide his children to abbies and priories; and repreſented to him, That if he continued ſtedfaſt in the old religion, he would ſtill have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league, which was then in project againſt king Henry. This ſo far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his ſons abbots and priors, ſo he gave way to the perſecuting ſpirit of the clergy: upon which, many were cited to anſwer for hereſy; of theſe, many abjured, and ſome were baniſh'd; a canon-regular, a ſecular prieſt, two friars, and a gentleman, were burnt. Forreſt, the canon-regular, had been reproved by his ordinary, the biſhop of Dunkell, for meddling with the ſcriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Teſtament, but contented himſelf with his portoiſe and pontifical; and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himſelf with ſuch fancies. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow was a very moderate man, and diſliked cruel proceedings. Ruſſel, a friar, and Kennedy, a young man of 18 years of age, were brought before him; they expreſſed wonderful joy, and a ſteady reſolution in their ſufferings. And after a long diſpute between Ruſſel and the biſhop's divines, Ruſſel concluded, This is your hour, and the power of darkneſs; go on, and fill up the meaſures of your iniquities. The archbiſhop was unwilling to give ſentence; he ſaid, He thought theſe executions did the church more hurt than good. But thoſe about him told him, He muſt not take a way different from the reſt of the biſhops; and threatened him ſo, that he pronounced ſentence. They were burned; but they gave ſuch demonſtrations of patience and joy, as made no ſmall impreſſion on all that ſaw it or heard of it. Among thoſe that were in trouble, George Buchanan was one, who at the king's inſtigation had writ a very ſharp poem againſt the franciſcans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his eſcape, and lived twenty years in foreign parts, and at laſt returned to do his country honour; and what by his immortal poems, and by his hiſtory of Scotland, he ſhewed both how great a maſter he was in the Roman tongue, and how true a judge he was, both in wit, and in the knowledge of human affairs (if paſſion had not corrupted him towards the end of his hiſtory) that he is juſtly to be reckoned the greateſt and beſt of the modern writers. So much of the affairs of Scotland.

KING Henry ſtaid not long at York, ſince his nephew came not to him. He ſet out a proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppreſſed, to come in and make their complaints; and he promiſed to repair them. This was done to caſt the load of all paſt errors upon Cromwell. The king was mightily wrought on by the charms of his wife; ſo that on the firſt of November he gave publick thanks to GOD for the happy choice he had made: but this did not laſt long; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the queen's ill life, which one Laſſels had revealed to him, having learnt it from his ſiſter. She had been very lewd before her marriage, both with one Deirham, and one Mannock. Cranmer, by the advice of the other privy counſellors, put this in writing, and delivered it to the king, not knowing how to open it in diſcourſe. The king was ſtruck with it, and at firſt inclined to believe it was a forgery; yet he order'd a ſtrict enquiry to be made into it; but he quickly found proof enough; for the queen had ſo far caſt off her modeſty, and the fear of a diſcovery, that ſeveral women had been witneſſes to her lewdneſs. It alſo appeared, that ſhe had intended to continue in that ill courſe; for ſhe had brought Deirham into her ſervice; and at Lincoln, by the lady Rochford's means, one Culpeper was brought to her in the night, and ſtaid many hours with her in a cellar, and at his going away ſhe gave him a gold chain. The queen, after a ſlight denial which ſhe had made at firſt, did at laſt confeſs all. Deirham and Culpeper were executed, and a parliament was called upon it. When it met, a committee was ſent to examine the queen: Their report is recorded only in general, That ſhe confeſſed; but no particulars are mentioned. Upon that they paſſed an act, in the form of a petition. In it they prayed the king, 'That the 'queen and her accomplices, with her bawd 'the lady Rochford, might be attainted of 'treaſon; and all thoſe who knew of the 'queen's vicious courſe before her marriage, 'might be attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, 'for not revealing it to the king before he 'married her. Among thoſe were her father 'and mother, and her grandmother, the 'dutcheſs of Norfolk. It was alſo declared 'treaſon, to know any thing of the incon-'tinence of any queen for the future, and 'not to reveal it. And it was made treaſon, 'in any whom the king intended to marry, 'judging they were maids, not to reveal it, 'if they were not ſuch.' The queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on the 14th of February. She confeſſed her incontinence before her marriage, but denied to the laſt that ſhe had broken her wedlock, though the laſciviouſneſs of her former life made the world eaſy to believe the worſt things

A diſcovery of the queen's ill life.

She is beheaded.

things of her. All obſerved the judgments of GOD on the lady Rochford, who had been ſo inſtrumental in the ruin of Anne Bolleyn, and of her husband: and when ſhe, to whoſe artifices their fall was in a great meaſure aſcribed, was found to be ſo vile a woman, it tended much to raiſe their reputation again. The attainting her kindred and parents, for not diſcovering her former lewdneſs, was thought extreme ſeverity; for it had been a hard piece of duty to the king, in them, to have diſcovered ſuch a ſecret: yet tho' they lay ſome time in priſon, the king pardoned them all afterwards, when his rage was a little qualified. That other proviſo, obliging a young woman to diſcover her own faultineſs, if the king ſhould make love to her, was thought a piece of grievous tyranny: and upon this, thoſe that rallied that ſex, took occaſion to ſay, that after this, none who was reputed a maid, could be induced to marry the king: ſo that it was not ſo much choice, as neceſſity, that made him marry a widow, two years after. Some hoſpitals were this year reſigned to the king; but there was good grounds to queſtion the validity of thoſe deeds, becauſe by their ſtatutes it was provided, that the conſent of all the fellows was neceſſary to make their deeds good in law. So thoſe ſtatutes were now, by a ſpecial act, annulled; and this made way for the diſſolution of many hoſpitals.

A deſign to ſuppreſs the bible.

THE biſhops ſitting in convocation, took great pains to ſuppreſs the Engliſh Bible; but the king could not be prevailed on directly to call it in: ſo they complained much of the tranſlation then ſet out, and intended to procure a condemnation of that, and then to begin a new one, in which it would be eaſy to make ſuch delays, that it ſhould not be finiſhed in many years. Gardiner did alſo propoſe a ſingular conceit, that many of the Latin words ſhould be ſtill retained in the Engliſh; for he thought they had either ſuch a majeſty, or ſo peculiar a ſignification, they could not be fitly rendered. He propoſed an hundred of thoſe, and it ſeems hoped, that if this could be carried, the tranſlation would be ſo full of Latin words, that the people ſhould not underſtand it. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-ſore of that party, and that they were reſolved to ſuppreſs it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the tranſlation to the two univerſities. The biſhops took this very ill, and all of them, except the biſhops of Ely, and St. David's, proteſted againſt it.

AT this time, Bonner gave ſome injunctions to his clergy, which had a ſtrain in them, ſo far different from the other parts of his life, that it is probable, he drew them not himſelf. 'He required his clergy to 'read every day a chapter in the Bible, 'with ſome gloſs upon it, and to ſtudy the 'book ſet out by the biſhops: that they 'ſhould imploy no curates, but ſuch as he 'approved of: that they ſhould take care 'to inſtruct young children well in the prin-'ciples of the chriſtian religion: that they 'ſhould not go to taverns, nor uſe unlawful 'games, chiefly on ſundays and holidays: 'that they ſhould perform all the duties of 'their function, decently, and ſeriouſly: 'that they ſhould ſuffer no plays, nor inter-'ludes in churches: and that in their ſer-'mons, they ſhould explain the goſpel and 'epiſtle for the day, and ſtudy to ſtir up the 'people to good works, and to prayer; and 'ſhould explain all the ceremonies of the 'church, but ſhould forbear all railing or 'the reciting of fabulous ſtories, and ſhould 'chiefly ſet forth the excellencies of virtue, 'and the vileneſs of ſin: and that none un-'der the degree of a biſhop ſhould preach 'without a licence.

IN the former times there had been few or no ſermons, except in Lent; for on holidays the ſermons were panegyricks on the ſaints, and on the virtue of their relicks. But in Lent there was a more ſolemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetick ſermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the affections of the people; yet theſe for the moſt part tended moſt to extol ſome of the laws of the church; as, faſting, confeſſion, and other auſterities, with the making pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the people as little as was poſſible, with the true ſimplicity of chriſtianity, or the ſcriptures: and they ſeemed to deſign rather to raiſe a ſudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had alſo mixt ſo much out of legends with their ſermons, that the people came to disbelieve all that they ſaid for the ſake of thoſe fabulous things, with which their ſermons were embaſed. The reformers took great care to inſtruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly. This made the nation run after theſe teachers with a wonderful zeal; but they mixed too much ſharpneſs againſt the friars in their ſermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; tho' their hypocriſy and cheats did in a great meaſure excuſe thoſe heats: and it was obſerved, that our Saviour had expoſed the Phariſees in ſo plain a manner, that it did very much juſtify the treating them with ſome roughneſs; yet it is not to be denied, but reſentments for the cruelties they or their friends had ſuffered by their means, might have too much influence on them. This made it ſeem neceſſary to ſuffer none to preach, at leaſt out of their own pariſhes, without licence; and many were licenſed to preach as itinerants. There was alſo a book of homilies, on all the epiſtles and goſpels in the year, put out, which contained a plain paraphraſe of thoſe parcels of Scripture, together with ſome practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of thoſe that were licenſed to preach; and that they might be able to juſtify themſelves, they began generally to write and read their ſermons: and thus did this cuſtom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of delivery, is much made up by the ſtrength and ſolidity of the matter; and has produced many volumes of as excel-

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ſent ſermons, as have been preached in any age; plays and interludes were a great abuſe in that time; in them mock-repreſentations were made both of the clergy, and of the pageantry of their worſhip. The clergy complained much of theſe, as an introduction to atheiſm, when things ſacred were thus laughed at; and ſaid, That they who began to laugh at abuſes, would not ceaſe till they had repreſented all the myſteries of religion as ridiculous. The graver ſort of reformers did not approve of it; but political men encourag'd it, and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the abuſes, that yet remained, than the expoſing them to the ſcorn of the nation.

A war with Scotland.

A war did now break out between England and Scotland, at the inſtigation of the king of France. King Henry ſet out a declaration, pretending, that the crown of Scotland owed homage to him, and cited many precedents to ſhew, that homage was done not only by their kings, but by conſent of the ſtates; for which, original records were appealed to. The Scots, on the other hand aſſerted, That they were a free and independent kingdom; that the homages antiently made by their kings, were only for lands which they had in England; and that thoſe more lately made, were either offered by pretenders in the caſe of a doubtful title, or were extorted by force: and they ſaid, their kings could not give up the rites of a free crown and people. The duke of Norfolk made an inroad into Scotland, with 20,000 men in October: but after he had burnt ſome ſmall towns, and waſted Tiviotdale, he returned back to England. In the end of November, an army of 15,000 Scots, with a good train of artillery, was brought together: they intended to march into England by the weſtern road. The king went to it in perſon; but he was at this time much diſturbed in his fancy, and thought the ghoſt of one whom he had unjuſtly put to death, follow him continually; he not only left the army, but ſent a commiſſion to Oliver Sinclare, then called his minion, to command in chief. This diſguſted the nobility very much, who were become weary of the inſolence of that favourite: ſo they refuſed to march, and were beginning to ſeparate. While they were in this diſorder, 500 Engliſh appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore party of the duke of Norfolk's army, refuſed to fight; ſo the Engliſh fell upon them, and diſperſed them: they took all their ordnance and baggage, and 1000 priſoners, of whom, 200 were gentlemen. The chief of theſe were the earl of Glencarn and Caſſilis. The news of this ſo overcharged the melancholy king, that he died ſoon after, leaving only an infant daughter, newly born, to ſucceed him. The lords that were taken, were brought to London, and lodged in the houſes of the Engliſh nobility: Caſſilis was ſent to Lambeth, where he received thoſe ſeeds of knowledge, which produced afterwards a great harveſt in Scotland. The other priſoners were alſo inſtructed to ſuch a degree, that they came to have very different thoughts of the changes that had been made in England, from what the Scottiſh clergy had poſſeſſed them with; who had encouraged their king to engage in the war, both by the aſſurance of victory, ſince he fought againſt an heretical prince, and the contribution of 50,000 crowns a year. The king's death, and the crown's falling to his daughter, made the Engliſh council lay hold on this as a proper conjuncture for uniting the whole iſland in one: therefore they ſent for the Scottiſh lords, and propoſed to them the marrying the prince of Wales to their young queen; this the Scots liked very well, and promiſed to promote it all they could: and ſo upon their giving hoſtages for the performing their promiſes faithfully, they were ſent home, and went away much pleaſed, both with the ſplendor of the king's court, and with the way of religion which they had ſeen in England.

A parliament was called, in which the king had great ſubſidies given him, of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. A bill was propoſed for the advancement of true religion, by Cranmer, and ſome other biſhops; for the ſpirits of the popiſh party were much fallen, ever ſince the laſt queen's death; yet at this time a treaty was ſet on foot between the king and the emperor, which raiſed them a little: for ſince the king was like to engage in a war with France, it was neceſſary for him to make the emperor his friend. Cranmer's motion was much oppoſed, and the timorous biſhops forſook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, tho' in moſt points things went againſt him: 'By it Tindall's tranſlation of the 'Bible was condemned as crafty and falſe, 'and alſo all other books, contrary to the 'doctrine ſet forth by the biſhops. But 'Bibles of another tranſlation were ſtill al-'lowed to be kept, only all prefaces or an-'notations that might be in them, were to 'be daſhed or cut out; all the king's in-'junctions were confirmed; no books of 'religion might be printed without licence; 'there was to be no expoſition of Scripture 'in plays or interludes; none of the laity 'might read the Scripture, or explain it in 'any publick aſſembly: but a proviſo was 'made for publick ſpeeches, which then 'began generally with a text of Scripture, 'and were like ſermons. Noblemen, gen-'tlemen, and their wives, or merchants, 'might have Bibles, but no ordinary woman, 'tradeſman, apprentice, or husbandman, 'might have any. Every perſon might have 'the book ſet out by the biſhops, and the 'pſalter, and other rudiments of religion in 'Engliſh. All churchmen that preached 'contrary to that book, for the firſt offence, 'were only required to recant; for the ſe-'cond, to abjure and carry a faggot; but 'were to be burnt for the third: the laity, 'for the third offence, were only to forfeit 'their goods and chattels, and to be liable 'to perpetual impriſonment; but they were 'to be proceeded againſt within a year: 'the parties accuſed were not allowed wit-'neſſes for their purgation. The act of the 'ſix articles was confirmed, and it was left

'free to the king to change this act, or any 'proviſo in it.' There was alſo a new act paſs'd, giving authority to the king's proclamations, and any nine privy counſellors were impowered to proceed againſt offenders. To this the lord Mountjoy diſſented, and it is the only inſtance of any proteſtation againſt any of the publick acts that paſt in this whole reign. By the act about religion, as the laity were delivered from the fear of burning, ſo the clergy might not be burnt but upon the third conviction. The act being alſo put entirely in the king's power, he had now the reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the act, or execute it, as he pleaſed; and he affected this much, to have his people depend entirely upon him. The league offenſive and defenſive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was ſworn by the king and the emperor: and aſſurances were given, that tho' the king would not declare lady Mary legitimate, upon which the emperor inſiſted much, yet ſhe ſhould be put in the ſucceſſion to the crown next prince Edward. The emperor was glad thus to engage the kings of England and France in a war, by which the Germans were left without ſupport; and ſo he reſolved to carry on his great deſign of making himſelf maſter of Germany.

In Scotland the Earl of Arran, Hamilton, next in blood to the young queen, was eſtabliſhed in the government during the queen's minority. He was a man of great virtue, and much inclined to the reformation; but was ſoft and eaſy to be wrought on. King Henry ſent Sir Ralph Sadler to him, to induce him to ſet forward the match, and to offer him lady Elizabeth for his ſon. It was agreed and confirmed in parliament, That the young queen ſhould be bred in Scotland till ſhe was ten years old, the king of England ſending a nobleman and his lady with others not exceeding twenty, to wait on her: and after that age, ſhe was to be ſent to England; and in the mean while ſix hoſtages were to be given: but all the clergy, headed by cardinal Beaton, ſet themſelves much againſt this. The queen-mother oppoſed it much, and it was alſo ſaid, a match with the French would be more for the intereſt of the nation, who being at ſo great a diſtance, could not oppreſs them ſo eaſily as the Engliſh might: for if the French oppreſs'd them, the Engliſh would be ready to protect them; but if they came under the yoke of England, they could expect no protection from any other prince. This meeting with that antipathy that was then formed between the two nations, and being inflamed by the clergy, turned the people generally to prefer a match with France, to that which was propoſed for the prince of Wales. The French ſent over the Earl of Lennox to make a party againſt the governor; they ſent alſo over the governor's baſe brother, afterwards made archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, to take him out of the hands of the Engliſh: and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his oppoſition to the intereſts of Rome, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a ſecond marriage, while the firſt that was annulled, becauſe of a pre-contract, did ſubſiſt; for if the annulling the firſt ſhould be reverſed, then the ſecond could be of no force; and if that were once done, the earl of Lennox, who was next to him in blood, would be preferred to him. Theſe threatnings, joined with his brother's artifices, had their full effect on him; for he turned off wholly from the intereſts of England, and gave himſelf up to the French councils. When it was thus reſolved to break the match with England, the lords that had left hoſtages for their faithful performing the promiſes they made to king Henry, were little concerned either in their own honour, or in the ſafety of their hoſtages: only the earl of Caſſilis, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his faith in ſuch a manner; ſo he came into England, and put himſelf in king Henry's hands, who upon that called him another Regulus, but uſed him better; for he gave him his liberty, and a noble preſent, and ſent him back with his hoſtages, but reſolved to take a ſevere reparation of thoſe who had failed him in that kingdom. At the ſame time he began the war with France, one of the reaſons he gave for it was, That Francis had failed in the matter of ſhaking off the pope's authority, and advancing a reformation, in which he had promiſed to ſecond him.

The king married Catharine Parre, widow to Nevill, Lord Latimer: ſhe ſecretly favour'd the reformation, but could not divert a ſtorm which fell then on a ſociety at Windſor. Pearſon, a prieſt, Teſtwood and Marbeck, two ſinging-men, and Filmer, one of the town, were informed againſt by Dr. London, who inſinuated himſelf much into Cromwell's favour, and was eminently zealous in the ſuppreſſion of all the monaſteries: but now he made his court no leſs dexterous to the popiſh party. Gardiner moved in council, That a commiſſion might be granted for ſearching all ſuſpected houſes, for books written againſt the ſix articles: ſo the four before mention'd, were found to have ſome of them; and upon that account were ſeized on. Sir Philip Hobbey, and Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter, were alſo put in priſon. There was a concordance of the Bible, and ſome notes upon it, in Engliſh, found written by Marbeck, which was looked on as the work of ſome learned man, for it was known that he was illiterate. Marbeck ſaid, the notes were his own, gathered by him, out of ſuch books as he fell on: and, for the concordance, he ſaid, he compiled it by the help of a Latin concordance, and an Engliſh Bible, tho' he underſtood little Latin. He had brought it to the letter L. This ſeemed ſo incredible, that it was look'd on only as a pretence to conceal the true author; ſo, to try him, they gave him ſome words of the letter M, and ſhut him up, with a Latin concordance, and an Engliſh Bible; and by his performance in that, they clearly ſaw, that the whole work was his own, and were not a little aſtoniſhed at the ingeniouſneſs and diligence of ſo poor a man. When the king heard of it, he ſaid, Marbeck was bet-

The king married Catharine Parre, A.D. 1543.

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ter imployed than they were that examined him: ſo he was preſerved, tho' the other three were condemned for ſome words which they had ſpoken againſt the maſs, and upon that were burnt. Dr. London, and Simonds an attorney, had taken ſome informations againſt ſeveral perſons of quality at court, and intended to have carried the deſign very high. But a great pacquet, in which all their project was diſcloſed by them, being intercepted, they were ſent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon oath, not knowing that their letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own hand writing was ſhewed them. So they were convicted of perjury, and were ſet on a pillory, and made ride about with their faces to the horſes tails, and papers on their breaſts, in three ſeveral places, which did ſo affect Dr. London, that he died ſoon after.

THE chief thing aimed at by the whole popiſh party was Cranmer's ruin; Gardiner imployed many to infuſe it into the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to hereſy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root ſtill growing. The king, till then, would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to penetrate into the depth of this deſign, he was willing to draw out all that was to be ſaid againſt him. Gardiner reckon'd, that this point being gained, all the reſt would follow: and judged, that the king was now alienated from him; and therefore more inſtruments and artifices than ever were now made uſe of. A long paper, of many particulars, both againſt Cranmer, and his chaplains, was put in the king's hands. Upon this, the king ſent for him; and after he had complained much of the hereſy in England, he ſaid, He reſolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example. Cranmer wiſhed him firſt to conſider well what hereſy was, that ſo he might not condemn thoſe as hereticks, who ſtood for the Word of GOD againſt human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, That he was the man complained of, as moſt guilty; and ſhewed him all the informations that he had received againſt him. Cranmer confeſſed, he was ſtill in the ſame mind that he was of when he oppoſed the ſix articles, and ſubmitted himſelf to a trial. He confeſſed many things to the king; in particular, that he had a wife, but he ſaid he had ſent her out of England, when the act of the ſix articles paſs'd, and expreſſed ſo great a ſincerity, and put ſo entire a confidence in the king, that inſtead of being ruined, he was now better eſtabliſhed with him than formerly. The king commanded him to appoint ſome to examine the contrivance that was laid to deſtroy him. He anſwered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cauſe in which himſelf was concerned: yet the king was poſitive; ſo he named ſome to go about it, and the whole ſecret was found out. It appeared, that Gardiner, and Dr. London, had been the chief ſticklers, and had encouraged informers to appear againſt him. Cranmer did not preſs the king to give him any reparation; for he was ſo noted for his readineſs to forgive injuries, and to do good for evil, that it was commonly ſaid, that the beſt way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury: of this he gave ſignal inſtances at this time, both in relation to ſome of the clergy and laity; by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly ſpirit, that became all the followers of CHRIST; but more particularly one, that was ſo great an inſtrument in reforming the chriſtian religion; and did, in ſuch eminent acts of charity, ſhew that he himſelf practiſed that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which the great act of ſucceſſion to the crown paſſed: 'By it the crown was firſt provided to 'prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs 'by the king's preſent marriage; after them 'to lady Mary and lady Elizabeth; and, 'in caſe they had no iſſue, or did not obſerve ſuch limitations or conditions as the 'king ſhould appoint, then it was to fall to 'any other whom the king ſhould name, 'either by his letters patent, or by his laſt 'will ſigned with his hand. An oath was 'appointed both againſt the pope's ſupremacy, and for the maintaining the ſucceſſion according to this act, which all 'were required to take, under the pains of 'treaſon. It was made treaſon to ſay or 'write any thing contrary to this act, or to 'the ſlander of any of the king's heirs named 'in it.' By this, tho' the king did not legitimate his daughters, yet it was made criminal for any to object baſtardy to them. Another act paſs'd, qualifying the ſeverity of the act of the ſix articles; none were to be impriſoned but upon a legal preſentment, except upon the king's warrant. None was to be challenged for words, but within a year; nor for a ſermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent ſuch conſpiracies as had been diſcovered the former year. Another act paſs'd, renewing the authority given to 32 to reform the eccleſiaſtical law, which Cranmer promoted much, and, to ſet it forward, he drew out of the canon law, a collection of many things againſt the regal, and for the papal authority, with ſeveral other very extravagant propoſitions, to ſhew how indecent a thing it was, to let a book, in which ſuch things were, continue ſtill in England: but he could not bring this to any good iſſue, during this reign. Another act paſs'd, diſcharging all the king's debts; and they alſo required ſuch as had received payment, to bring back the money into the exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of groſs injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that ſince the king had done this once before, he could have the credit to raiſe more money, and be tempted to do it a ſecond time. A general pardon was granted, out of which, hereſy was accepted.

The act of ſucceſſion. A.D. 1544.

THE king was now engaged in a war, both with France and Scotland; and, to make his treaſure hold out the longer, he embaſed the coin in a very extraordinary manner. The earl of Hertford was ſent with

with an army by ſea to Scotland; he landed at Grantham, a little above Leith. He burnt Leith and Edinburgh; but he neither ſtaid to take the caſtle of Edinburgh, nor did he fortify Leith, but only waſted the country all the way from that to Berwick. He did too much, if it was intended to gain the hearts of that nation, and too little, if it was intended to ſubdue them; for this did only inflame their ſpirits more, by which they were ſo united in their averſion to England, that the earl of Lennox, who had been caſt off by France, and was gone over to the Engliſh intereſt, could make no party in the Weſt, but was forced, for his own preſervation, to fly into England. Audley, the chancellor, dying at this time, Wriotheſly, that was of the popiſh party, was put in his place; and Dr. Petre, that was hitherto Cranmer's friend, was made ſecretary of ſtate: ſo equally did the king keep the balance between both parties; and being to croſs the ſeas, he left a commiſſion for the adminiſtration of affairs, during his abſence, to the queen, the archbiſhop, the chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and the ſecretary Petre: and if they ſhould have any occaſion to raiſe any force, he appointed the earl of Hertford, his lieutenant. He gave order alſo to tranſlate the prayers, and proceſſions and litanies, into the Engliſh tongue, which gave the reformers ſome hopes again, that he had not quite caſt off his deſigns of reforming ſuch abuſes as had crept into the worſhip of GOD. And they hoped, that the reaſons which prevailed with the king for this, would alſo induce him to order a tranſlation of all the other offices into the Engliſh Tongue.

The king takes Bulloign.

THE king croſſed the ſea with great pomp, the ſails of his ſhip being of cloth of gold. He ſat down before Bulloign, and took it after a ſiege of two months. It was ſoon after very near being re-taken by a ſurprize, but the garriſon being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the king returned victorious, and was as much flattered for taking this ſimple town, as if he had conquered a kingdom. The inroads that were made into Scotland this winter, were unſucceſsful.

A.D.1545. THE king of France ſet out a fleet of above 300 ſhips, and the king ſet out 100 ſail: on both ſides they were only merchantmen hired upon this occaſion. The French made two deſcents upon England, but were beat back with loſs. The Engliſh made a deſcent in Normandy, and burnt ſome Towns. The princes of Germany ſaw their danger if this war went on, for the pope and emperor had made a league for procuring obedience to the council that was now opened at Trent. The emperor was raiſing an army, tho' he had made peace both with the king of France and the Turk, and was reſolved to make a good uſe of this opportunity, the two crowns being now in war. So the Germans ſent to mediate a peace between them; but it ſtuck long at the buſineſs of Bulloign.

LEE, archbiſhop of York, died this year. Holgate was removed from Landaff thither, who in his heart favour'd the reformation. Kitchin was put in Landaff, who turned with every change that was made. Heath was removed from Rocheſter to Worceſter; and Holbeck was put in Rocheſter. Day was made biſhop of Chicheſter. All thoſe were moderate men, and well diſpoſed to a reformation, at leaſt to comply with it.

Wiſhart burnt in Scotland.

THIS year Wiſhart was burnt in Scotland: he was educated at Cambridge, and went home the former year. In many places he preached againſt idolatry, and the other abuſes in religion. He ſtaid long at Dundee, but, by the means that cardinal Beaton uſed, he was driven out of that town; and, at his departure, he denounced heavy judgments on them, for rejecting the Goſpel. He went and preached in many other places, and entrance to the churches being denied him, he preached in the fields. He would not ſuffer the people to open the church-doors by violence, for that, he ſaid, became not the Goſpel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the plague had broke out in Dundee, within four days after he was baniſhed; ſo he returned thither, and took care of the ſick, and did all the offices of a faithful paſtor among them. He ſhew'd his gentleneſs towards his enemies, by reſcuing a prieſt that was coming to kill him, but was diſcover'd, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the people. He foretold ſeveral extraordinary things; particularly his own ſufferings, and the ſpreading the reformation over the land. He preached laſt in Lothian, and there the earl of Bothwel took him, but promiſed, upon his honour, that no harm ſhould be done him; yet he delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrew's, and called a meeting of biſhops thither, to deſtroy him with the more ſolemnity. The governor being much preſs'd to it, by a worthy gentleman of his name, Hamilton of Preſton, ſent the cardinal word not to proceed againſt him, till he ſhould come and hear the matter examined himſelf. But the cardinal went on, and in a publick court condemned him as an heretick, upon ſeveral articles that were objected to him, which he confeſſed, and offered to juſtify. The night after that he ſpent in prayer; next morning, he deſired he might have the Sacrament according to CHRIST's inſtitution, in both kinds; but that being denied him, he conſecrated the elements himſelf, and ſome about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the ſtake near the cardinal's palace, who was ſet in ſtate in a great window, and looked on this ſad ſpectacle. Wiſhart declared, that he felt much joy within himſelf, in offering up his life for the name of CHRIST, and exhorted the people not to be offended at the Word of GOD, for the ſake of the croſs. After the fire was ſet to, and was burning him, he ſaid, 'This flame has 'ſcorched my body, but hath not daunted 'my ſpirits; and he foretold that the car-'dinal ſhould, in a few days, be ignomini-'ouſly laid out in that very place where he 'now ſat in ſo much ſtate.' But as he

ſpake

ſpake that, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck ſo ſtrait, that theſe were the laſt words.

THE clergy rejoiced much at his death, and extolled the cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it againſt the governor's orders. But the people look'd on him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was alſo ſaid, That his death was no leſs than murder, ſince no writ was obtained for it; and the clergy could burn none without a warrant from the ſecular power: ſo it was inferred, that the cardinal deſerved to die for it; and if his greatneſs ſet him above the law, then private perſons might execute that which the governor could not do: ſuch practices had been formerly too common in that kingdom; and now, upon this occaſion, ſome gentlemen of quality came to think it would be an heroical action to conſpire his death. His inſolence had render'd him generally very hateful: ſo private and publick reſentments concurring, twelve perſons enter'd into a fatal engagement of killing him privately in his houſe. On the 30th of May, they firſt ſurprized the gate early in the morning, and tho' there were an hundred lodged in the caſtle, yet they being aſleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or ſhut them up in their chambers: having made all ſure, they came to the cardinal's chamber-door; he was faſt aſleep, but, by their rudeneſs, he was both awakened, and perceived they had a deſign on his life: upon the aſſurance of life, he opened his door; but they did cruelly and treacherouſly murder him, and laid out his body in the ſame window, from which he had looked on Wiſhart's execution. Some few juſtified this fact, as the killing of a robber and murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all ſorts of people, even by thoſe who hated him moſt; yet the accompliſhment of Wiſhart's prediction made great impreſſions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards obſerved, that ſcarce any of the conſpirators died an ordinary death. They kept out the caſtle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two years, being aſſiſted both by money and proviſions that were ſent from England. They had alſo the governor at their mercy, for they kept his eldeſt ſon, whom the cardinal had taken into his care for his education. An abſolution was brought from Rome, and a pardon was offered them; and at laſt, being ſtraitned, both at ſea and land, they ſurrendered the place upon aſſurance of life. This infamous action was a great blemiſh upon the reformers, who, tho' they did not directly juſtify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it ſome countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the garriſon in the caſtle.

IN England a parliament met, in which, as the ſpirituality gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, payable in two years, ſo the temporality not only gave a ſubſidy for the war, but confirmed all the ſurrenders that had been made of chantries, chapels, colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations, for ſaying maſſes for departed ſouls: and they impowered the king, during his life, to grant commiſſions for ſeizing on the reſt of them. Yet the king found this was like to give a new diſcontent to the gentry, to whom theſe belonged; ſo he made but a ſmall progreſs in it, and many were reſerved for his ſon's courtiers to feed on. The king diſmiſſed the parliament with a long ſpeech, in which, after he had thanked them for their bills, 'He exhorted them to charity 'and concord in matters of religion; and 'to forbear all terms of reproach, ſuch as 'papiſt and heretick; he complained much 'of the ſtiffneſs of ſome churchmen, and the 'indiſcretion of others, who both gave ill 'example, and ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord 'among the laity. He, as GOD's vicar, 'thought himſelf bound to ſee theſe things 'corrected: he reproved the temporality 'for the ill uſe they made of the Scripture; 'for inſtead of being taught out of it to live 'better, and to be more charitable to one 'another, they only railed at one another, 'and made ſongs out of it, to diſgrace thoſe 'that differed from them; ſo he exhorted 'them to ſerve GOD, and love one another, 'which he would eſteem the beſt expreſſion 'of their duty and obedience to him.' The king had appointed a diſtribution of 550 l. a year in ſeveral cathedrals, for the poor, and about 400 l. for high-ways; ſo this year ſome biſhops were appointed to ſee whether thoſe payments were made as he had ordered, or not. The univerſities were now in danger of having their colleges ſuppreſs'd, but, upon their applications to the king, they were delivered from their fears.

NOW came on the laſt year of this reign; the war with France was this year unſucceſsful; but, upon the earl of Surrey's being recalled, and the earl of Hertford's being ſent in his room, things turned a little. This raiſed ſuch animoſity between thoſe two lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two kings were at laſt brought to conſent to a peace; the main article of it was, That within eight years *Bolloign* ſhould be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which coſt England 1,300,000 l. Upon this peace, Annebault, the French admiral, was ſent over ambaſſador. The council of Trent was now ſitting, and Pool was made a legate to do the king more ſpite: the emperor and the pope govern'd it as they pleaſed: ſo the two crowns reſolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was propoſed, that the maſs ſhould be turned to a communion; and Cranmer was ordered to prepare the office for it. But this was too great a deſign for two old kings to accompliſh.

THERE was at this time a new proſecution of thoſe that denied the corporal preſence in the ſacrament; Shaxton was accuſed for ſome words about it, but he abjured, and complied ſo entirely, that ſoon after he preached the ſermon at the burning of Anne Aſcough; he made no noiſe all king Edward's time, yet, in queen Mary's reign, he was a perſecutor of proteſtants, but was ſo little eſteemed, that tho' he had been biſhop of Salisbury, he was raiſed no higher than to be biſhop ſuffragan of Ely. Several other perſons were at this time indicted upon the

ſame ſtatute; but moſt of them recanted; Anne Aiſcough ſtood firm; ſhe was deſcended from a good family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her husband being a violent papiſt, drove her out of his houſe, when he diſcovered her inclinations to the reformation: ſhe was put in priſon on account of the ſacrament, but ſigned a recantation, and ſo was ſet at liberty; yet not long after ſhe was committed again, upon a new complaint, and was examined before the privy council, but anſwered with extraordinary reſolution; yet it was thought by ſome, that ſhe was too forward in her manner of ſpeaking: ſhe had been much at court, and it was believed ſhe was ſupported by ſome ladies there; ſo, in order to the diſcovery of this, ſhe was carried to the Tower and racked; yet ſhe confeſſed nothing. Wriotheſly was preſent, and commanded the lieutenant of the Tower to draw the rack a little more; but he refuſed to do it; upon which the chancellor laid aſide his gown, and drew it himſelf with ſo much force, as if he had intended to rend her body aſunder; and the effects of this were ſo violent, that ſhe was not able to go to Smithfield, but was carried thither in a chair when ſhe was burnt: two others were alſo condemned on the ſame account, and Shaxton, to compleat his apoſtacy, after he had in vain endeavour'd to perſuade them to abjure, preached the ſermon at their burning, in which he inveighed ſeverely againſt their errors. The lord chancellor came to Smithfield, and offered them their pardons if they would recant; but they choſe rather to glorify GOD by their deaths, than to diſhonour him by ſo foul an apoſtacy. There were two burnt in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, on the ſame account, this year.

Anne Aiſcough burnt, and others.

BUT the popiſh party hoped to have greater ſacrifices offered up to their revenge: they had laid a train laſt year for Cranmer, and they had laid one now for the queen. They perſuaded the king, that Cranmer was the ſource of all the hereſy that was in England: but the king's partiality to him was ſuch, that none would come in againſt him: ſo they deſired that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform againſt him. The king ſeemed to conſent to this; and they reſolved to execute it the next day; but, in the night, the king ſent for Cranmer, and told him what was reſolved concerning him. Cranmed thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be ſurprized. He ſubmitted to it, only he deſir'd he might be heard to anſwer for himſelf, and that he might have indifferent judges, who underſtood thoſe matters. The king wonder'd to ſee him ſo little concerned in his own preſervation; but told him, he muſt take care of him, ſince he took ſo little care for himſelf. The king, therefore, gave him inſtructions to appear before the council, and to deſire to ſee his accuſers before he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; and that he might be uſed by them, as they would deſire to be uſed in the like caſe; and if he could not prevail by the force of reaſon, then he was to appeal to the king in perſon, and was to ſhew the king's ſeal ring, which he took from his finger and gave him; and they knew it ſo well, that they would do nothing after they once ſaw that; ſo he being ſummoned next morning, came over to Whitehall: he was kept long in the lobbey before he was called in; but when that was done, and he had obſerved the method the king had order'd him to uſe, and had at laſt ſhewed the ring, they roſe all in great confuſion, and went to the king. He chid them ſeverely for what they had done, and expreſſed his eſteem and kindneſs to Cranmer, in ſuch terms, that his enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other deſign, but to have his innocence declared in a publick trial; and were now ſo convinced of the king's unalterable favour to him, that they never made any more attempts upon him.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer.

The king preſerves him.

BUT what they durſt not do in relation to Cranmer, they thought might be more ſafely tried againſt the queen, who was known to love the New Learning, which was the common phraſe for the reformation. She uſed to have ſermons in her privy chamber, which could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that it came to the king's knowledge: yet her conduct in all other things was ſo exact, and ſhe expreſſed ſuch a tender care of the king's perſon, that it was obſerved, ſhe had gained much upon him; but his peeviſhneſs growing with his diſtempers, made him ſometimes uneaſy, even to her. They uſed often to talk of matters of religion; and ſometimes ſhe held up the argument for the reformers ſo ſtiffly, that he was offended at it; yet as ſoon as that appeared, ſhe let it fall; but once the debate continuing long, the king expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it to Gardiner, when ſhe went away. He took hold of this opportunity, to perſuade the king, that ſhe was a great cheriſher of hereticks. Wriotheſly joined with him in the ſame artifice, and filled the angry king's head with many ſtories, inſomuch that he ſigned the articles upon which ſhe was to be impeached. But Wriotheſly let that paper fall from him careleſly, and it happen'd to be taken up by one of the queen's friends, who carry'd it to her: upon which ſhe went to the king, and brought on a diſcourſe of religion; and after a little oppoſition, ſhe yielded, and ſeemed convinced by the king's reaſons, and told him, That ſhe only held up that argument to be inſtructed by him, and ſometimes to engage him in diſcourſe, and ſo to make him forget his pains; and this ſhe ſeconded with ſuch flattery, that he was perfectly ſatisfied and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the garden, Wriotheſly came thither on deſign to have carried her to the Tower; but the king chid him ſeverely for it, and was heard to call him knave and fool. The good-natur'd queen interpoſed to mitigate his diſpleaſure; but the king told her, ſhe had no reaſon to be concerned for him. Thus the deſign againſt her vaniſhed; and Gardiner, that had ſet it on, loſt the king's favour entirely by it.

Deſigns againſt the Queen.

Her artful management to maintain the king's favour.

BUT

The fall of the duke of Norfolk.

BUT now the fall of the duke of Norfolk, and his ſon, the earl of Surrey, came on. The father had been long treaſurer, and had ſerved the king with great fidelity and ſucceſs: his ſon was a man of rare qualities; he had great wit, and was more than ordinary learned. He particularly hated the earl of Hertford, and ſcorned an alliance with him, which his father had projected. The duke of Norfolk had intended to unite his family to the Seymours, by marrying his ſon to the earl of Hertford's daughter; and his daughter, the dutcheſs of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seymour: but both his children refuſed to comply with him in it. The Seymours were apprehenſive of the oppoſition they might meet with, if the king ſhould die, from the earl of Surrey, who was a high-ſpirted man, had a vaſt fortune, and was the head of the popiſh party. It was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarried in hopes of marrying the lady Mary. The duke's family was alſo fatally divided: his dutcheſs had been ſeparated from him about four years, and now turned informer againſt him. His daughter did alſo hate her brother, and was a ſpy upon him. One Holland, a whore of the duke's, did alſo betray him, and diſcover'd all ſhe could; yet all amounted to no more than ſome complaints of the fathers, who thought the ſervices he had done the crown were little regarded; and ſome threatenings of the ſon's. It was alſo ſaid, that the father gave the coat of arms that belonged to the prince of Wales, and the ſon gave Edward the Confeſſor's coat; but that was only a pretence to make a noiſe among the people, and to cover the want of more important matter againſt them. One Southwel objected things of a higher nature to the earl of Surrey. He denied them, and deſired, that according to the martial law, they might have a trial by combat, and fight in their ſhirts; but that was not granted; yet both father and ſon were put in the Tower.

His Son the Earl of Surrey executed.

THE earl of Surrey was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treaſon, and executed on the 19th of January. He was much lamented; and the blame of his death being caſt on the Seymours, raiſed a general odium againſt them. The old duke ſaw a parliament called to deſtroy him by an act of attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruin him at common law; ſo, to prevent that he made ſuch humble ſubmiſſion to the king, as would have mollified any that had not bowels of braſs. He wrote to him, 'That he had ſpent his whole life in 'his ſervice, without having ſo much as a 'thought to his prejudice. He had obeyed 'all the king's laws, and was reſolved to 'obey all that ever he ſhould make. He 'begged that he might be heard, with his 'accuſers, face to face. He prayed that the 'king would take all his lands, and goods, 'and only to reſtore him to his favour, and 'grant him ſuch an allowance to live on, as 'he thought fit. He went further, and ſet 'his hand to a confeſſion of ſeveral crimes; 'as, 1. His revealing the ſecrets of the 'king's council. 2. His concealing his ſon's 'treaſon, in giving the arms of Edward the 'Confeſſor. 3. His own giving the arms of 'England, with the labels of ſilver which 'belonged only to the prince, which he ac-'knowledg'd was high treaſon; and there-'fore begged the king's mercy.' But all this had no effect on the king; though his drawing ſo near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the ſhedding of innocent blood.

The duke himſelf attainted by act of parliament.

WHEN the parliament met, the king was not able to come to Weſtminſter, but he ſent his pleaſure to them by a commiſſion. He intended to have prince Edward crowned prince of Wales; and therefore deſired they would make all poſſible haſte in the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, that ſo the places which he held by patent, might be diſpoſed of to others, who ſhould aſſiſt at the coronation; which tho' it was a very ſlight excuſe for ſo high a piece of injuſtice, yet it had that effect, that in ſeven days both houſes paſs'd the bill. On the 27th of January, the royal aſſent was given by thoſe commiſſioned by the king; and the execution was order'd next morning. There was no ſpecial matter in the act, but that of the coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors were uſed to give, according to the records in the heralds office; ſo that this was condemned by all perſons as a moſt inexcuſable act of tyranny. But the night after this the king died; and it was thought contrary to the decencies of government, to begin a new reign with ſo unjuſtifiable an act, as the beheading the old duke; and ſo he was preſerved: yet both ſides made inferences from this calamity that fell on him. The papiſts ſaid, It was GOD's juſt judgment on him for his obſequiouſneſs to king Henry. But the proteſtants ſaid, It was a juſt return on him for what he had done againſt Cromwell, and many others, on account of the Six Articles. Cranmer would not meddle in this matter; but that he might be out of the way, he retired to Croydon; whereas Gardiner, that had been his friend all along, continued ſtill about the court.

The king's ſickneſs.

THE king's diſtemper had been long growing upon him. He was become ſo corpulent, that he could not go up and down ſtairs, but made uſe of an engine, when he intended to walk in his garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old ſore in his leg, which pained him much, the humours of his body diſcharging themſelves that way, till at laſt all ſettled in a dropſy. Thoſe about him were afraid to let him know that his death ſeemed near, leſt that might have been brought within the ſtatute of foretelling his death, which was made treaſon. His will was made ready, and as it was given out, was ſigned by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his laſt going over to France. All the change he made at this time, was, that he order'd Gardiner's name to be ſtruck out, for, in that formerly made, he was named one of the executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavour'd to perſuade him not to put that diſgrace on an old ſervant, he continued poſitive in it; for, he ſaid, he knew his

temper,

temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust. The most material thing in the will was, the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, to the children of his eldest sister the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. Some objections were made to the validity and truth of the will. It was not signed by the king's hand, as it was directed by the act of parliament, but only stamped with his name; and it was said, this was done when he was dying, without any order given for it by himself; for a proof of which, the Scots that were most concerned, appealed to many witnesses, and chiefly to a deposition which the lord Paget had made, who was then secretary of state. On his death-bed he finished the foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge, and of Christ's Church Hospital near Newgate; yet this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his son compleated what he had begun.

ON the 27th of January, his spirits sunk so, that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him, that death was approaching, and desired him to call on GOD for his mercy. The king expres'd in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of GOD in CHRIST JESUS. He order'd Cranmer to be sent for; but he was speechless before he could be brought from Croydon; yet he gave a sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after he died, in the 57th year of his age, after he had reigned 37 years, and nine months. His death was concealed three days; for the parliament, which was dissolved with his last breath, continued to do business till the 31st, and then his death was published. It was probable the Seymours concealed it so long, till they made a party for the putting the government into their own hands.

The king's death.

THE severities he used against many of his subjects in matters of religion, made both sides write with great sharpness of him: his temper was imperious and cruel: he was both sudden and violent in his revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his lust, or his passion. This was much provoked by the sentence the pope thunder'd against him, by the virulent books cardinal Pool and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England, and the apprehensions he was in of the emperor's greatness, and of the inclinations his people had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in history of the fates of those princes, against whom popes had thunder'd in former times; all which made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government, and by some publick examples, to secure the peace of the nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise follow'd if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder, if after the pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all that which supported that authority.

THE first instance of capital proceedings upon that account, was in Easter Term, 1535, in which three priors, and a monk of the carthusian order, were condemned for treason, for saying that the king was not supreme head of the church of England. It was then only a premunire, not to swear to the supremacy; but it was made treason to deny it, or speak against it. Hall, a secular priest, was at the same time condemned of treason, 'For calling the king a 'tyrant, an heretick, a robber, and an a-'dulterer; and saying, that he would die 'as king John, or Richard the IIId died; 'and that it would never be well with the 'church till the king was brought to pot; 'and that they looked when Ireland and 'Wales would rise; and were assured that 'three parts of four in England would join 'with them.' All these pleaded not guilty; but being condemned, they justified what they had said. The carthusians were hanged in their habits. Soon after that, three carthusians were condemned, and executed at London, and two more at York, upon the same account, for opposing the king's supremacy. Ten other monks were shut up in their cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned, and hanged. These had been all accomplices in the business of the maid of Kent; and tho' that was pardoned, yet it gave the government ground to have a watchful eye over them, and to proceed more severely against them upon the first provocation.

AFTER these, Fisher and More were brought to their trials: pope Clement's officious kindness to Fisher in declaring him a cardinal, did hasten his ruin; tho' he was little concerned at that honour that was done him. He was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treason, for having spoken against the king's supremacy: but, instead of the common death in cases of treason, the king order'd him to be beheaded. On the 22d of June he suffered. He dressed himself with more than ordinary care that day; for he said it was to be his wedding-day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a venture, and prayed that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last moments. The words on which he cast his eyes were: 'This is life eternal, to know thee the only 'true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast 'sent.' So he shut the book, and continued meditating on these words to the last. On the scaffold he repeated the Te Deum, and so laid his head on the block, which was severed from his body. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to superstition, and too cruel in his temper against hereticks. He had been confessor to the king's grandmother, and persuaded her to found two colleges in Cambridge, Christ's and St. John's; in acknowledgment of which, he was chosen chancellor of the university. Henry the VIIth made him bishop of Rochester: he would never exchange that for any other: he said his church was his wife, and he would not part with his wife, because she was poor. He was much esteemed

Fisher's Sufferings.

by

by this king, till the ſuit of the divorce was ſet on foot; and then he adhered ſtiffly to the marriage, and the pope's ſupremacy; and that made him too favourable to the nun of Kent. But the ſeverities of his long impriſonment, together with this bloody concluſion of it, were univerſally condemned all the world over; only Gardiner imployed his ſervile pen to write a vindication of the king's proceedings againſt him. It was writ in elegant Latin, but the ſtile was thought too vehement.

Sir Tho. More put to death.

IT was harder to find matter againſt Sir Thomas More, for he was very cautious, and ſatisfied his own conſcience by not ſwearing for the ſupremacy, but would not ſwear againſt it. He ſaid, 'The act had 'two edges; if he conſented to it, it would 'damn his ſoul; and if he ſpoke againſt it, 'it would condemn his body. This was 'all the meſſage he ſent to Fiſher, when he 'deſired to know his opinion about it; he 'alſo ſaid the ſame to the duke of Norfolk, 'and ſome counſellors that came to examine 'him. And Rich, then the king's ſolicitor, 'coming as a private friend, to perſuade 'him to ſwear the oath, urged him with the 'act of parliament, and asked him, if he 'ſhould be made king by act of parliament, 'would not he acknowledge him? He an-'ſwered, He would; becauſe a king might 'be made, or deprived by a parliament. 'But the matter of ſupremacy was a point of 'religion, to which the parliament's autho-'rity did not extend itſelf.' All this Rich witneſſed againſt him; ſo theſe particulars were laid together, as amounting to a denial of the king's ſupremacy; and upon this he was found guilty of treaſon. He received his ſentence with that equal temper of mind which he had ſhewed in both conditions of life. He expreſſed great contempt of the world, and much wearineſs in living in it. His ordinary facetiouſneſs remained with him to his laſt moment on the ſcaffold. Some cenſured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. But others ſaid, that way of raillery had been ſo cuſtomary to him, that death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary humour. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the 52d or 53d year of his age. He had great capacities, and eminent virtues. In his youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by ſuperſtition, and became fierce for all the intereſts of the clergy. He wrote much in defence of all the old abuſes. His learning in divinity was but ordinary; for he had read little more than ſome of St. Auſtin's treaties, and the canon law, and the maſter of the ſentences, beyond whom his quotations do ſeldom go. His ſtile was natural and pleaſant, and he could turn things very dexterouſly to make them look well or ill, as it ſerved his purpoſe. But though he ſuffered for denying the king's ſupremacy, yet he was at firſt no zealot for the pope: for he ſays himſelf, 'That when the king 'ſhewed him his book in manuſcript, which 'he wrote againſt Luther, he adviſed him 'to leave out that which he had put in it 'concerning the pope's power, for he did 'not know what quarrels he might have af-'terwards with the popes, and then that 'would be turned againſt him.' But the king was, perhaps, fond of what he had written, and ſo he would not follow that wiſe advice which he gave him.

THERE was no executions after this, till the rebellions of Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire gave new occaſions to ſeverity; and then not only the lords Darcy and Huſſy, but ſix abbots, and many gentlemen, the chief of whom was Sir Thomas Piercy (brother to the earl of Northumberland) were attainted. They had not only been in the rebellion, but had forfeited the general pardon, by their new attempts, after it was proclaimed: yet ſome ſaid, the king took advantage, on very ſlight grounds, to break his indemnity: but, on the other hand, it was no wonder if he proceeded with the utmoſt rigour againſt thoſe who had raiſed ſuch a ſtorm in the kingdom, and in particular, againſt thoſe abbots and monks who had ſworn to maintain his ſupremacy, and yet were the chief incendiaries that had ſet the kingdom on fire.

ONE Forreſt, an obſervant friar, had been queen Catharine's confeſſor, but forſook her intereſts; and not only ſwore to the king's ſupremacy, but uſed ſuch inſinuations, that he had a large ſhare of the king's favour and confidence. He was looked on as a reproach to his order, and uſed great cruelties in their houſe at Greenwich. He ſhut up one that he believed gave intelligence of all they did to the court, and uſed him ſo ill, that he died in their hands. It was alſo found, that in ſecret confeſſion, he had alienated many from the king's ſupremacy; and being queſtioned for it, he ſaid, he had taken the oath for it only with his outward man, but his inward man had never conſented to it. But he offered to recant and abjure this opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned as an heretick, and was burnt in Smithfield. A pardon was offered him at the ſtake, if he would recant; but he refuſed it. A great image that was brought out of Wales, was hewed in pieces, and ſerved for fewel to burn him. The writers of that time ſay, he denied the Goſpel, and that he had little knowledge of GOD in his life, and ſhewed leſs truſt in him at his death.

THE winter after this, a correſpondence was diſcovered between cardinal Pool, and Courtney, marquis of Exeter, and Pool's brother, the lord Mountacute, and ſeveral others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffry Pool, another of the brothers, betrayed the reſt. They had expreſſed ſome kindneſs for the cardinal and his proceedings, and had ſaid, that they looked to ſee a change in England; and that they hoped the king would die ere long, and then all would go well; with ſeveral other words to that purpoſe; for which they were attainted and executed. Others were alſo condemned for calling the king a beaſt, and worſe than a beaſt; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the abbies. Cardinal

Pool, and ſeveral others, that had fled out of the kingdom, and had confederated themſelves with the pope againſt the king, were alſo attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter, was likewiſe condemned, for having ſaid, that the attainder of the marquis of Exeter was cruel and unjuſt. He renounced the ſuperſtitions of popery, and embraced the reformation before he ſuffered.

AFTER the judgments and executions were over, a new and unheard of precedent was made, of attainting ſome without bringing them to make their anſwers; which is a blemiſh on his reign, that can never be waſhed of, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. The firſt that were ſo condemned, were the marchioneſs of Exeter, and the counteſs of Sarum, mother to cardinal Pool. The ſpecial matter charged on the former, was, confederating herſelf with Sir Nicholas Carew; and that againſt the other, was, the confederating with her ſon. No witneſſes were examined to prove theſe things againſt them; perhaps ſome depoſitions might have been read in the parliament. Cromwell ſhewed a coat which was found among the counteſs of Sarum's cloaths, on which the ſtandard, uſed by the Yorkſhire rebels, was wrought; from which it was inferred, that ſhe approved of them. Fourteen others were attainted by the ſame act; ſix of them were prieſts, one was a knight hoſpitaller, four were gentlemen, one was a merchant, and two were yeomen: all were condemned for confederating with the pope, or cardinal Pool, or aſſerting the pope's ſupremacy, or endeavouring to raiſe rebellion: but, againſt four of them, there is nothing but treaſon in general words alledged. This bill was paſs'd in two days by the lords, and in five, by the commons: but of all theſe, only three were executed; which were the counteſs of Sarum (tho' not till two years after this) and Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Dingley, the knight of St. John of Jeruſalem. In the counteſs of Sarum, did the name of Plantagenet end. She was about ſeventy years old, but ſhewed, that in that age ſhe had a vigorous and maſculine mind.

IN the parliament that ſat in the year 1540, ſeveral others were attainted in the ſame manner, without being heard, and for the ſame crimes. Fetherſton, Abel, Powel, and ſix more, were ſo condemned; but thoſe three only ſuffered. By another act of the ſame parliament, the lord Hungerford, and his chaplain Bird, were attainted: his chaplain had often perſuaded him to rebel, and had ſaid, that the king was the greateſt heretick in the world. Hungerford had alſo order'd ſome of his other chaplains to uſe conjuring, that they might know how long the king would live, and whether he would be victorious over his enemies. He was alſo charged for having lived in ſodomy with ſeveral of his ſervants three years together. He was ſoon after executed, and died in great diſorder.

IN the year 1541, five prieſts, and ten laymen, were ſtirring up the people in the north to a new rebellion; but it was prevented, and they ſuffer'd for it. In the year 1543, Gardiner, that was the biſhop of Winchеſter's ſecretary, and three other prieſts, were condemned, and executed, for denying the king's ſupremacy: and this was the laſt occaſion that was given to the king to ſhew his ſeverity on that account. In all theſe executions, it cannot be denied but the laws were exceſſively ſevere, and the proceedings upon them were never tempered with that mildneſs which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of penal laws: but tho' they are much aggravated by popiſh writers, they were far ſhort of the cruelties uſed in queen Mary's reign.

TO conclude; we have now gone through the reign of king Henry the VIIIth, who is rather to be reckon'd among the great, than the good princes. He exerciſed ſo much ſeverity on men of both perſuaſions, that the writers of both ſides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. He is to be number'd with ill princes, but not be ranked with the worſt.

The end of the firſt book.

BOOK II.

Of the progreſs made in the REFORMATION under the reign of king EDWARD the VIth.

A.D.1547. EDWARD was the only ſon of king Henry, by his beſt beloved wife Jane Seymour, born the 12th of October, 1537.

HIS mother died the day after he was born, of a diſtemper incident to women in her condition, and was not ripped up by ſurgeons, as ſome writers have reported, on deſign to repreſent king Henry as barbarous and cruel to all his wives. At ſix years of age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox, and Mr. Cheek; the one was to form his mind, and to teach him philoſophy and divinity; the other was to teach him the tongues and mathematicks: other maſters were alſo appointed for the other parts of education. He diſcovered very early a good diſpoſition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence to the Scriptures; for he took it very ill when one about him laid a great bible on the floor, to ſtep on it to ſomewhat which was out of his reach, without ſuch an advantage. He profited well in letters, and wrote at eight years old Latin letters frequently to the king, to queen Catharine Parre, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his uncle the earl of Hertford, who had been firſt made viſcount Beauchamp, being the heir by his mother of that family, and was after that advanced to be an earl.

IN the end of his father's life, it had been deſigned to create him prince of Wales; for that was one of the reaſons given to haſten the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, becauſe he held ſome places during life, which the king intended to put in other hands, in order to that ceremony. Upon his father's death, the earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Brown, were ſent to bring him up to the Tower of London: and when king Henry's death was publiſhed, he was proclaimed king.

K. Henry's teſtament. AT his coming to the Tower, his father's will was opened, by which it was found, that he had named ſixteen to be the governors of the kingdom, and of his ſon's perſon, till he ſhould be eighteen years of age. Theſe were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Wriotheſly, lord chancellor, lord St. John, great maſter, lord Ruſſel, lord privy ſeal, earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain, viſcount Liſle, lord admiral, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe, Sir Wiliam Paget, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir Edward North, chancellor of the augmentations, Sir Edward Mountague, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber, Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Callis, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. They were alſo to give the king's ſiſters in marriage; and, if they married without their conſent, they were to forfeit their right of ſucceſſion; for the king was impowered, by act of parliament, to leave the crown to them with what limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. There was alſo a privy council named to be their aſſiſtants in the government; if any of the ſixteen died, the ſurvivors were to continue in the adminiſtration, without a power to ſubſtitute others in their rooms who ſhould die. It was now propoſed, that one ſhould be choſen out of the ſixteen, to whom ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief direction of affairs, but ſhould be reſtrained to do nothing but by the conſent of the greater part of the other co-executors. The chancellor, who thought the precedence fell to him by his office, ſince the archbiſhop did not meddle much in ſecular affairs, oppoſed this much, and ſaid, It was a change of the king's will, who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any one were raiſed above the reſt in title, it would not be poſſible to keep him within due bounds, ſince great titles make way for high power: but the earl of Hertford had ſo prepared his friends, that it was carry'd that he ſhould be declared the governor of the king's perſon, and the protector of the kingdom; with this reſtriction, that he ſhould do nothing but by the advice and conſent of the reſt. Upon this advancement, and the oppoſition made to it, two parties were formed, the one headed by the protector, and the other by the chancellor: the favourers of the reformation were of the former, and thoſe that oppoſed it, were of the latter. The chancellor was order'd to renew the commiſſions

A protector choſen.

of

of the judges and juſtices of peace; and king Henry's great ſeal was to be made uſe of till a new one ſhould be made. The day after this, all the executors took their oaths to execute their truſt faithfully; the privy counſellors were alſo brought into the king's preſence, who did all expreſs their ſatisfaction in the choice that was made of the protector: and it was order'd, that all diſpatches to foreign princes ſhould be ſigned only by him. All that held offices, were required to come and renew their commiſſions, and to ſwear allegiance to the king: among the reſt, the biſhops came and took out ſuch commiſſions as were granted in the former reign, only by thoſe they were ſubaltern to the king's vicegerent; but there being none now in that office, they were immediately ſubaltern to the king; and by them they were to hold their biſhopricks only during the king's pleaſure, and were impowered in the king's name, as his delegates, to perform all the parts of the epiſcopal function. Cranmer ſet an example to the reſt in taking out one of thoſe. It was thought fit thus to keep the biſhops under the terror of ſuch an arbitrary power lodged in the king, that ſo it might be more eaſy to turn them out, if they ſhould much oppoſe what might be done in points of religion: but the ill conſequences of ſuch an unlimited power being well foreſeen, the biſhops that were afterwards promoted, were not ſo fettered, but were provided to hold their biſhopricks during life.

THE late king had in his will required his executors to perform all the promiſes he had made: ſo Paget was required to give an account of the promiſes the late king had made; and he declared upon oath, that upon the proſpect of the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, the king intended a creation of peers, and to divide his lands among them. The perſons to be raiſed, were, Hertford to be a duke, Eſſex a marquiſs, Liſle, Ruſſel, St. John, and Wriotheſly, to be earls; Sir Thomas Seymour, Cheyney, Rich, Willoughby, Arundel, Sheffield, St. Leger, Wymbiſh, Vernon, and Danby, to be barons; and a diviſion was to be made of the duke of Norfolk's eſtate among them: ſome ſhares were alſo ſet off for others, who were not to be advanced in title, as Denny and Herbert: and they finding Paget had been mindful of them, but had not mention'd himſelf, moved the king for a ſhare to him. The king appointed Paget to give notice of this to the perſons named: but many excuſed themſelves, and deſired no addition of honour, ſince the lands which the king intended to give them were not ſufficient to ſupport that dignity. The duke of Norfolk prevented all this; for being apprehenſive of the ruin of his family, if his eſtate were once divided, he ſent a meſſage to the king, deſiring him to convert it all to be a revenue to the prince of Wales. This wrought ſo much on the king, that he reſolved to reward thoſe he intended to raiſe another way; and appointed that eſtate to be kept entire; and the king's diſtemper increaſing on him, he at laſt came to a reſolution, that the earl of Hertford ſhould be made a duke, and be made both earl marſhal and lord-treaſurer, the earl of Eſſex a marquis, Liſle and Wriotheſly, earls; and Seymour, Rich, Sheffield, St. Leger, Willoughby, and Danby, barons, with revenues in lands to every one of them: and the earl of Hertford was to have the firſt good deanary and treaſureſhip, and the four beſt prebends that ſhould fall in any cathedral. But though the king had reſolved on this, and had ordered Paget to propoſe it to the perſons concerned, yet his diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt on him, that he never finiſhed it; and therefore he deſir'd his executors to perform all that ſhould appear to have been promiſed by him. The greateſt part of this was alſo confirmed by Denny and Herbert, to whom the king had talked of it, and had ſhewn the deſign of it in writing, as it had been agreed between Paget and him. So the executors being concerned in this themſelves, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that they determin'd to execute this part of their truſt very faithfully. Yet the king being then like to be engaged in wars, they reſolved neither to leſſen his treaſure nor revenue, but to find another way for giving the rewards intended by the king; which was afterwards done by the ſale and diſtribution of the chantry lands.

THE caſtle of St. Andrew's was then much preſſed; ſo they ſent down by Balnaves, the agent of that party, 1180 l. for the pay of the garriſon; they gave alſo penſions to the chief ſupporters of their intereſt in Scotland, to ſome 250, to others 200 l. or leſs, according to their intereſt in the country. The king received the ceremony of knighthood from the protector, and knighted the mayor of London the ſame day.

THE grant of ſo many eccleſiaſtical dignities to the earl of Hertford was no extraordinary thing at that time, for as Cromwell had been dean of Wells, ſo divers other laymen were provided to them, which was thus excuſed, becauſe there was no cure of ſouls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of popery, the kings had by their own authority, by the right of the regale, given inſtitution to them, ſo that they ſeemed to be ſpiritual employments; and the eccleſiaſticks that had enjoyed them, had been a lazy and ſenſual ſort of men; ſo that their abuſing thoſe revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the ſpoils of the church, had this effect; that the putting them in lay-hands gave no great ſcandal; and that the rather, becauſe a ſimple tonſure qualified a man for them by the canons. Theſe foundations were at firſt deſigned for a nurſery to the dioceſe, in which the young clergy were to be educated, or for a retreat to thoſe who were more ſpeculative, and not ſo fit for the ſervice of the church in the active parts of the paſtoral care; ſo it had been an excellent deſign to have reformed them, and reſtored them to the purpoſes for which they were at firſt intended: and it was both againſt Magna Charta, and all natural equity, to take them out of the hands of churchmen, and give them

Laymen had eccleſiaſtical dignities.

them to thoſe of the laity. But it was no wonder to ſee men yet under the influence of the canon law commit ſuch errors.

Some take down images.

AT the ſame time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes; the curate and church-wardens of St. Martin's in London were brought before the council for removing the crucifix, and other images, and putting ſome text of Scripture on the walls of their church, in the places where they ſtood: they anſwered, That they going to repair their church, removed the images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put the places of Scripture in their room: they had alſo removed others, which they found had been abuſed to idolatry. Great pains was taken by the popiſh party to puniſh them ſeverely, to ſtrike terror into others; but Cranmer was for the removing of all images which were ſet up in churches, expreſsly contrary both to the ſecond Commandment, and to the practice of the Chriſtians for divers ages: and though in compliance with the groſs abuſes of Paganiſm, there was very early much of the pomp of their worſhip brought into the Chriſtian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At firſt, all images were condemned by the fathers; then they allowed the uſe of them; but condemned the worſhipping of them; and afterwards, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the worſhipping of them was, after a long conteſt, both in the eaſt and weſt, in which there were, by turns, general councils, that both approved and condemned them; at laſt generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for ſome in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the monks, who had enriched themſelves by ſuch means: and it was grown to ſuch a height, that heatheniſm itſelf had been guilty of nothing more abſurd towards its idols; and the ſingular virtues in ſome images, ſhewed they were not worſhipped only as repreſentations, for then all ſhould have equal degrees of veneration paid them. And ſince all theſe abuſes had riſen meerly out of the bare uſe of them, and the ſetting them up being contrary to the command of GOD, and the nature of the Chriſtian Religion, which is ſimple and ſpiritual; it ſeemed moſt reaſonable to cure the diſeaſe in its root, and to clear the churches of images, that ſo the people might be preſerved from idolatry. Theſe reaſons prevailed ſo far, that the curate and wardens were diſmiſſed with a reprimand; they were required to beware of ſuch raſhneſs for the future, and to provide a crucifix; and till that could be had, they were ordered to cauſe one to be painted on the wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridely being to preach before the king, inveighed againſt the ſuperſtition towards images and holy water; and there was a general diſpoſition over all the nation to pull them down; which was ſoon after effected in Portſmouth. Upon that, Gardiner made great complaints; he ſaid, the Lutherans themſelves went not ſo far, for he had ſeen images in their churches: he argued, from the king's face on the coin, and great ſeal, for the uſe of images, and that the law of Moſes did more bind in this particular, than in that of abſtaining from blood: he diſtinguiſhed between image and idol, as if the one, which he ſaid was only condemned, was the repreſentation of a Falſe GOD, and the other of the True; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the ear, begat devotion, ſo images, by the conveyance of the eye, might have the ſame effect on the mind: he alſo thought, a virtue might be both in them and in holy water, as well as there was in CHRIST's garments, Peter's ſhadow, or Eliſha's ſtaff: and there might be a virtue in holy water, as well as in the water of baptiſm. He alſo mention'd the virtue that was in the cramp rings, bleſſed by the late king, which he had known to be much eſteemed and ſought after, and he hoped their young king would not neglect that gift. But to theſe things, which Gardiner wrote in ſeveral letters, the protector, perhaps by Cranmer's direction, wrote anſwer, That the biſhops had formerly argued much in another ſtrain; that becauſe the Scriptures were abuſed by the vulgar readers, therefore they were not to be truſted to them; and ſo made a pretended abuſe, the ground of taking away that, which by GOD's ſpecial appointment was to be deliver'd to all Chriſtians: this did hold much ſtronger againſt the images that were forbidden by GOD. The brazen ſerpent ſet up by Moſes, by GOD's own direction, was broken when abuſed to idolatry; for that was the greateſt corruption of religion poſſible: and the civil reſpect payed to the king's image on a ſeal, or on the coin, did not juſtify the dotage upon images. But yet the protector acknowledg'd he had reaſon to complain of the forwardneſs of the people, that broke down images without authority. This was the firſt ſtep that was made in this reign, towards a reformation, of which, the ſequel ſhall appear afterwards. Orders were ſent to the juſtices of the peace, to look well to the peace and government of the nation, to meet often, and every ſix weeks to advertiſe the protector of the ſtate of the county to which they belonged.

K. Henry's funeral.

THE funeral of the deceaſed king was performed with the ordinary ceremonies at Windſor: one thing gave thoſe that hated him ſome advantages: his body was carried the firſt day to Sheene, which had been a nunnery, and there ſome of the moiſture and fat dropt through the coffin; and, to make it a compleat accompliſhment of Peyto's denunciation, That dogs ſhould lick his blood, it was ſaid the dogs next day licked it. This, in a corpulent man, was ſo far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwiſe, and was a certain ſign of nothing but the plumber's careleſſneſs, and their weakneſs and malice that made ſuch inferences from it. The king left ſix hundred pounds a year to the church of Windſor, for prieſts to ſay maſs for his ſoul every day, and for four obiits a year, and ſermons, and diſtribution of alms at every one of them, and for a ſermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor knights, which

was ſettled upon that church by his executors in due form of law.

THE pomp of this endowment now in a more inquiſitive age, led people to examine the uſefulneſs of ſoul-maſſes and obiits. CHRIST appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his death among the living; but it was not eaſy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed ſouls. For all the good that they could receive, ſeemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare prayers would not have wrought ſo much on the people, nor would they have payed ſo dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing the wealth of the world into their hands. In the primitive church, there was a commemoration of the dead, or an honourable remembrance of them made in the daily offices, and for ſome very ſmall faults, their names were not mentioned, which would not have been done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another ſtate. But even this cuſtom grew to be abuſed, and ſome inferred from it, that departed ſouls, unleſs they were ſignally pure, paſſed through a purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to heaven; of which St. Auſtin, in whoſe time the opinion was beginning to be received, ſays, That it was taken up without any ſure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture-proof, was ſupplied by viſions, dreams, and tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good uſage in purgatory from thoſe ſouls whom he had deprived of the maſſes that were ſaid of them in monaſteries, by deſtroying thoſe foundations. Yet, it ſeems, he intended to make ſure work for himſelf, ſo that if maſſes could avail the departed ſouls, he reſolved to have his ſhare of it; and as he gratified the prieſts by this part of his endowments, ſo he pleaſed the people by appointing ſermons and alms to be given on ſuch days. Thus he died as he had lived, ſwimming between both perſuaſions. And it occaſion'd no ſmall debate, when men ſought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of religion: for the eſteem he was in, made both ſides ſtudy to juſtify themſelves, by ſeeming to follow his ſentiments; the one party ſaid, he was reſolved never to alter religion, but only to cut off ſome abuſes, and intended to go no further than he had gone: they did therefore vehemently preſs the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the ſtate in which he left them, till his ſon ſhould come of age. But the oppoſite party ſaid, That he had reſolved to go a great way farther, and particularly to turn the maſs to a communion; and therefore religion being of ſuch conſequence to the ſalvation of ſouls, it was neceſſary to make all the haſte in reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diverſions of the coronation took them off from more ſerious thoughts: the protector was made duke of Somerſet, the earl of Eſſex marquis of Northampton, the lord Liſle and Wriotheſly, earls of Warwick and Southampton, Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were made barons. In order to the king's coronation, the office for that ceremony was reviewed, and much ſhortened: one remarkable alteration was, that formerly the king uſed to be preſented to the people at the corners of the ſcaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be their king? which looked like a rite of an election, rather than a ceremony of inveſting one that was already king. This was now changed, and the people were deſired only to give their aſſents and good-will to his coronation, as by the duty of allegiance they were bound to do. On the 20th of February he was crowned, and a general pardon was proclaimed, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pool, and ſome others were excepted.

The coronation of Edw. VI.

THE chancellor, who was looked on as the head of the popiſh party, gave now an advantage againſt himſelf, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a commiſſion to the maſter of the rolls, and three maſters of chancery, of whom two were civilians, to execute his office in the court of chancery, as if he were preſent; only their decrees were to be brought to him to be ſigned, before they ſhould be inrolled. This being done without any authority from the protector, and the other executors, was thought a high preſumption, ſince he did hereby devolve on others that truſt which was depoſited in his hands. Upon this, ſome lawyers complained to the protector, and they ſeemed alſo apprehenſive of a deſign to change the common laws, which was occaſioned by the decrees made by the civilians, that were more ſuited to the Imperial, than to the Engliſh laws. The judges being deſired to give their opinions, made report, That what the chancellor had done, was againſt law: and that he had forfeited his place, and might be impriſoned for it during pleaſure. But he carry'd it high, he threaten'd both the judges and the lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his place, he ſaid he had it from the late king, who had likewiſe named him one of the executors, during his ſon's minority. But it was anſwer'd, That the major part had power over any of the reſt, otherwiſe one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be puniſhed by the reſt. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledg'd he had no warrant for granting the commiſſion, but thought by his office he might lawfully do it: he asked pardon for his offence, and deſired he might loſe his place with as little diſgrace as was poſſible; and then it was reſolved on by the reſt, to take the ſeal from him, and to fine him as they ſhould afterwards think fit. So he being ſuffered to go home with the ſeal, the lord Seymour, and ſome others, were ſent to demand it of him: he was alſo confin'd to his houſe, and kept under the terror of an arbitrary fine. But, upon giving a bond of 4000 l. to be payed upon demand, he was freed from his confinement: yet he was not put out of the truſt

truſt of the king and the government, for it ſeems the council did not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

SOON after this, the protector took a patent for his office under the great ſeal, then in the keeping of the lord St. John, by which he was confirmed in his authority, till the king ſhould be eighteen years of age; he was alſo authorized to bring in new counſellors, beſides thoſe enumerated in the patent, who are both the executors and the counſellors nominated by the late king. The protector, with ſo many of the council as he thought meet, were impowered to adminiſter the affairs of the kingdom; but the council was limited to do nothing without his advice and conſent. And thus was he now as well eſtabliſhed in his authority as law could make him. He had a negative on the council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or ſelect a cabinet council out of it as he pleaſed: and the other executors having now delivered up their authority to him, were only privy counſellors as the reſt were, without retaining any ſingular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by king Henry's will.

THE firſt buſineſs of conſequence, that required great conſideration, was the Smalcaldick war, then begun between the emperor and the princes of that league; the effects of which, if the emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of Lutheraniſm, but his being the abſolute maſter of Germany; which the emperor chiefly deſigned, in order to an univerſal monarchy; but diſguiſed it to other princes: to the pope, he pretended that his deſign was only to extirpate hereſy; to other princes, he pretended it was only to repreſs ſome rebels; and denied all deſign of ſuppreſſing their new doctrines; which he managed ſo very artificially, that he divided Germany itſelf, and got ſome Lutheran princes to declare for him, and others to be neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal ſupply for his wars with France and the Turk, for which he granted an edict for liberty of religion, he made peace with both thoſe princes, and reſolved to employ that treaſure which the Germans had given him, againſt themſelves. That he might deprive them of their chief allies, he uſed means to engage king Henry, and Francis I, in a war; but that was, chiefly by their interpoſition, compoſed. And now, when the war was like to be carried on with great vigour, they loſt both thoſe princes; for as Henry died in January, ſo Francis follow'd him, into another world, in March following. Many of their confederates began to capitulate and forſake them; and the divided command of the duke of Saxe, and the landgrave of Heſſe, loſt them great advantages the former year; in which it had been eaſy to have driven the emperor out of Germany: but it fell often out, that when one was for engaging, the other was againſt it; which made many very doubtful of their ſucceſs. The pope had a mind to engage the emperor in a war in Germany, that ſo Italy might be at quiet; and, in order to that, and to embroil the emperor with all the Lu[illegible]s. he publiſh'd his treaty with him, might appear, that the deſign of [illegible] was to extirpate hereſy, though the c[illegible] was making great proteſtations to the contrary in Germany. He alſo opened the council of Trent, which the emperor had long deſired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he leaſt wiſhed for it: for the proteſtants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free general council, ſince it was ſo entirely at the pope's devotion, that not ſo much as a reformation of ſome of the groſſeſt abuſes that could not be juſtified, was like to be obtained, unleſs clogged with ſuch clauſes as made it ineffectual. Nor could the emperor prevail with the council, not to proceed to eſtabliſh the doctrine, and condemn hereſy; but the more he obſtructed that by delays, the more did the pope drive it on, to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigorouſly againſt the emperor: yet he gave them ſuch ſecret aſſurances of tolerating the Ausburg confeſſion, that the marquis of Brandenburg declared for him, and that, joined with the hopes of the electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The count palatine was old and feeble; the archbiſhop of Cologn would not make reſiſtance, but retired, being condemned both by the pope and emperor, and many of the cities ſubmitted. And Maurice, by falling into Saxe, forced the elector to ſeparate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own dominions. This was the ſtate of the affairs in Germany: ſo it was a hard point to reſolve on, what anſwer the protector ſhould give the duke of Saxe's chancellor, whom he ſent over to obtain an aid in money, for carrying on the war. It was on the one hand of great importance to the ſafety of England to preſerve the German princes, and yet it was very dangerous to began a war of ſuch conſequence under the infant king. At preſent they promiſed, within three months, to ſend by the merchants of the ſtill-yard, 50,000 crowns to Hamburgh, and reſolved to do no more till new emergents ſhould lead them to new counſels.

THE nation was in an ill condition for a war with ſuch a mighty prince, labouring under great diſtractions at home; the people generally cried out for a reformation; they deſpiſed the clergy, and loved the new preachers. The prieſts were for the moſt part both very ignorant and ſcandalous in their lives: many of them had been monks, and thoſe that were to pay them the penſions, that were reſerved to them at the deſtruction of the monaſteries, till they ſhould be provided, took care to get them into ſome ſmall benefice. The greateſt part of the parſonages were impropriated, for they belonged to the monaſteries, and the abbots had only granted the incumbents, either the vicarage, or ſome ſmall donative, and left them the perquiſites raiſed by maſſes and other offices. At the ſuppreſſion of thoſe houſes there was no care taken to provide the incumbents better, ſo they chiefly ſubſiſted by trentals and

and other devices, that brought them in ſome ſmall relief, though the price of them was ſcandalouſly low, for maſſes went often at two-pence; a groat was a great bounty. Now theſe ſaw that a reformation of thoſe abuſes took the bread out of their mouths: ſo their intereſts prevailing more with them than any thing elſe, they were zealouſly engaged againſt all changes: but that ſame principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than loſe their benefices: their poverty made them run into another abuſe, of holding more benefices at the ſame time, a corruption of ſo ſcandalous a nature, that where-ever it is practiſed, it is ſufficient to poſſeſs the people with great prejudices againſt the church that is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plaineſt impreſſions of reaſon, than that every man who undertakes a cure of ſouls, which at his ordination he has vowed, that he would inſtruct, feed, and govern, ought to diſcharge that truſt himſelf, which is the greateſt and moſt important of all others. The clergy were encouraged in their oppoſition to all changes, by the protection they expected from Cranmer, Bonner, and Tonſtal, who were men of great reputation, as well as ſet in high places: and above all, lady Mary did openly declare againſt all changes, till the king ſhould be of age. But, on the other hand, Cranmer, whoſe greateſt weakneſs was his over obſequiouſneſs to king Henry, being now at liberty, reſolved to proceed more vigorouſly: the protector was firmly united to him, ſo were the young king's tutors; and he was as much engaged, as could be expected, from ſo young a perſon: for both his knowledge and zeal for true religion were above his age. Several of the biſhops did alſo declare for a reformation, but Dr. Ridley, now made biſhop of Rocheſter, was the perſon on whom he depended moſt. Latimer was kept by him at Lambeth, and did great ſervice by his ſermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his biſhoprick, chooſing rather to ſerve the church in a more diſengaged manner. Many of the biſhops were very ignorant, and poor-ſpirited, raiſed meerly by court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their revenues. Cranmer reſolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reaſons of every advance, that was made ſo fully, that he hoped, by the bleſſing of GOD, to poſſeſs the nation of the fitneſs of what they ſhould do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous oppoſition, that might otherwiſe be apprehended.

A viſitation of all the churches.

THE power of the privy council had been much exalted, in king Henry's time, by act of parliament; and one proviſo in it was, That the king's council ſhould have the ſame authority when he was under age, that he himſelf had at full age: ſo it was reſolved to begin with a general viſitation of all England, which was divided into ſix precincts: and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a regiſter, were appointed for every one of theſe. But before they were ſent out, there was a letter written to all the biſhops, giving them notice of it, ſuſpending their juriſdiction while it laſted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their own cathedrals; and that the other clergy ſhould not preach but in their own churches, without licence: by which it was intended to reſtrain ſuch as were not acceptable to their own pariſhes, and to grant the other licences to preach in any church of England. The greateſt difficulty that the reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent men; the moſt zealous were too hot and indiſcreet, and the few they had that were eminent, were to be employed in London, and the univerſities. Therefore they intended to make thoſe as common as was poſſible, and appointed them to preach as itinerants and viſitors. The only thing by which the people could be univerſally inſtructed, was a book of homilies: ſo the twelve firſt homilies in the book, ſtill known by that name, were compiled, in framing which, the chief deſign was to acquaint the people aright with the nature of the goſpel-covenant, in which there were two extreams equally dangerous; the one of thoſe who thought the prieſts had an infallible ſecret of ſaving their ſouls, if they would in all things follow their directions: the other was of thoſe, who thought that if they magnified CHRIST much, and depended on his merits, they could not periſh, which way ſoever they led their lives. So the mean between theſe was obſerved, and the people were taught both to depend on the ſufferings of CHRIST, and alſo to lead their lives according to the rules of the goſpel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was alſo given, that a Bible ſhould be in every church; which though it was commanded by king Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for underſtanding the New Teſtament, Eraſmus's paraphraſe was put out in Engliſh, and appointed to be ſet up in every church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the communion of the Roman church, made this book to be preferred to any other, ſince there lay no prejudice to Eraſmus, which would have been objected to any other author. They renewed alſo all the injunctions made by Cromwell in the former reign, which after his fall were but little looked after, as thoſe for inſtructing the people, for removing images, and putting down all other cuſtoms abuſed to ſuperſtition; for reading the Scriptures, and ſaying the Litany in Engliſh; for frequent ſermons and catechiſing; for the exemplary lives of the clergy, and their labours in viſiting the ſick, and the other parts of their function; ſuch as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to charities: and all who gave livings by ſymonaical bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of patronage to the king. A great charge was alſo given for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's Day, which was appointed to be ſpent wholly in the ſervice of GOD, it not being enough to hear maſs or mattins in the morning, and ſpend the reſt of the day in drunkenneſs and quarrelling, as was commonly practiſed; but it ought to be all employed, either in the duties of religion,

religion, or in acts of charity, only in the time of harveſt they were allowed to work on that and other feſtival days. Direction was alſo given, for the bidding of prayers, in which the king, as ſupreme head, the queen, and the king's ſiſters, the protector and council, and all the orders of the kingdom were to be mentioned; they were alſo to pray for departed ſouls, that at the laſt day, we with them might reſt both body and ſoul. There were alſo injunctions given for the biſhops that they ſhould preach four times a year in their dioceſſes, once in their cathedral, and thrice in any other church, unleſs they had a good excuſe to the contrary: that their chaplains ſhould preach often; and that they ſhould give orders to none, but thoſe that were duly qualified.

THESE were variouſly cenſured: the clergy were only impowered to remove the abuſed images, and the people were reſtrained for doing it; but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought that they would be ſlow and backward in it. It had been happy for this church, if all had agreed ſince that time to preſs the religious obſervation of the Lord's Day, without ſtarting needleſs queſtions about the morality of it, and the obligation of the Fourth Commandment, which has occaſioned much diſpute and heat: and when one party raiſed the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to ſlacken it too much: and this produced many ſharp reflections on both ſides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which inſtead of being ſo great a bond and inſtrument of religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleneſs and looſeneſs. The corruptions of Lay-patrons and Simonaical prieſts have been often complained of, but no laws nor proviſions have ever been able to preſerve the church from this great miſchief; which can never be removed till patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of ſouls, as a truſt for which they are to render a ſevere account to GOD; and till prieſts are cured of their aſpiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of prayers had been the cuſtom in time of popery; for the preacher, after he had named the text, and ſhewed what was to be the method of his ſermon, deſired the people to join with him in a prayer, for a bleſſing upon it; and told them likewiſe, whom they were to pray for, and then all the people ſaid their beads in ſilence, and he, kneeling down, ſaid his; and, from that, this was called the bidding of the beads. In this new direction for them, order was given to repeat always the king's title of ſupreme head, that ſo the people hearing it often mention'd, might grow better accuſtomed to it: but when inſtead of a bidding prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be uſed, that enumeration of titles ſeems not ſo decent a thing, nor is it now ſo neceſſary as it then was. The prayer for departed ſouls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the conſummation of their happineſs at the laſt day; whereas in king Henry's time, they prayed that GOD would grant them the fruition of his preſence, which implied a purgatory. The injunctions to the biſhops, directing them to give orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a church can be preſerved from errors and corruptions: for when biſhops do eaſily, upon recommendations or emendicated titles, confer orders, as a ſort of favour that is at their diſpoſal, the ill effects of that muſt be fatal to the church, either by the corruptions that thoſe vicious prieſts will be guilty of, or by the ſcandals which are given to ſome good minds by their means, who are thereby diſguſted at the church for their ſakes, and ſo are diſpoſed to be eaſily drawn into thoſe ſocieties that ſeparate from it.

The war with Scotland.

THE war with Scotland was now in conſultation; but the protector being apprehenſive that France would engage in the quarrel, ſent over Sir Francis Brian to congratulate with the new king, to deſire a confirmation of the laſt peace, and to complain of the Scots, who had broken their faith with the king, in the matter of the marriage of their queen. The French King refuſed to confirm the treaty, till ſome articles ſhould be firſt explained, and ſo he diſowned his father's ambaſſador; and for the Scots, he ſaid, he could not forſake them, if they were in diſtreſs. The Engliſh alledged, that Scotland was ſubject to England; but the French had no regard to that, and would not ſo much as look on the records that were offer'd to prove it; and ſaid, they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a diſpute of two hundred years old. This made the Engliſh council more fearful of engaging in a war, which by all appearance would bring a war on them from France. The caſtle of St. Andrew's was ſurrender'd, and all their penſioners in Scotland were not able to do them great ſervice. The Scots were now much lifted up; for as England was under an infant king, ſo the court of France was governed by their queen dowager's brothers. The Scots began to make inroads on England, and deſcents on Ireland. Commiſſioners were ſent to the borders to treat on both ſides, and the protector raiſed a great army, which he reſolved to command in perſon. But the meeting on the borders was ſoon broke up, for the Scots had no inſtructions to treat concerning the marriage, and the Engliſh were order'd to treat of nothing elſe, till that ſhould be firſt agreed to. And the records that were ſhewed of the homage done by the Scottiſh kings to the Engliſh had no great effect, for the Scots either ſaid they were forged, or forced from ſome weak princes, or were only homages for their lands in England, as the kings of England did homage to the crown of France, for their lands there. They alſo ſhewed their records by which their anceſtors had aſſerted that they were free and independent of England. The protector left commiſſions of lieutenancy to ſome of the nobility, and devolved his own power, during his abſence, on the privy council, and came to the borders by the end of Auguſt. The Scots had abandoned the paſſes,

paſſes, ſo that he found no difficulty in his march; and the ſmall forts that were in his way, were ſurrender'd upon ſummons. When the Engliſh advanced to Falſid, the Scots engaged with them in parties, but loſt 1300 men: the two armies came in view; the Engliſh conſiſted of 15000 foot, and 3000 horſe, and a fleet under the command of the lord Clinton, ſailed along by them, as they marched near the coaſts: the Scottiſh army conſiſted of 30,000, and a good train of artillery.

The protector's offers to Scotland.

THE protector finding an army brought together ſo ſoon, and ſo much larger than he expected, began to be under ſome apprehenſion, and therefore wrote to the Scots to this effect: That they ſhould remember they were both Chriſtians, and ought to be tender of the effuſion of ſo much blood; that this war was made with a deſign to perpetuate peace, by the marriage of their two princes, which they had already agreed to, and given their publick faith upon; and that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the Engliſh: the iſland ſeemed made for one empire; it was pity it ſhould be more diſtracted with wars, when ſo fair an opportunity offer'd of uniting it; and it was much better for them to marry their queen to a prince of the ſame language, and on the ſame continent, than to a foreigner; but if they would not agree to that, he offer'd that their queen ſhould be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the French, nor to any other foreigner, till ſhe came of age; that by the conſent of the eſtates ſhe might chooſe a husband for her ſelf: if they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his army out of Scotland, and make ſatisfaction for the damages the country had ſuffered by the invaſion. This propoſition ſeems to juſtify what the Scotch writers ſay, though none of the Engliſh mention it, That the protector, what for want of proviſions, and what from the apprehenſions he had of ſo numerous an army of the Scots, was in great ſtraits, and intended to have returned back to England, without hazarding an engagement. But the Scots thought they were ſo much ſuperior to the Engliſh, and that they had them now at a diſadvantage, that they reſolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the protector might not raiſe diviſion among them, the governor having communicated theſe to a few whom he truſted, was, by their advice, perſwaded to ſuppreſs them; but he ſent a trumpeter to the Engliſh army, with an offer to ſuffer them to return without falling upon them; which the protector had reaſon to reject, knowing that ſo mean an action in the beginning of his adminiſtration would have quite ruined his reputation. To this, another that came with the trumpeter added a meſſage from the earl of Huntley, That the protector and he, with ten or twenty of a ſide, or ſingly, ſhould decide the quarrel by their perſonal valour. The protector ſaid, This was no private quarrel, and the truſt he was in obliged him not to expoſe himſelf in ſuch a way; and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the head of his army. But the earl of Warwick offered to accept the challenge. The earl of Huntley ſent no ſuch challenge, as he afterwards purged himſelf when he heard of it. For as it was unreaſonable for him to expect the protector ſhould have anſwer'd it, ſo it had been an affront to the governor of Scotland to have taken it off his hands, ſince he was the only perſon that might have challenged the protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a gentleman that went along with the trumpeter, made him do it without warrant, fancying the anſwer to it would have taken up ſome time, in which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.

The battle of Pinkey near Muſſelburgh.

ON the 10th of September the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinkey near Muſſelburgh: the Engliſh had the advantage of the ground, and, in the beginning of the action, a cannon-ball from one of the Engliſh ſhips killed the lord Grames's eldeſt ſon, and 25 men more; which put the earl of Argyle's highlanders into ſuch a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the Engliſh loſt a few men, the Scots gave ground; and the Engliſh obſerving that, and breaking in furiouſly upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled: the Engliſh purſued hard, and ſlew them without mercy. There were reckon'd to be killed about 14000, and 1500 taken priſoners, among whom was the earl of Huntley, and 500 gentlemen; and all the artillery was taken. This loſs quite diſheartened the Scots, ſo that they all retir'd to Striving, and left the whole country to the protector's mercy, who the next day went and took Leith, and the ſoldiers in the ſhips burnt ſome of the ſea-towns of Fife, and retook ſome Engliſh ſhips that had been taken by the Scots, and burnt the reſt. They alſo put a garriſon in the iſle of St. Columba in the Frith, of about 200 ſoldiers, and left two ſhips to wait on them. He alſo ſent the earl of Warwick's brother, Sir Ambroſe Dudley, to take Broughty, a caſtle in the mouth of Tay; in which he put 200 ſoldiers. He waſted Edinburgh, and uncovered the abbey of Holyrood-Houſe, and carried away the lead and the bells belonging to it. But he neither took the caſtle of Edinburgh, nor did he go on to Strivling, where the queen, with the ſtraglers of the army, lay. And it was thought, that in the conſternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every place would have yielded to him. But he had ſome private reaſons that preſſed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and ſo gave the Scots time to bring ſuccours out of France; whereas he might eaſily have made an end of the war at once, if he had follow'd his ſucceſs vigorouſly. The earl of Warwick, who had a great ſhare in the honour of the victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminiſh the protector's glory, which he had otherwiſe raiſed to an unmeaſurable height, was not diſpleaſed at it. On the 18th of September, the protector drew his army back into England,

land, and having received a meſſage from the queen and the governor of Scotland offering a treaty, he order'd them to ſend commiſſioners to Berwick to treat with thoſe he ſhould appoint. As he returned through the Merch, and Teviotdale, all the chief men in theſe counties came in to him, and took an oath to king Edward, and deliver'd into his hands all the places of ſtrength in their counties. He left a garriſon of 200 in Home Caſtle, under the command of Sir Edward Dudley, and fortified Roxburgh, where, for encouraging the reſt, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put 300 ſoldiers, and 200 pioneers, into it, giving Sir Ralph Bulmer the command. At the ſame time the earl of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, made an inroad by the Weſt Marches; but with little effect.

The protector returns to England.

ON the 29th of September the protector returned into England full of honour, having loſt, in all that expedition, not above ſixty men; the Scotch writers, indeed, ſay, he loſt between 2 and 300. He had taken 80 pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garriſons he left in them, and many others he left in the ſtrong places on the frontier. It may eaſily be imagined how much this raiſed his reputation in England, ſince men commonly make preſages of their rulers, from the ſucceſſes of the firſt deſigns they undertake. So now they remember'd what he had done formerly in Scotland; and how in France, with 7000 men, he had raiſed the French army of 20,000 that was ſet down before Bulloign, and had forced them to leave their ordnance, baggage, and tents, with the loſs only of one man in the year 1544, and that next year he fell into Picardy, and built New-haven, with two other there. So that every one expected great ſucceſs under his government; and, indeed, if the breach between him and his brother, with ſome other errors, had not loſt him the advantages he now had, this proſperous action had laid the foundation of great fortunes for him.

HE left the earl of Warwick to treat with thoſe that ſhould be ſent from Scotland; but none came; for that propoſition had been made only to gain time. The queen mother there was not ill pleaſed to ſee the intereſt of the governor ſo much impaired by that misfortune, and perſuaded the chief men of that kingdom to caſt themſelves wholly into the arms of France, and to offer their young queen to the Dauphin, and to think of no treaty with the Engliſh. So the earl of Warwick returned to London, having no ſmall ſhare in the honour of this expedition. He was ſon to that Dudley who was attainted and executed the firſt year of king Henry the VIIIth's reign. But whether it was that the king afterwards repented of his ſeverity to his father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the ſon, he raiſed him by many degrees to be admiral and viſcount Liſle. He had defended Bulloign, when it was in no good condition, againſt the Dauphin, whoſe army was believed fifty thouſand ſtrong; and when the French had carry'd the Baſſetown, he recover'd it, and kill'd eight hundred of their men: the year after that, being in command at ſea, he offer'd the French fleet battle; which they declining he made a deſcent upon Normandy with five thouſand men; and having burnt and ſpoiled a great deal, he returned to his ſhips with the loſs of only one man; and he ſhewed, he was as fit for a court as a camp: for being ſent over to the French court upon the peace, he appeared there with much ſplendour, and came off with great honour. He was, indeed, a man of great parts, had not inſatiable ambition, with profound diſſimulation, ſtained his other nobler qualities.

THE protector, at his return, was adviſed to meet the parliament, (for which the writs had been ſent out before he went into Scotland) now that he was ſo covered with glory, to get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his authority, and to do thoſe other things which required a ſeſſion. He found the viſitors had performed their viſitation, and all had given obedience. And thoſe who expounded the ſecret providences of GOD with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this; that on the ſame day in which the viſitors removed, and deſtroyed moſt of the images in London, their armies were ſo ſucceſsful in Scotland in Pinkey Field. It is too common to all men to magnify ſuch events much, when they make for them; but if they are againſt them, they turn it off by this, That GOD's ways are paſt finding out. So partially do men argue where they are once engaged. Bonner and Gardiner had ſhewed ſome diſlike of the injunctions. Bonner received them with a proteſtation, that he would obſerve them, if they were not contrary to GOD's law, and the ordinances of the church. Upon which Sir Anthony Cook, and the other viſitors, complained to the council. So Bonner was ſent for, where he offered a ſubmiſſion, but full of vain quiddities, (ſo it is expreſſed in the council book). But they not accepting of that, he made ſuch a full one as they deſired. Yet, for giving terror to others, he was ſent to lie for ſome time in the priſon call'd the Fleet. Gardiner ſeeing the homilies, was alſo reſolved to proteſt againſt them. Sir John Godſalve, who was one of the viſitors, wrote to him not to ruin himſelf, nor loſe his biſhoprick by ſuch an action. To whom he wrote a letter, that has more of a chriſtian, and of a biſhop in it, than any other piece of his. He expreſſes, in handſome terms, a great contempt of the world, and a reſolution to ſuffer any thing rather than depart from his conſcience. Beſides that, (as he ſaid) the things being againſt law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition againſt them. On the 25th of September, it being informed to the council, that Gardiner had written to ſome of that board, and had ſpoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the king's viſitation; and that he intended to refuſe to ſet forth the homilies and injunctions, he was ſent for to the council; where being examined, he ſaid, he thought they were contrary to the word of GOD, and that his conſcience would not

ſuffer

ſuffer him to obſerve them. He excepted to one of the homilies, that it did exclude charity from juſtifying men, as well as faith. This, he ſaid, was contrary to the book ſet out in the late king's time, which was afterwards confirmed in parliament in the year 1542. He ſaid further, that he could never ſee one place of Scripture, nor any antient doctor, that favour'd it. He alſo ſaid, Eraſmus's paraphraſe was bad enough in Latin, but much worſe in Engliſh; for the tranſlator had oft, out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrender'd him palpably, and was one that neither underſtood Latin nor Engliſh well. He offer'd to go to Oxford to diſpute about juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him to, or to enter in conference with any that would undertake his inſtruction in town. But this did not ſatisfy the council. So they preſſed him to declare what he intended to do when the viſitors ſhould be with him: he ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould further ſtudy theſe points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was ſure he would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them as far as could conſiſt with GOD's law and the king's. The council urged him to promiſe, that he would, without any limitation, ſet forth the homilies and the injunctions, which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the Fleet. Cranmer went to ſee the dean of St. Paul's, having the biſhops of Lincoln and Rocheſter, with Dr. Cox, and ſome others, with him. He ſent for Gardiner thither, and enter'd into diſcourſe with him about that paſſage in the homily, excluding charity out of our juſtification, and urged thoſe places of St. Paul, that we are juſtified by faith, without the works of the law. He ſaid, his deſign in that paſſage was only to draw men from truſting in any thing they did; and to teach them to truſt only to CHRIST. But Gardiner had a very different notion of juſtification. For, as he ſaid, infants were juſtified by baptiſm, and penitents by the ſacrament of penance; and that the conditions of juſtifying thoſe of age, were charity as well as faith, as the three eſtates make a law, all joined together; for, by this ſimile, he ſet it out in the report he writ of that diſcourſe to the lord protector, reckoning the king one of the three eſtates, (a way of ſpeech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a biſhop and a lawyer.) For Eraſmus, it was ſaid, that though there were faults in his paraphraſe, as no book beſides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the beſt for that uſe they could find; and they did chooſe rather to ſet out what ſo learned a man had written, than to make a new one, which might give occaſion to more objections: and he was the moſt indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards, Cranmer knowing what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome words (as Gardiner writ to the protector) of bringing him into the privy council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the fleet.

THERE were alſo many complaints brought by ſome clergymen, of ſuch as had uſed them ill for their obeying the king's injunctions, and for removing images. Many were, upon their ſubmiſſion, ſent away with a ſevere rebuke; others, that offended more heinouſly, were put in the Fleet for ſome time, and afterwards giving bond for their good behaviour, were diſcharged. But, upon the protector's return, the biſhop of Wincheſter writ him a long letter in his own vindication. "He complained of the viſi-
"tors proceeding in his abſence in ſo great
"a matter. He ſaid, the injunctions were
"contrary to themſelves, for they appointed
"the homilies to be read, and Eraſmus's
"paraphraſe to be put in all churches: ſo
"he ſelected many paſſages out of theſe
"that were contrary to one another. He
"alſo gather'd many things out of Eraſmus's
"paraphraſe that were contrary to the
"power of princes; and ſeveral other cen-
"ſurable things in that work which Eraſmus
"wrote when he was young, being of a far
"different ſtrain from what he writ when
"he grew older, and better acquainted
"with the world. But he concluded his
"letter with a diſcourſe of the extent of
"the king and council's power, which is
"very long, and full of things of no conſe-
"quence. He queſtions how far the king
"could command againſt common or ſta-
"tute law; of which himſelf had many oc-
"caſions to be well informed. Cardinal
"Wolſey had obtained his legatine power
"at the king's deſire; but notwithſtanding
"that, he was brought into a premunire;
"and the lawyers, upon that argument,
"cited many precedents of judges that were
"fined when they tranſgreſſed the laws,
"though commanded by warrants from the
"king; and earl Typteft, who was chan-
"cellor, loſt his head for acting upon the
"king's warrant againſt law. In the late
"king's time, the judges would not ſet
"fines on the breakers of the king's procla-
"mations, when they were contrary to law,
"till the act concerning them was paſſed;
"about which there were many hot words
"when it was debated. He mentions a diſ-
"courſe that paſſed between him and the lord
"Audley in the parliament, concerning the
"king's ſupremacy: Audley bid him look
"into the act of ſupremacy, and he would
"ſee the king's doings were reſtrained to
"ſpiritual juriſdiction: and by another act,
"no ſpiritual act could take place againſt
"the common law, or an act of parliament;
"otherwiſe the biſhops would ſtrike in with
"the king, and by the means of the ſupre-
"macy would order the law as they plea-
"ſed; but we will provide, ſaid he, that
"the premunire ſhall never go off from your
"backs. In ſome late caſes he heard the
"judges declare what the king might do a-
"gainſt an act of parliament, and what
"danger they were in that meddled in ſuch
"matters. Theſe things being ſo freſh in
"his memory, he thought he might write
"what he did to the lords of the council."
But by this it appears, that no ſort of men is ſo much for the king's prerogative, but when it becomes, in any inſtance, uneaſy to them, they will ſhelter themſelves under

the

the law. He continued afterwards, by many letters to the protector, to complain of his ill usage: 'That he had been then 'seven weeks in the Fleet without servants, 'a chaplain, or a physician: that though 'he had his writ of summons, he was not 'suffered to come to the parliament, which 'might be a ground afterwards of questioning their proceedings. He advised the 'protector not to make himself a party in 'these matters, and used all the insinuations 'of decent flattery that he could invent, 'with many sharp reflections on Cranmer, 'and stood much on the force of laws, that 'they could not be repealed by the king's 'will. Concerning which, he mentions a 'passage that fell out between Cromwell 'and himself before the late king. Cromwell said, That the king might make or 'repeal laws as the Roman Emperors did, 'and asked his opinion about it, Whether 'the king's will was not a law? To which 'he answered facetiously, That he thought 'it was much better for the king to make 'the law his will, than to make his will a 'law.' But notwithstanding all his letters, (which are printed in the second volume of acts and monum. edit. 1641.) yet he continued a prisoner till the parliament was over, and then by the act of pardon he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of liberty; and it was said these at court durst not suffer him to come to the house, lest he had confounded them in all he did. And the explaining justification with so much nicety in homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needless subtilty. But the former abuses, of trusting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancy'd they bought heaven, made Cranmer judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely; though the expounding those places of St. Paul, was, as many thought, rather according to the strain of the Germans, than to the meaning of these epistles. And, upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortify him a little, though the pretence on which they did it seemed too light for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it. The party that opposed the reformation, finding those attempts so unsuccessful, engaged the lady Mary to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the protector, that she thought all changes in religion till the king came to be of age, were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her father, if they went about to shake what he had settled; and against their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points before he was capable of judging them. This may be gather'd from the protector's answer to her, in which he wrote, 'That he believed 'her letter flowed not immediately from 'herself, but from the instigation of some 'malicious persons. He protests they had 'no other design but the glory of GOD, and 'the honour and safety of the king; and 'that what they had done was so well con-'sider'd, that all good subjects ought rather to rejoice at it than find fault with it. 'And whereas she had said, That her father 'had brought religion to a godly order and 'quietness, to which both spirituality and 'temporality did, without compulsion, give 'their assent; he remembers her what opposition the stiff-necked papists gave him, 'and what rebellions they raised against 'him; which he wonders how she came so 'soon to forget; adding, that death had 'prevented him before he had finished these 'godly orders which he had designed; and 'that no kind of religion was perfected at 'his death, but all was left so uncertain, 'that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if GOD did not help them; and 'that himself and many others could witness 'what regret their late master had, when he 'saw he must die before he had finished 'what he intended. He wonder'd that she, 'who had been well bred, and was learned, 'should esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, new fangledness or 'fantasy. He desir'd she would, turn the leaf, 'and look on the other side, and would, 'with an humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of GOD, consider the 'matter better.

THUS things went on, till the parliament met, which was summon'd to meet the 4th of November. The day before it met, the protector gave too publick an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up. For, by a patent under the great seal, he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the unkles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a non obstante to the statute of precedence. The lord Rich had been made lord chancellor on the 24th of October; but whether the protector, or he, opened the parliament by any speech, does not appear from the journal of the lords house. On the 10th of December, a bill was brought in for the repealing several statutes. It was read the second time on the 12th, and the third time on the 16th day. On the 19th some proviso's were added to it, and it was sent down to the commons, who sent it up the 23d of December, to which the royal assent was given. The commons had formed a new bill for repealing these statutes, which upon some conferences, they were willing to let fall; only some proviso's were added to the old one; upon which, the Bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, dissented. The preamble of it sets forth, 'That nothing made a government 'happier than when the prince governed 'with much clemency, and the subjects 'obeyed out of love. Yet the late king, 'and some of his progenitors, being provoked by the unruliness of some of their 'people, had made severe laws; but they 'judging it necessary now to recommend the 'king's government to the affections of the 'people, repealed all laws that made any 'thing

'thing to be treaſon, but what was in the 'act of Edw. the 23d, as alſo two of the 'ſtatutes about Lollardies, together with 'the act of the Six Articles, and the other 'acts that follow'd in explanation of that. 'All acts in king Henry the VIIIth's time, 'declaring any thing to be felony that was 'not ſo declared before, were alſo repealed, 'together with the acts that made the king's 'proclamations of equal authority with acts 'of parliament. It was alſo enacted, That 'all who denied the king's ſupremacy, or 'aſſerted the pope's, in words, ſhould, for 'the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and 'chattels, and ſuffer impriſonment during 'pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould 'incur the pain of premunire; and, for the 'third offence, be attainted of treaſon. But 'if any did in writing, printing, or by any 'other overt act or deed, endeavour to de-'prive the king of his eſtate, or titles, par-'ticularly of his ſupremacy, or to confer 'them on any other, after the firſt of March 'next, he was to be adjudged guilty of 'high treaſon: and if any of the heirs of the 'crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or did 'endeavour to break the ſucceſſion of the 'crown, it was declared high treaſon, in 'them, their aiders and abettors: and all 'were to enjoy the benefit of clergy, and the 'privilege of ſanctuary, as they had it be-'fore king Henry the VIIIth's reign; ex-'cepting only ſuch as were guilty of mur-'dering, poiſoning, burglary, robbing on 'the highway, the ſtealing of cattle, or 'ſtealing out of churches or chapels. Poi-'ſoners were to ſuffer as other murderers. 'None were to be accuſed of words, but 'within a month after they were ſpoken: 'and thoſe who called the French king by 'the title of king of France, were not to be 'eſteemed guilty of the pains of tranſlating 'the king's anthority, or titles, on any 'other.' This act was occaſion'd by a ſpeech that archbiſhop Cranmer had made in convocation, in which he exhorted the clergy to give themſelves much to the ſtudy of the Scripture, and to conſider ſeriouſly what things were in the church that needed reformation, that ſo they might throw out all the popiſh traſh that was not yet caſt out. Upon this ſome intimated to him, that as long as the ſix articles ſtood in force, it was not ſafe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council, upon which they order'd this act of repeal. By it the ſubjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild government, when inſtead of procuring new ſevere laws, the old ones were let fall. The council did alſo free the nation of the jealouſies they might have of them by ſuch an abridgment of their own power. But others judged it had been more for the intereſt of the government to have kept up theſe laws ſtill in force, but to have reſtrained the execution of them. This repeal drew on another, which was ſent from the commons on the 20th of December, and was agreed to by the lords on the 21ſt. It was of an act in the 28th year of the laſt king, by which all laws made while his ſon was under twenty-four years of age might be by his letters patent annulled. Which they alter'd thus: That the king might, by his letters patent, void any act of parliament for the future; but could not ſo void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were ſtill to be lawful deeds.

THE next bill of a publick nature was concerning the Sacrament. Which was brought in, and read the firſt time, on the 12th of November, the ſecond time on the 15th, and was twice read on the 17th; and on the 24th a bill was brought in for the Communion to be received in both kinds: on the 3d of December it was read the ſecond time, and given to the protector; on the 5th read again, and given to two judges; on the 7th it was read again, and joined to the other bill about the Sacrament: and on the 10th the whole bill was agreed to by all the peers, except the biſhops of London, Hereford, Norwich, Worceſter, and Chicheſter, and ſent down to the commons. On the 17th a proviſo was ſent after it, but was rejected by the commons, ſince the lords had not agreed to it. On the 20th it was ſent up and agreed to, and had afterwards the royal aſſent. "By it, firſt, the 'value of the Holy Sacrament, commonly 'called the Sacrament of the Altar, and, 'in the Scripture, the Supper and Table of 'the Lord, was ſet forth, together with its 'firſt inſtitution; but it having been of late 'marvelouſly abuſed, ſome had been there-'by brought to a contempt of it, which 'they had expreſſed in ſermons, diſcourſes, 'and ſongs, (in words not fit to be repeat-'ed) therefore whoſoever ſhould ſo offend 'after the firſt of May next, was to ſuffer 'fine and impriſonment at the king's plea-'ſure; and the juſtices of the peace were 'to take information, and preſentments of 'perſons ſo offending within three months 'after the offences ſo committed, allowing 'them witneſſes for their own purgation. 'And it being more agreeable to CHRIST's 'firſt inſtitution, and the practice of the 'church for 500 years after CHRIST, that 'the Sacrament ſhould be given in both the 'kinds of bread and wine, rather than in 'one kind only; therefore it was enacted, 'That it ſhould be commonly given in both 'kinds, except neceſſity did otherwiſe re-'quire it. And it being alſo more agree-'able to the firſt inſtitution, and the primi-'tive practice, that the people ſhould re-'ceive with the prieſt, than that the prieſt 'ſhould receive it alone; therefore the 'day before every Sacrament, an exhorta-'tion was to be made to the people, to 'prepare themſelves for it, in which the 'benefits and danger of worthy and unwor-'thy receiving were to be expreſſed; and 'the prieſts were not, without a lawful 'cauſe, to deny it to any who humbly ask-'ed it.

THIS was an act of great conſequence, ſince it reformed two abuſes that had crept into the church. The one was the denying the cup to the laity, the other was the prieſts communicating alone. In the firſt inſtitu-

tion it is plain, that as CHRIST had all drink of the cup, and his diſciples all drank of it, ſo St. Paul directed every one to examine himſelf, that he might eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. From that the church for many years continued this practice: and the ſuperſtition of ſome who received only in one kind, was ſeverely cenſured; and ſuch were appointed either to receive the whole Sacrament, or to abſtain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the corporal preſence of CHRIST was ſet up, and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in proceſſions, not being ſo eaſily done, ſome began to lay it aſide. For a great while the bread was given dipt in the cup, to repreſent a bleeding CHRIST, as it is in the Greek church to this day. In other places the laity had the cup given them, but they were to ſuck it through pipes, that nothing of it ſhould fall to the ground. But ſince they believed that CHRIST was in every crumb of bread, it was thought needleſs to give the Sacrament in both kinds: ſo, in the council of Conſtance, the cup was order'd to be denied the laity, though they acknowledg'd it to have been inſtituted and practiſed otherwiſe. To this the Bohemians would never ſubmit; though, to compel them to it, much blood was ſhed in this quarrel. And now in the reformation, this was every where one of the firſt things with which the people were poſſeſſed, the oppoſition of the Roman church herein to the inſtitution of CHRIST being ſo manifeſt.

AT firſt this Sacrament was alſo underſtood to be a communion of the body and blood of CHRIST, of which many were to be partakets: while the fervour of devotion laſted, it was thought a ſcandalous and cenſurable thing if any had come unto the chriſtian aſſemblies, and had not ſtayed to receive theſe holy myſteries: and the denying to give any one the Sacrament was a very great puniſhment. So ſenſible were the Chriſtians of their ill condition when they were hinder'd to participate of it. But afterwards, the former devotion ſlackening, the good biſhops, in the fourth and fifth centuries, complained oft of it, that ſo few came to receive; yet the cuſtom being to make oblations before the Sacrament, out of which the clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the church, the prieſts had a great mind to keep up the conſtant uſe of theſe oblations; and ſo perſuaded the laity to continue them, and to come to the Sacrament, tho' they did not receive it: and, in proceſs of time, they were made to believe, that the prieſts received in behalf of the whole people. And, whereas this Sacrament was the commemoration of CHRIST's ſacrifice on the croſs, and ſo, by a phraſe of ſpeech, was called a ſacrifice, they came afterwards to fancy that the prieſts conſecrating and conſuming the Sacrament was an action of itſelf expiatory, and that both for the dead and the living. And there aroſe an infinite number of ſeveral ſorts of maſſes; ſome were for commemorating the ſaints, and thoſe were called the maſſes of ſuch ſaints; others, for a particular bleſſing, for rain, health, &c. and, indeed, for all the accidents of human Life, where the addition or variation of a collect made the difference: ſo that all that trade of maſſing was now removed. An intimation was alſo made of exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to ſet about. Theſe abuſes in the maſs gave great advantages to thoſe who intended to change it into a communion. But many, inſtead of managing them prudently, made unſeemly jeſts about them, and were carried, by a lightneſs of temper, to make ſongs and plays of the maſs; for now the preſs went quick, and many books were printed this year about matters of religion, the greateſt number of them being concerning the maſs, which were not written in ſo decent and grave a ſtile as the matter required. Againſt this act only five biſhops proteſted. Many of that order were abſent from the parliament, ſo the oppoſition made to it was not conſiderable.

THE next bill brought into the houſe of lords, was concerning the admiſſion of biſhops to their ſees by the king's letters patent: which being read, was committed to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's care on the 5th of November, and was read the ſecond time on the 10th, and committed to ſome of the judges, and was read the third time on the 28th of November, and was ſent down to the commons on the 5th of December. There was alſo another bill brought in, concerning the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in the biſhops courts, on the 17th of November, and paſſed and ſent down on the 13th of December. But both theſe bills were put in one, and ſent up by the commons on the 20th of that month, and aſſented to by the king. By this act it was ſet forth, That 'the way of chooſing biſhops by Conge d' 'Elire was tedious and expenſive; that there 'was only a ſhadow of election in it, and 'that therefore biſhops ſhould hereafter be 'made by the king's letters patent, upon 'which they were to be conſecrated: and 'whereas the biſhops did exerciſe their au'thority, and carry on proceſſes in their own 'names, as they were wont to do in the 'time of popery; and ſince all juriſdiction, 'both ſpiritual and temporal, was derived 'from the king, that therefore their courts 'and all proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth 'carried on in the king's name, and be 'ſealed by the king's ſeal, as it was in the 'other courts of common law, after the firſt 'of July next; excepting only the archbi'ſhop of Canterbury's courts, and all col'lations, preſentations, or letters of orders, 'which were to paſs under the biſhops pro'per ſeals as formerly.' Upon this act great advantages were taken to diſparage the reformation, as ſubjecting the biſhops wholly to the pleaſure of the court.

AT firſt, biſhops were choſen and ordained by the other biſhops in the countries where they lived. The apoſtles, by that ſpirit of diſcerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the firſt fruits of their labours, and never left the election of paſtors to the diſcretion

diſcretion of the people: indeed, when they were to ordain deacons, who were to be truſted with the diſtribution of the publick alms, they appointed ſuch as the people made choice of; but when St. Paul gave directions to Timothy and Titus about the choice of paſtors, all that depended on the people by them was, that they ſhould be blameleſs and of good report. But afterwards, the poverty of the church being ſuch, that churchmen lived only by the free bounty of the people, it was neceſſary to conſider them much; ſo that in many places the choice began among the people; and in all places it was done by their approbation and good liking. But great diſorders followed upon this, as ſoon as the emperors turned Chriſtians, the wealth of church-benefices made the paſtoral charge more deſirable: and the vaſt numbers of thoſe who turned Chriſtians with the tide, brought in great multitudes to have their votes in theſe elections. The inconvenience of this was felt early in Phrygia, where the council of Laodicea made a canon againſt theſe popular elections. Yet, in other parts of Aſia, and at Rome, there were great and frequent conteſts about it. In ſome of theſe many men were killed. In many places the inferior clergy choſe their biſhops; but in moſt places the biſhops made the choice, yet ſo as to obtain the conſent of the clergy and people. The emperors, by their laws, made it neceſſary that it ſhould be confirmed by the metropolitans: they reſerved the elections of the great ſees to themſelves, or at leaſt the confirmation of them. Thus it continued to Charles the Great's time. But then the nature of church employments came to be much altered. For though the church had predial lands, with the other rights that belonged to them, by the Roman law, yet he firſt gave biſhops and abbots great territories, with ſome branches of royal juriſdiction in them, who held theſe lands of him, according to the feudal laws. This, as it carried churchmen off from the humility and abſtraction from the world which became their function, ſo it ſubjected them much to the humours and intereſts of thoſe princes on whom they had their dependance. The popes, who had made themſelves heads of the hierarchy, could not but be glad to ſee churchmen grow rich and powerful in the world; but they were not ſo well pleaſed to ſee them made ſo much the more dependent on their princes: and, no doubt, by ſome of thoſe princes that were thus become patrons of churches, the biſhopricks were either given for money, or changed with reſerved penſions. Upon this the popes filled the world with the complaints of Simony, and of enſlaving churchmen to court intereſts; and ſo would not ſuffer them to accept of inveſtitures from their princes, but ſet up for free elections, as they called them, which they ſaid were to be confirmed by the ſee apoſtolick. So the canons ſecular or regular, in cathedral churches, were to chooſe the biſhops, and their election was to be confirmed at Rome: yet princes in moſt places got ſome hold of thoſe elections, ſo that ſtill they went as they had a mind they ſhould. Which was oft complained of as a great ſlavery on the church; and would have been more univerſally condemned, if the world had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there ſhould have been ſet up either the popular or ſynodical elections, in which faction was like to ſway all. King Henry had continued the old way of the elections by the clergy, but ſo as that it ſeemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the king, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary election.

THE other branch about eccleſiaſtical courts: The cauſes before them concerning wills and marriages, being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to theſe by the laws of the land, and being no parts of the ſacred functions, it was thought no invaſion of the ſacred offices to have theſe tried in the king's name. But the collation of benefices, and giving of orders, which are the chief parts in the epiſcopal function, were to be performed ſtill by the biſhops in their own names: only excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the puniſhment for contempts of theſe courts; which belonging only to the ſpiritual cognizance, ought to have been reſerved for the biſhop, with the aſſiſtance of his clergy. But the canoniſts had ſo confounded all the ancient rules about the government of the church, that the reformers being called away by conſiderations that were more obvious and preſſing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And theſe errors or overſights in the firſt concoction have, by a continuance, grown ſince into ſo formed a ſtrength, that it is eaſier to ſee what is amiſs, than to know how to rectify it.

ON the 29th of November, the bill againſt vagabonds was brought in; by this it was enacted, 'That all that ſhould any where 'loiter without work, or without offering 'themſelves to work, three days together, 'or that ſhould run away from work, and 'reſolve to live idly, ſhould be ſeized on; 'and whoſoever ſhould preſent them to a 'juſtice of peace, was to have them adjudged 'to be his ſlaves for two years; and they 'were to be marked with the letter V. im-'printed with a hot iron on their breaſts.' A great many proviſo's follow concerning clerks ſo convicted, which ſhew that this act was chiefly levelled at the idle monks and friars, who went about the country, and would betake themſelves to no employment; but finding the people apt to have compaſſion on them, they continued in that courſe of life; which was of very ill conſequence to the ſtate: for theſe vagrants did every-where alienate the people's minds from the government, and perſuaded them that things would never be well ſettled, till they were again reſtored to their houſes. Some of theſe came often to London, on pretence of ſuing for their penſions; but really to practiſe up and down through the country: to prevent this, there was a proclamation ſet out on the 18th of September, requiring them to ſtay in the

places

places where they lived, and to ſend up a certificate where they were, to the court of augmentations, who ſhould thereupon give order for their conſtant payment. Some thought this law againſt vagabonds was too ſevere, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the Engliſh nation has been always very ſenſible, both in their own and neighbours particulars. Yet it could not be denied, but extream diſeaſes required extream remedies: and perhaps there is no puniſhment too ſevere for perſons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering courſe of life to an honeſt employment. There followed in the act, many excellent rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent, in the ſeveral places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which, this can only be ſaid, That as no nation has laid down more effectual rules for the ſupplying the poor than England, that, indeed, none can be in abſolute want, ſo the neglect of theſe laws is a juſt and great reproach on thoſe who are charged with the execution of them, when ſuch numbers of poor vagabonds ſwarm every where without the due reſtraints that the laws have appointed.

An act for giving the chantries to the king.

ON the 6th of December the bill for giving the chantries to the king was brought into the houſe of lords. It was read the ſecond time on the 12th, the third time on the 13th, and the fourth time on the 14th of that month. It was much oppoſed, both by Cranmer on the one hand, and the popiſh biſhops on the other. The late king's executors ſaw they could not pay his debts, nor ſatisfy themſelves in their own pretenſions, formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue; and ſo intended to have theſe to be divided among them. Cranmer oppoſed it long: For the clergy being much impoveriſhed by the ſale of the impropriated tithes, that ought in all reaſon to have returned into the church; but, upon the diſſolution of the abbies, were all ſold among the laity; he ſaw no probable way remaining for their ſupply, but to ſave theſe endowments till the king was of age, being confident he was ſo piouſly diſpoſed, that they ſhould eaſily perſuade him to convert them all to the bettering of the condition of the poor clergy that were now brought into extream miſery: and therefore he was for reforming and preſerving theſe foundations, till the king's full age. The popiſh biſhops liked theſe endowments ſo well, that upon far different motives, they were for continuing them in the ſtate they were in: But thoſe who were to gain by it were ſo many, that the act paſſed; the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, and Chicheſter, diſſenting. The bill being ſent down to the houſe of commons, was there much oppoſed by ſome burgeſſes, who repreſented that the boroughs, for which they ſerved, could not maintain their churches, and other publick works of the guilds and fraternities, if the rents belonging to them were given to the king, for theſe were likewiſe in the act. This was chiefly done by the burgeſſes of Lynn and Coventry, who were ſo active, that the whole houſe was much ſet againſt that part of the bill for the guild-lands. Therefore thoſe who managed that houſe for the court, took theſe off by an aſſurance that their guild-lands ſhould be reſtored to them; and ſo they deſiſted from their oppoſition, and the bill paſſed on the promiſe given to them, which was afterwards made good by the protector. In the preamble of the act it is ſet forth, 'That 'the great ſuperſtition of Chriſtians, riſing 'out of their ignorance of the true way of 'ſalvation by the death of CHRIST, inſtead 'of which they had ſet up the vain conceits 'of purgatory, and maſſes ſatisfactory, was 'much ſupported by trentals and chantries. 'And ſince the converting theſe to godly 'uſes, ſuch as the endowing of the ſchools, 'proviſions for the poor, and the augmenting of places in the univerſities, could not 'be done by parliament; they therefore 'committed it to the care of the king. And 'then reciting the act made in the 37th 'year of his father's reign, they give the 'king all ſuch chantries, colleges and chapels, as were not poſſeſſed by the late 'king, and all that had been in being any 'time theſe five years laſt paſt; as alſo all 'revenues belonging to any church, for 'anniverſaries, obits, and lights; together 'with all guild-lands, which any fraternity 'of men enjoyed, for obits, or the like; 'and appoint theſe to be converted to the 'maintenance of grammar-ſchools, or preachers, and for the encreaſe of vicarages.' (a) After this followed the act giving the king the cuſtoms known by the name of tonnage and poundage, beſides ſome other laws, of matters that are not needful to be remember'd in this hiſtory. Laſt of all came the king's general pardon, with the common exceptions, among which, one was of theſe who were then priſoners in the Tower of London, in which the duke of Norfolk was included. All buſineſs being ended, the parliament was prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

BUT having given this account of theſe bills that were paſſed, it will not be an unfruitful piece of hiſtory to ſhew what other bills were deſigned. There were put into the houſe of lords, two bills that were ſtifled. The one was, for uſe of the Scriptures, which came not to a ſecond reading. The other was a bill for erecting a new court of chancery for eccleſiaſtical and civil cauſes, which were committed to ſome biſhops and temporal lords, but never more mentioned. The commons alſo ſent up ſome bills, which the lords did not agree to. One was about benefices with cure and reſidence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the former reformation of divers laws, and of the courts of common law: and a third was, that married men might be prieſts, and have benefices. To this the commons did ſo readily agree, that it being put in on the 19th of December, and read then for the

(a) If the ſtatute-book may be depended on, this act preceded that of chantries; for this is chapter xiii, the other chapter xiv.

firſt time, it was read twice the next day, and ſent up to the lords on the 21ſt. But being read there once, it was like to have raiſed ſuch debates, that, it being reſolved to end the ſeſſion before Chriſtmas, the lords laid it aſide.

BUT while the parliament was ſitting, they were not idle in the convocation; tho' the popiſh party was yet ſo prevalent in both houſes, that Cranmer had no hopes of doing any thing till they were freed of the trouble which ſome of the great biſhops gave them. the moſt important thing they did, was the carrying up four petitions to the biſhops. 1. That according to the ſtatute made in the reign of the late king, there might be perſons impowered for reforming the eccleſiaſtical laws. 2. That, according to the antient cuſtom of the nation, and the tenor of the biſhops writ to the parliament, the inferior clergy might be admitted again to ſit in the houſe of commons, or that no acts concerning matters of religion might paſs without the ſight and aſſent of the clergy. 3. That ſince divers prelates, and other divines, had been in the late king's time appointed to alter the ſervice of the church, and had made ſome progreſs in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. 4. That ſome conſideration might be had for the maintenance of the clergy, the firſt year they came into their livings, in which they were charged with the firſt fruits; to which they added, a deſire to know whether they might ſafely ſpeak their minds about religion, without the danger of any law. For the firſt of theſe four petitions, an account ſhall be given of it hereafter. As to the ſecond, it was a thing of great conſequence, and deſerves to be farther conſider'd in this place.

ANTIENTLY, all the freemen of England, or at leaſt thoſe that held of the crown in chief, came to parliament; and then the inferior clergy had writs as well as the ſuperior, and the firſt of the three eſtates of the kingdom were the biſhops, the other prelates, and the inferior clergy. But when the parliament was divided into two houſes, then the clergy made likewiſe a body of their own, and ſat in convocation, which was the third eſtate. But the biſhops having a double capacity, the one of eccleſiaſtical prelature, the other of being the king's barons, they had a right to ſit with the lords as a part of their eſtate, as well as in the convocation. And though by parity of reaſon it might ſeem that the reſt of the clergy, being freeholders as well as clerks, had an equal right to chooſe, or be choſen, into the houſe of commons; yet whether they were ever in poſſeſſion of it, or whether according to the clauſe premonentes, in the biſhop's writ, they were ever a part of the houſe of commons, is a juſt doubt. For, beſides this aſſertion in the petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the ſecond petition, which they preſented to the ſame purpoſe, there is no ſatisfactory reaſon to be met with. There was a general tradition in queen Elizabeth's reign, that the inferior clergy departed from their right of being in the houſe of commons; when they were all brought into the premunire upon cardinal Wolſey's legatine power, and made their ſubmiſſion to the king. But that is not credible; for as there is no footſtep of it, which in a time of ſo much writing and printing muſt have remained, if ſo great a change had been then made; ſo it cannot be thought, that thoſe who made this addreſs but 17 years after that ſubmiſſion, (many being alive in this, who were of that convocation, Polydore Virgil in particular, a curious obſerver, ſince he was maintained to write the hiſtory of England) none of them ſhould have remember'd a thing that was ſo freſh, but have appealed to writs and antient practiſes. But though this deſign of bringing the inferior clergy into the houſe of commons did not take at this time, yet it was again ſet on foot, in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and reaſons were offer'd to perſuade her to ſet it forward. Which not being then ſucceſsful, theſe ſame reaſons were again offered to king James, to induce him to endeavour it. But whether this matter was ever much conſider'd, or lightly laid aſide, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is, that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter, it is not certain what was the power or right of theſe proctors of the clergy in former times: ſome are of opinion, that they were only aſſiſtants to the biſhops, but had no voice in either houſe of parliament. This is much confirmed by an act paſſed in the parliament of Ireland, in the 28th year of the former reign, which ſets forth in the preamble, 'That though the 'proctors of the clergy were always ſum-'moned to parliament, yet they were no 'part of it; nor had they any right to vote 'in it, but were only aſſiſtants, in caſe mat-'ters of controverſy or learning came before 'them, as the convocation was in England, 'which had been determined by the judges 'of England after much enquiry made about 'it. But the proctors were then pretending 'to ſo high an authority, that nothing could 'paſs without their conſents; and it was 'preſumed they were were ſet on to it by 'the biſhops, whoſe chaplains they were for 'the moſt part. Therefore they were by 'that act declared to have no right to vote.

FROM this ſome infer, they were no other in England, and that they were only the biſhops aſſiſtants and council. But as the clauſe premonentes in the writ, ſeems to make them a part of the parliament, ſo theſe petitions ſuppoſe that they ſat in the houſe of commons antiently, where it cannot be imagined they could ſit, if they came only to be aſſiſtants to the biſhops; for then they muſt have ſat in the houſe of lords rather, as the judges, the maſters of chancery, and the king's council do. Nor is it reaſonable to think they had no voice; for then their ſitting in parliament had been ſo inſignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have uſed ſuch endeavours to be reſtored to it ſince their coming to parliament, upon ſuch an account, muſt have been only a charge to them.

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THERE is againſt this opinion an objection of great force from the acts paſſed in the 21ſt year of Richard the IId's reign. In the ſecond act of parliament it is ſaid, 'That 'it was firſt prayed by the commons, and 'that the lords ſpiritual, and the proctors of 'the clergy, did aſſent to it; upon which 'the king, by the aſſent of all the lords and 'commons, did enact it.' The twelfth act of that parliament was a repeal of the whole parliament that was held in the 11th year of that reign; and concerning it, it is expreſſed, 'That the lords ſpiritual and tem-'poral, the proctors of the clergy, and the 'commons, being ſeverally examined, did 'all agree to it.' From hence it appears, that theſe proctors were then not only a part of the parliament, but were a diſtinct body of men that did ſeverally, from all the reſt, deliver their opinions. It may ſeem ſtrange, that if they were then conſidered as a part of either houſe of parliament, this ſhould be the only time in which they ſhould be mentioned as bearing their ſhare in the legiſlative power. In a matter that is ſo perplexed and dark, the biſhop offers a conjecture, that will not, perhaps, appear improbable. In a former part, he gave the reaſons that made him think the lower houſe of convocation conſiſted at firſt only of the proctors of the clergy. So that by the proctors of the clergy, both in the ſtate of Ireland, and in thoſe made by Richard the IId, is, perhaps, to be underſtood the lower houſe of convocation: and it is not unreaſonable to think, that upon ſo great an occaſion as the annulling a whole parliament, to make it paſs the better, in an age in which the people payed ſo blind a ſubmiſſion to the clergy, the concurrence of the whole repreſentative of the church might have been thought neceſſary. It is generally believed, that the whole parliament ſat together in one houſe before Edward the IIId's time, and then the inferior clergy were a part of that body without queſtion. But when the lords and commons ſat apart, the clergy likewiſe ſat in two houſes, and granted ſubſidies as well as the temporality. It may paſs for no unlikely conjecture, that the clauſe premonentes was firſt put in the biſhops writ for the ſummoning of the lower houſe of convocation, conſiſting of theſe proctors, and afterwards, though there was a ſpecial writ for the convocation, yet this might, at firſt, have been continued in the biſhops writ by the neglect of a clerk, and from thence be ſtill uſed. So that it ſeems moſt probable, that the proctors of the clergy were both in England and Ireland the lower houſe of convocation. Now before the ſubmiſſion, which the clergy made to king Henry, as the convocation gave the king great ſubſidies, ſo the whole buſineſs of religion lay within their ſphere. But after the ſubmiſſion, they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorized by the king. They having now ſo little power left them, it is no wonder they deſired to be put in the ſtate they had been in before the convocation was ſeparated from the parliament; or at leaſt that matters of religion ſhould not be determined till they had been conſulted, and had reported their opinions and reaſons. The extreme of raiſing the eccleſiaſtical power too high in the times of popery, had now produced another of depreſſing it too much. For ſeldom is the counterpoiſe ſo juſtly ballanced, that the extremes are reduced to a well-temper'd mediocrity.

FOR the third petition, it was reſolved that many biſhops and divines ſhould be ſent to Windſor to labour in the matter of the church-ſervice. But that required ſo much conſideration, that they could not enter on it during a ſeſſion of parliament. And for the fourth, what anſwer was given to it doth not appear.

ON the 29th of November, a declaration was ſent from the biſhops concerning the Sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which Jo. Tyler, the prolocutor, and ſeveral others, ſet their hands: being again brought before them, it was agreed to, by all, without a contradictory vote, 64 being preſent, among whom, Polydore Virgil was one. And on the 17th of December, the propoſition concerning the marriage of the clergy, was alſo ſent to them, and ſubſcribed by 35 affirmatively, and by 14 negatively; ſo it was order'd, that a bill ſhould be drawn concerning it.

THE parliament being brought to ſo good a concluſion, the protector took out a new commiſſion, in which all the addition that is made to that authority he formerly had, is, that in his abſence he is empower'd to ſubſtitute another to whom he might delegate his power.

AND thus this year ended in England: but as they were carrying on the reformation here, it was declining a pace in Germany. The duke of Saxe, and the Landgrave, were this year to command their armies apart. The duke of Saxe kept within his own country, but having there unfortunately divided his forces, the emperor overtook him near the Alb at Mulberg; where the emperor's ſoldiers croſſing the river, and purſuing him with great fury, after ſome reſiſtance, in which he himſelf performed all that could be expected from ſo great a captain, was taken priſoner, and his country all poſſeſſed by Maurice, who was now to be inveſted with the electoral dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatneſs and equality of mind that is ſcarce to be parallel'd in hiſtory. Neither could the inſolence with which the emperor treated him, nor the fears of death, to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious impriſonment which he ſuffered ſo long, ever ſhake or diſorder a mind that was raiſed ſo far above the inconſtancies of human affairs. And tho' he was forced to ſubmit to the hardeſt conditions poſſible, of renouncing his dignity and dominions, ſome few places being only reſerved for his family; yet no entreaties nor fears could ever bring him to yield any thing in matters of religion. He made the Bible his chief companion and comfort in his ſharp afflictions; which he bore as if he had been raiſed up to that end, to let the world ſee how much he was above it. It ſeemed inimitable, and therefore

The duke of Saxe taken priſoner.

engaged Thuanus, with the other excellent writers of that age, to ſet it out with all the advantages that ſo unuſual a temper of mind deſerved. Yet had thoſe writers lived in our age, and ſeen a great king, not overpower'd by a ſuperior prince, but by the meaneſt of his own people, and treated with equal degrees of malice and ſcorn, and at laſt put to death openly, with the pageantry of juſtice; and yet bearing all this with ſuch invincible patience, heroical courage, and moſt Chriſtian ſubmiſſion to GOD, they had yet found a nobler ſubject for their eloquent pens: but he ſaved the world the labour of giving a juſt repreſentation of his behaviour in his ſufferings, having left his own portraiture, drawn by himſelf in ſuch lively and laſting colours.

THE Landgrave of Heſſe ſaw he could not long withſtand the emperor's army, now ſo lifted up with ſucceſs; and therefore was willing to ſubmit to him on the beſt terms that his ſons-in-law the elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice of Saxe, could obtain for him. Which were very hard, only he was to enjoy his liberty, without any impriſonment, and to preſerve his dominions. But the emperor's miniſters dealt moſt unfaithfully with him in this: for, in the German language, there was but one letter difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual impriſonment, and any impriſonment (Ewig for Emig); ſo by this baſe artifice, he was, when he came and ſubmitted to the emperor, detained a priſoner. He had not the duke of Saxe's temper, but was out of meaſure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill uſage: but there was no remedy, for the emperor was now abſolute. All the towns of Germany, Madgeburg and Breme only excepted, ſubmitted to him, and redeemed his favour by great ſums of money, and many pieces of ordnance. And the Bohemians were alſo forced to implore his brother's mercy, who, before he would receive them into his hands, got his revenue to be raiſed vaſtly. And now the empire was wholly at the emperor's mercy. Nothing could withſtand him who had in one year turned out two electors. For Herman, biſhop of Cologn, as he was before condemned by the pope, ſo was he alſo degraded from that dignity by the emperor; and Adolph, whom he had procured to be made his coadjutor, was declared elector. Many of his ſubjects and neighbour princes offered their ſervice, if he would ſtand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of ſo meek a temper, that he would ſuffer no blood to be ſhed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which he lived four years till his death. His brother, that was biſhop of Munſter, and dean of Bonne, who had gone along with him in his reformation, was alſo turned out, and Gropper was made dean, who was eſteemed one of the learneſt and beſt men of the clergy at this time. He is ſaid to have expreſſed a generous contempt of the higheſt dignity, the ſee of Rome could beſtow on him, for he refuſed a cardinal's hat when it was offer'd him; yet, in this matter, he had not behaved himſelf as became ſo good a man, and ſo learned a divine; for he had conſented to the changes that had been made, and was in a correſpondence with Martin Bucer, whom Herman brought to Cologn; by which it is plain, he went along with them from the beginning. But, it ſeems, he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the world, or the fears of the croſs, of which, it appears Bucer had then ſome apprehenſions, tho' he expreſſed them very modeſtly.

GERMANY being thus under the power and dread of the emperor, a diet was ſummoned to Ausburg, where the chief church was taken from the proteſtants, and put into the cardinal of Ausburg's hands, to have the maſs ſet up again in it, though the town was ſo much proteſtant, that they could find none that would come to it, but ſome poor people who were hired. The emperor, among other propoſitions he put into the diet, preſſed this, That all differences in religion, which had ſo diſtracted Germany, might be removed. The eccleſiaſtical princes anſwered, That the only way to effect that, was to ſubmit to the general council that was at Trent. Thoſe that were for the Ausburg confeſſion, ſaid, They could ſubmit to no council where the pope preſided, and where the biſhops were ſworn to obey him; but would not ſubmit to it, if that oath was diſpenſed with, and their divines admitted to defend their opinions, and all the degrees that had been made were again conſidered. In this difference of opinion, the emperor thought, that if the whole matter ſhould be left to his diſcretion, to which all ſhould be bound to ſubmit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleaſed. So he dealt privately with the electors Palatine and Saxe; and, as they publiſhed it afterwards, gave them ſecret aſſurances about the freedom of their religion, and that he only deſired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the pope. Upon which, they conſented to a decree, referring the matter of religion wholly to his care. But the deputies from the cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their religion, could not be brought to do it without conditions; which they put into another writing, as explanatory of the ſubmiſſion: but the emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him; and ſo the decree was publiſhed. All this was in ſome ſort neceſſary for the emperor, who was then in very ill terms with the pope about the buſineſs of Placentia. For the pope's natural ſon Petrus Aloiſius being killed by a conſpiracy, the governor of Milan had ſeized on Placentia, which made the pope believe the emperor was acceſſary to it; for which, the reader is referred to the Italian hiſtorians. The pope ſaw the emperor in one ſummer deliver'd of a war, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but ſeem to rejoice, and did, no doubt, at the ruin of thoſe whom he called hereticks, yet he was not a little grieved to ſee the emperor ſo much exalted.

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AT Trent the legates had been oft threatened and affronted by the emperor's ambaſſadors and biſhops who were much ſet on reforming abuſes, and leſſening the power of the ſee of Rome. So they had a mind to break up the council; but that would have been ſo ſcandalous a thing, and ſo reſented by the emperor, that they reſolved rather on a tranſlation into ſome town of the pope's, to which it was not likely the Imperialiſts would follow them, and ſo at leaſt the council would be ſuſpended, if not diſſolved. For this remove, they laid hold on the firſt colour they could find. One dying of a malignant feaver, it was given out and certified by phyſicians, that he died of the plague; ſo in all haſte they tranſlated the council to Bologna. The Imperialiſts proteſted againſt it, but in vain, for thither they went. The emperor was hereby quite diſappointed of his chief deſign, which was to force the Germans to ſubmit to a council held in Germany: and therefore no plague appearing at Trent, he preſſed the return of the council thither. But the pope ſaid, It was the council's act, and not his; and that their honour was to be kept up; that therefore ſuch as ſtaid at Trent were to go firſt to Bologna, and acknowledge the council, that they ſhould then conſider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the Germans had, was, that this difference between the pope and emperor might give them ſome breathing; and time might bring them out of thoſe extremities into which they were then driven. Upon theſe diſorders the foreign reformers, who generally made Germany their ſanctuary, were now forced to ſeek it elſewhere. So Peter Martyr, in the end of November this year, was brought over to England, by the invitation which the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent to him in the king's name. He was born in Florence, where he had been an Auguſtine monk. He was learned in the Greek, and the Hebrew, which drew on him the envy of the reſt of his order, whoſe manners he inveighed oft againſt. So he left them, and went to Naples, where he gathered an aſſembly of thoſe who loved to worſhip GOD more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that place, and went next to Lucca, where he lived in ſociety with Tremellius and Zanchius. But being alſo in danger there, he went to Zurick with Bernardinus Ochinus, that had been one of the moſt celebrated preachers of Italy, and now forſook his former ſuperſtitions. From Zurick he went to Baſil; and from thence, by Martin Bucer's means, he was brought to Strasburg; where Cranmer's letter found both him and Ochinus. The latter was made a canon of Canterbury, with a diſpenſation of reſidence; and by other letters patent forty marks were given yearly to him, and as much to Peter Martyr.

THERE had been this year ſome differences between the Engliſh and the French concerning the fortifications about Bulloign. The Engliſh were raiſing a great fort by the harbour there. This being ſignified to king Henry by Gaſper Coligny, afterwards the famous admiral of France, then governor of the neighbouring parts to Bulloign; it was complained of at the court of England. It was anſwered, That this was only to make the harbour more ſecure, and ſo the works were order'd to be vigorouſly carry'd on. But this could not ſatisfy the French, who plainly ſaw it was of another ſort than to be intended only for the ſea: The king of France came and viewed the country himſelf, and order'd Coligny to raiſe a fort on the high ground near it, which was called the Chaſtilion Fort, and commanded both the Engliſh fort and the harbour. But the protector had no mind to give the French a colour for breaking with the Engliſh; ſo there was a truce and further ceſſation agreed on, in the end of September. Theſe are all the conſiderable foreign tranſactions of this year, in which England was concerned. But there was a ſecret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which though it broke not out till the next year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

THE protector's brother, Thomas Seimour, was brought to ſuch a ſhare in his fortunes, that he was made a baron, and lord admiral. But this not ſatisfying his ambition, he endeavour'd to have linked himſelf into a nearer relation with the crown, by marrying the king's ſiſter the lady Elizabeth; but finding he could not compaſs that, he made his addreſſes to the queen dowager. Who enjoying now the honour and wealth the late king had left her, reſolved to ſatisfy herſelf in her next choice, and entertained him a little too early, for they were married ſo ſoon after the king's death, that it was charged afterwards on the admiral, that if ſhe had brought a child as ſoon as might have been after the marriage, it had given cauſe to doubt, whether it had not been by the late king; which might have raiſed a great diſturbance. But being thus married to the queen, he concealed it for ſome time, till he procured a letter from the king, recommending him to her for a husband: upon which they declared their marriage; with which, the protector was much offended. Being thus poſſeſſed of great wealth, and being husband to the queen dowager, he ſtudied to engage all that were about the king to be his friends; and he corrupted ſome of them by his preſents, and forced one on Sir John Cheek. That which he deſigned, was, That whereas in former times the infant kings of England had had governors of their perſons, diſtinct from the protectors of their realms; which truſts were divided between their unkles, it being judged too much to join both in one perſon, who was thereby too great; whereas a governor of the king's perſon might be a check on the protector; who would therefore, himſelf, be made governor of the king's perſon, alledging, that ſince he was the king's unkle, as well as his brother, he ought to have a proportioned ſhare with him in the government. About Eaſter this year he firſt ſet out about this deſign, and corrupted ſome about the king, who ſhould bring him ſometimes privately through the gallery to the queen's lodgings; and he de-

desired they would let him know when the king had occasion for money, and that they should not always trouble the treasury, for he would be ready to furnish him; and he thought a young king might be taken with this. So it happen'd that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent him to know what present he should make him: Seimour sent him 40 l. but said, he thought 20 enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweet nature exposed him to be easily won by such artifices.

It is generally said, that all this difference between the brothers was begun by their wives; and that the protector's lady, being offended that the younger brother's wife had the precedence of her, which she thought belonged to herself, did thereupon raise and inflame the differences. But bishop Burnet says, in all the letters he had seen concerning this breach, he could never find any such thing once mention'd. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that the dutchess of Somerset should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the queen dowager. Therefore he look'd upon this story as a meer fiction, though it is probable enough there might, upon some other accounts, have been some animosities between the two high-spirited ladies, which might afterwards be thought to have occasion'd their husband's quarrel.

It is plain, in the whole thread of this affair, that the protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his brother, and was only assaulted by him, but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though, in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off nature too much, when he consented to his execution: yet all along, till then, he had rather too much encouraged his brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the protector was in Scotland, the admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a party for himself; of which Paget took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice: but there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the breaches among near friends commonly turn to the most irreconcilable quarrels; yet all was ineffectual; for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the protector to return from Scotland so abruptly and disadvantageously, for the securing of his interest with the king, on whom his brother's artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the parliament met, is not certain. But, during the session, the admiral got the king to write with his own hand a message to the house of commons, for the making of him the governor of his person; and he intended to have gone with it to the house, and had a party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He also dealt with many of the lords and counsellors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the house, some were sent to him in his brother's name to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them, and said, That if he were cross'd in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England: upon that, he was sent for by order from the council, but refused to come; then they threaten'd him severely, and told him the king's writing was nothing in law, but that he, who had procured it, was punishable for doing an act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the government, and for engaging the young king in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his offices. But he submitted himself to the protector and council; and his brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet, as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down, but only put off his high projects, till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next Christmas to deal money again among the king's servants, and was, on all occasions, infusing into the king a dislike of every thing that was done, and did often persuade him to assume the government himself. But the sequel of this quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the year 1547.

On the 8th of January next year Gardiner was brought before the council, where it was told him, that his former offences being included in the king's general pardon, he was thereupon discharged; a grave admonition was given him to carry himself reverently and obediently; and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the injunctions and homilies, and the doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the king and clergy of the realm. He answer'd, He would conform himself as the other bishops did, and only excepted to the homily of justification, and desired four or five days to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time, does not appear from the council-book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the clerks of council did not then enter every thing with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his diocese, where there still appeared, in his whole behaviour, great malignity to Cranmer, and to all motions for reformation; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged. A.D. 1548.

In the end of January the council made an order concerning the marquis of Northampton, to which we must look back a little for the clear account of it. This lord, who was brother to the queen dowager, had married Anne Bouchier, daughter to the

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earl of Eſſex, the laſt of that name. But ſhe being convicted of adultery, he was divorced from her; which, according to the law of the eccleſiaſtical courts, was only a ſeparation from bed and board. Upon which divorce, it was propoſed, in king Henry's time, to conſider what might be done in favour of the innocent perſon, when the other was convicted of adultery. So in the beginning of king Edward's reign, on the 7th of May, a commiſſion was granted to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, (this was Holbeack, who was not then tranſlated to Lincoln) to Dr. Ridley, and ſix more, ten in all, of whom ſix were a quorum, to try whether the lady Anne was not by the Word of GOD ſo lawfully divorced, that ſhe was no more his wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another wife. This being a new caſe, and of great importance, Cranmer reſolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and ſearched into the opinions of the fathers and doctors ſo copiouſly, that theſe collections about it grew into a large book, the greateſt part of it being either written or marked, and interlined with his own hand. This required a longer time than the marquis of Northampton could ſtay; and therefore preſuming, on his great power, without waiting for judgment, he ſolemnly married Elizabeth, daughter to Brooke lord Cobham. On the 28th of January, information was brought to the council of this, which gave great ſcandal, ſince his firſt marriage ſtood yet firm in law. So he being put to anſwer for himſelf, ſaid, He thought, that by the Word of GOD, he was diſcharged of his tie to his former wife; and the making marriages indiſſoluble, was but a part of the popiſh law, by which it was reckon'd a ſacrament; and yet the popes, knowing that the world would not eaſily come under ſuch a yoke, had, by the help of the canoniſts, invented ſuch diſtinctions, that it was no uneaſy thing to make a marriage void among them: and that the condition of this church was very hard, if, upon adulteries, the innocent muſt either live with the guilty, or be expoſed to temptations of the like ſins, if a ſeparation was only allowed; but the bond of the marriage continued undiſſolved. But ſince he had proceeded ſo far before the delegates had given ſentence, it was order'd, that he and his new wife ſhould be parted, and that ſhe ſhould be put into his ſiſter the queen dowager's keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the Word of GOD or not; and that then further order ſhould be given in it. Upon this, the delegates made haſte and gathered their arguments together: of which, an abſtract follows, both for the clearing of this matter, (concerning which, not many years ago there were great debates in parliament) and alſo to ſhew the exactneſs of the proceedings in that time.

CHRIST condemned all marriages upon divorces, except in the caſe of adultery, which ſeemed manifeſtly to allow them in that caſe. And tho' this is not mention'd by St. Mark, and St. Luke, yet it is enough that St. Matthew has it. CHRIST alſo deſigned the ſtate of marriage to be that, in which two are one fleſh; ſo that when either of the two hath broken that union, by becoming one with another perſon, then the marriage is diſſolved. And it is oft repeated in the Goſpel, That married perſons have power over one another's bodies, and that they are to give due benevolence to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of ſeparation without diſſolving the bond. St. Paul putting the caſe of an unbeliever departing from the partner in marriage, ſays, The believing party, whether brother or ſiſter, is not under bondage in ſuch a caſe; which ſeems a diſcharge of the bond in caſe of deſertion: and certainly adultery is yet of a higher nature. But againſt this was alledged, on the other ſide, That our Saviour's allowing divorce in the caſe of adultery, was only for the Jews, to whom it was ſpoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their law, by which the adultreſs was to be put to death; and therefore he yielded divorce in that caſe, to mitigate the ſeverity of the other law. But the apoſtle writing to the Gentile Chriſtians, at Rome, and Corinth, ſaid, The wife was tied by the law to the husband, as long as he lived. And that other general rule, Whom God has joined together, let no man put aſunder, ſeems againſt the diſſolving the bond. To this it was anſwer'd, That it is againſt ſeparating, as well as diſſolving; that the wife is tied to her husband; but if he ceaſeth to be her husband, that tie is at an end: that our Saviour left the wife at liberty to divorce her husband for adultery, tho' the law of Moſes had only provided, That the adulterous wife, and he who defiled her, were to die; but the husband, who committed adultery, was not ſo puniſhable; therefore our Saviour had, by that proviſion, declared the marriage to be clearly diſſolved by adultery.

FROM hence they went to examine the authorities of the fathers. Hermes was for putting away the adultreſs, but ſo as to receive her again, upon repentance. Origen thought the wife could not marry again after divorce. Tertullian allowed divorce, and thought it diſſolved the marriage as much as death did. Epiphanius did alſo allow it. And ambroſe, in one place, allows the husband to marry after divorce for adultery, tho' he condemns it always in the wife. Baſil allow'd it on either ſide upon adultery. Jerome, who condemns the wife's marrying, though her husband were guilty of adultery, and who diſliked the husband's marrying again, tho' he allowed him to divorce upon adultery, or the ſuſpicion of it; yet, when his friend Fabiola had married after a divorce, he excuſes it, ſaying, It was better for her to marry, than to burn. Chromatius allowed of ſecond marriages after divorce. And ſo did Chryſoſtome, though he condemned them in women ſo divorcing. St. Auſtin was ſometimes for a divorce, but againſt marriage upon it; yet, in his retractions, he writ doubtfully of his former opinion. In the civil law, the Chriſtian Emperors allowed the power of divorcing both to husband and wife, with the right of marrying

rying afterwards. Nor did they reſtrain the grounds of divorce only to adultery, but permitted it in many other caſes; as if the wife were guilty of treaſon, had treated for another husband, had procured an abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to ſee the publick plays without leave from her husband; beſides many other particulars. Againſt which, none of the fathers had writ, nor endeavour'd to get them repealed. All theſe laws were confirmed by Juſtinian, when he gather'd the laws into a body, and added to it where they were defective. In the canon law, it is provided, that he whoſe wife is defiled, muſt not be denied lawful marriage. Pope Gregory denied a ſecond marriage to the guilty perſon, but allowed it to the innocent after divorce. Pope Zachary allowed the wife of an inceſtuous adulterer to be married, if ſhe could not contain. In the canon-law, the council of Friburg is cited, for allowing the like privilege to the husbands. By the council of Elvira, a man that finds that his wife intends to kill him, may put her away, and marry another; but ſhe muſt never marry. The council of Arles recommended it to husbands, whoſe wives were found in adultery, not to marry during their lives. And that at Elvira denied the Sacrament to a wife who left an adulterous husband, and married another; but ſhe might have the Communion when her firſt husband died: ſo the ſecond marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the council of Milevi forbids both man and wife to marry after divorce. All theſe were collected by Cranmer, with ſeveral very important reflections on moſt of the quotations out of the fathers. With theſe, there is another paper, given in by one who was againſt the diſſolving the bond, in which there are many quotations brought forth from the canon-law, and the fathers, for the contrary opinion. But moſt of the fathers there cited are of the latter ages; in which the ſtate of Celibate had been ſo exalted by the monks, that, in all doubtful caſes, they were reſolved ſtill to prefer that opinion which denied liberty for further marriages. In concluſion, this whole queſtion was divided into eight queries, which were put to ſome learned men; (who theſe were, does not appear) and they returned their anſwer in favour of the ſecond marriage. In the end, ſentence was given, allowing the ſecond marriage, in that caſe, and by conſequence confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage to his ſecond wife, who upon that was ſuffered to cohabit with him. Yet four Years after, he was adviſed to have a ſpecial act of parliament for confirming this ſentence; of which, mention ſhall be made in its due time and place.

THE next thing that came under conſideration, was the great contradiction that was in moſt of the ſermons over England. Some were very earneſt to juſtify and maintain all the old rites that yet remained; and others were no leſs hot to have them laid aſide. So that in London, eſpecially, the people were wonderfully diſtracted by this variety among their teachers. The ceremonies of Candlemas, and their obſervance of Lent, with the rites uſed on Palm-Sunday, Good Friday, and Eaſter, were now approaching. Thoſe that were againſt them, condemned them as ſuperſtitious additions to the worſhip of GOD, invented in the dark ages, when an outward pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others ſet out the good uſe that might be made of theſe things, and taught, that till they were aboliſhed by the king's authority, they ought to be ſtill obſerved. In a viſitation that had been made, about the end of king Henry's reign, it had been declared, that faſting in Lent was only a poſitive law. Several directions were alſo given about the uſe of ceremonies, and ſome hints, as if they were not to be long continued; and all Wakes, and Plough Mondays, were ſuppreſſed, ſince they drew great aſſemblies of people together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling.

THE country people generally loved all theſe ſhews, proceſſions, and aſſemblies, as things of diverſion; and judged it a dull buſineſs, only to come to church for divine worſhip, and the hearing of ſermons; therefore they were much delighted with the gaity and cheerfulneſs of thoſe rites. But others obſerving that they kept up all theſe things, juſt as the heathens did their plays and feſtivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and ſimplicity of the chriſtian religion, and therefore were earneſt to have them removed. This was ſo effectually repreſented to the council, by Cranmer, that an order was ſent to him about it. He ſent it to Bonner, who, being dean of the college of biſhops in the province of Canterbury, was to tranſmit all ſuch orders over the whole province. By it, the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and palms on Palm-Sunday, were forbid to be uſed any longer. And this was ſignified by Bonner, to Thirleby, biſhop of Weſtminſter, on the 28th of June*, as appears by the regiſter.

AFTER this, on the 6th of February, a proclamation was iſſued out againſt ſuch as ſhould on the other hand raſhly innovate, or perſuade the people from the old accuſtomed rites, under the pains of impriſonment, and other puniſhments at the king's pleaſure; excepting only the formerly mentioned rites; to which are added, the creeping to the croſs on Good Friday, taking holy bread and water, and any other that ſhould be afterwards at any time certified by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to the other biſhops in the king's name to be laid aſide: and for preventing the miſchiefs occaſioned by raſh preachers, none were to preach without licence from the king, or his viſitors; the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of the dioceſe, where they lived; excepting only incumbents preaching in their own pariſhes. Thoſe who preached otherwiſe were to be impriſoned till orders were given for their puniſhment:

* This letter to Thirleby is printed in Fox, vol. 2. p. 658, is there dated on the 28th of January.

niſhment: and the inferior magiſtrates were required to ſee to the execution of theſe orders. This proclamation was neceſſary for giving authority to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's letters, which were cenſured as a great preſumption for him, without any publick order to appoint changes in ſacred rites. Some obſerved, that the council went on making proclamations with arbitrary puniſhments, tho' the act was repealed that had formerly given ſo great authority to them. To this it was anſwer'd, That the king, by his ſupremacy, might ſtill, in matters of religion, make new orders, and add puniſhments upon the tranſgreſſors; yet this was much queſtion'd, though univerſally ſubmitted to.

ON the 11th of February there was a letter ſent from the council to the archbiſhop for a more conſiderable change. There were every where great heats about the removing of images which had been abuſed to ſuperſtition; ſome affirming, and others denying, that their images had been ſo abuſed. There were in the churches ſome images of ſo ſtrange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abuſed. Such was the image of the Bleſſed Trinity, which was to be cenſed, on the day of the Innocents, by him that was made the biſhop of the children: this ſhews it was uſed on other days, in which it is like it was cenſed by the biſhop where he was preſent. How this image was made, can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at that time: in which the father is repreſented ſitting on the one hand as an old man with a triple crown and rays about him; the ſon on the other hand, as a young man, with a crown and rays, and the Bleſſed Virgin between them; and the emblem of the Holy Ghoſt, with a dove ſpread over her head. So it is repreſented in a fair book of the hours, according to the uſe of Sarum, printed 1526. The impiety of this did raiſe horror in moſt mens minds, when that unconceivable myſtery was ſo groſly expreſſed. Beſides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in purſuance to what had been ſaid by ſome blaſphemous friars, of her being aſſumed into the Trinity. In another edition of theſe it is repreſented by three faces formed in one head. Theſe things had not been ſet up by any publick warrant; but having been ſo long in practice, they ſtood upon the general plea that was for keeping the traditions of the church; for, it was ſaid, that the promiſes made to the church were the ſame in all ages, and that therefore every age of the church had an equal right to them: but, for the other images, it was urged againſt them, that they had been all conſecrated with ſuch rites and prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them ſuperſtitious, ſince it was prayed, that they might be ſo bleſſed and conſecrated, that whoſoever worſhipped them, might, by the ſaints prayers and aid, whom they repreſented, obtain every thing that he deſired. So they reſolved on an entire removal of all images; and the protector, with the council, wrote to Cranmer, that, for putting an end to all theſe conteſts, and that the living images of CHRIST might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they ſhould all of them be taken down: and ſo he was to give order to ſee this executed in his own dioceſe, and to tranſmit it to the other biſhops to be in like manner executed by them. There were alſo orders given, that all rich ſhrines, with all the plate belonging to them, ſhould be brought into the king's uſe, and that the cloaths that cover'd them, ſhould be converted to the uſe of the poor. This gave Gardiner, and thoſe of his party, a new affliction; for, in his dioceſe, he had been always on their ſide that were for keeping up the images: but, they all ſubmitted, and ſo the churches were emptied of all theſe pictures and ſtatues, which had been for divers ages the chief objects of the peoples worſhip.

AND now the greateſt care of the reformers was, to find the beſt men they could, who ſhould be licenſed, by the king's authority to preach. To whom the council ſent a letter in the beginning of May, intimateing, that, by the reſtraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the raſh contentions of indiſcreet men, and to extinguiſh the lively preaching of the pure Word of GOD, made after ſuch ſort as the Holy Ghoſt ſhould, for the time, put in the preacher's mind: they are therefore charged to preach ſincerely, and, with that caution, and moderation, that the time and place ſhall require; and, particularly, that they ſhould not ſet on the people to make innovations, or to run before thoſe whom they ſhould obey; but ſhould perſuade them to amend their lives, and keep the commandments of GOD, and to forſake all their old ſuperſtitions: and, for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the prince did either allow, or ſuffer them; and, in delivering things to the people, they were order'd to have a ſpecial regard to what they could bear.

BUT this temper was not obſerved: ſome plainly condemned it as a political patching, and ſaid, Why ſhould not all theſe ſuperſtitions be ſwept away at once? To this it was anſwer'd by others, That, as CHRIST forbad the pulling up the tares, leſt with them they ſhould pull up good wheat, ſo if they went ſo forwardly to the changing of things, they might, in that haſte, change much for the worſe; and great care was to be had not to provoke the people too much, leſt, in the infancy of the king, or in ſome ill conjuncture of affairs, they might be diſpoſed to make commotions. And the compliances that both CHRIST and his apoſtles gave to the Jews, when they were to abrogate the Moſaical Law, were often inſiſted on. It was ſaid, if they who were cloathed with a power of miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the world, condeſcended ſo far; it was much more reaſonable for them, who had not that authority over mens conſciences, and had no immediate ſigns to ſhew from heaven, to perſuade the people, by degrees, to forſake their old miſtakes, and not to precipitate things by an over haſte.

THIS winter there was a committee of ſelected biſhops and divines appointed for

examining all the offices of the church, and for reforming them. Some had been, in king Henry's time, employed in the ſame buſineſs, in which they had made a good progreſs, and was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of London, Durham, Worceſter, Norwich, St. Aſaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Litchfield, Carliſle, Briſtol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chicheſter, Hereford, Weſtminſter and Rocheſter; with doctors Cox, May, Tailor, Heins, Robertſon, and Redmayn, were appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to conſider how far any of them needed amendment.

THE thing they firſt examined, was the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, which being the chief ſymbol of Chriſtian Communion, was thought to deſerve their chief care: and here they managed their enquiries in the ſame manner that was uſed in the former reign; in which, when any thing was conſider'd in order to a change, it was put into ſeveral queries, to which, every one in commiſſion, was to give his anſwer in writing. It is no wonder, if the confuſions that follow'd in queen Mary's reign, have deprived us of moſt of theſe papers; yet there is one ſet of them preſerved, relating to ſome queſtions about the prieſts ſingle communicating; Whether one man's receiving it can be uſeful to another? What was the oblation or ſacrifice that was made of CHRIST in the maſs? Wherein the maſs conſiſted? When the prieſts receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue maſſes ſatisfactory for departed ſouls? Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught at the time of the maſs? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known tongue or not? And when the reſerving or hanging up of the Sacrament firſt began? To theſe the biſhops made their ſeveral anſwers. Some anſwered them all, others anſwer'd only a few of them, it is like, ſuſpending their opinions about thoſe which they anſwered not. The biſhops of London, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Hereford, gave in their anſwers once in one paper together; but afterwards they joined with the biſhops of Norwich, and St. Aſaph; and all thoſe ſix gave a joint anſwer in one paper. It may be thought that theſe queſtions were given out before the act of parliament paſſed, in which the prieſts ſingle communicating is turned into a communion of more. Yet, by that act it was only provided, That all who came to receive ſhould be admitted; but prieſts were not forbid to conſecrate if none were to communicate, which was the thing now enquired into.

The corruptions in the office of the communion examined.

IT is certain there was no part of worſhip more corrupted than this ſacrament was. The firſt inſtitution was ſo plain and ſimple, that, except in the words, This is my body, there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The heathens had their myſteries, which the prieſts concealed with hard and dark words, and dreſſed up with much pomp, and thereby ſupported their own eſteem with the people; ſince they looked on theſe to be of ſo high a nature, that all thoſe who had the ordering of them were accounted ſacred perſons. The primitive Chriſtians retained the firſt ſimplicity of divine inſtitutions for ſome ages; but afterwards, as their number encreaſed, they made uſe of ſome things not unlike thoſe the heathens had practiſed, to draw the Gentiles more eaſily into their belief, ſince external ſhews made deep impreſſions in the vulgar. And thoſe that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like theſe things for their own ſakes, which were at firſt made uſe of only to gain the world. Others finding ſome advantage in ſuch ſervices that were eaſy, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue, contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And, after the Roman Emperors turned Chriſtian, much of that vaſt wealth, of which they and their people were maſters, was brought into the church, and applied to theſe ſuperſtitions; yet it became not ſo univerſally corrupted, till by the invaſion of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, the Roman Empire was broken and divided into many kingdoms. Theſe new conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to ſenſible things; and learning being univerſally extinguiſhed, groſs ſuperſtition took place; for more refined ſuperſtitions would not ſerve the turn of darker ages: but as they grew in ignorance, they continued in the belief and practice of more abſurd things.

THE high opinion they juſtly had of this Sacrament being much raiſed by the belief of the corporal preſence of CHRIST in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull wits of the prieſts, and the wealth of the people, were employed to magnify it with all the pomp poſſible. All the veſſels and garments belonging to it were conſecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole office was in an unknown tongue: a great part of it was to be ſecretly whiſpered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm: but chiefly the words of conſecration were by no means to be heard by the people, it being fabled, that when the words were ſpoken aloud, ſome ſhepherds had repeated them over their bread, which was thereupon preſently turned into fleſh; beſides, that it was but ſuitable that a change which was not to be ſeen, ſhould be made by words not to be heard: the prieſt was not to approach it, but, after ſo many bowings, croſſings, and kiſſings of the altar, and all the while he went thro' with the office, the people were only now and then bleſſed by a ſhort bleſſing, The Lord be with you, and even that in Latin. Then, after conſecration, the bread was lifted up, and all the people worſhipped it, as if CHRIST had appeared in the clouds. It was oft expoſed on the altar, and carried about in proceſſions, with the ceremonies of carrying flambeaux before it, which the greateſt perſons accounted it an honour to do, the prieſt that carry'd it all the while going pompouſly under a rich canopy.

THIS

THIS was alſo thought moſt effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was firſt only intended to be a commemoration and communion of the death of CHRIST, that ſeemed almoſt forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in moſt cuſtom was, Trentals, which was a method of delivering ſouls out of purgatory, by ſaying thirty maſſes a year for them. And whereas it was obſerved, that men on the anniverſaries of their birth-days, wedding, or other happy accidents of their lives, were commonly in better humour, ſo that favours were more eaſily obtained; they ſeemed to have had the ſame opinion of GOD and CHRIST; ſo they order'd it, that three of theſe ſhould be ſaid on Chriſtmas-day, three on Epiphany, three on the purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, three on the Annunciation, three on the reſurrection, three on the Aſcenſion, three on Whit-Sunday, three on Trinity-Sunday, three on the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, and three on her Birth-day; hoping that theſe days would be the Mollia Tempora, when GOD and CHRIST, or the Bleſſed Virgin, would be of eaſier acceſs, and more ready to grant their deſires. Yet the moſt unaccountable part of all, was the maſſes on the Saints-days, praying that the interceſſion of the ſaint might make the ſacrifice acceptable, that the ſaint, for whoſe honour theſe oblations were ſolemnly offered, would, by his merits, procure them to be accepted, and that the ſacrifice might bring to them a greater indulgence, being offered up by the ſuffrages of the ſaint. If the ſacrifice was of JESUS CHRIST, and was of its own nature expiatory, how this ſhould be done in honour to a ſaint, and become of greater virtue by his interceſſion, was a thing very hard to be underſtood. There were many pieces of ridiculous pageantry alſo uſed in it, as the laying the hoſt in the ſepulchre they made for CHRIST on Good Friday; and that not only the candles that were to burn at the Eaſter Celebration, but the very fire that was to kindle them, was particularly conſecrated on Eaſter-Eve. Some maſſes were believed to have a peculiar virtue in them: for, in the maſs-book printed at London, Anno 1500, there is a maſs for avoiding ſudden death; which pope Clement made in the college with all his cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of indulgence, charging them that they ſhould hold in their hand a burning candle all the while it was ſaying, and for five days after ſhould likewiſe hold a candle, kneeling during the whole maſs: and to thoſe that did ſo, ſudden death ſhould do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in Avignion, and all the neighbouring places.

ALL this Dr. Burnet ſaith he hath opened the more largely, to let the reader plainly underſtand, what things were then in this Sacrament that required reformation; and he gathered theſe things out of the maſs-book, then moſt uſed in England, and beſt known by the name of the Miſſal, after the uſe of Sarum.

THE firſt ſtep theſe deputed biſhops and divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend every thing that required it, but left the office of the maſs as it was, only adding to it, that which made it a communion. It began firſt with an exhortation, to be uſed the day before, which differs not much from that now uſed; only, after the advice given concerning confeſſion, it is added, That ſuch as deſired to make auricular confeſſion, ſhould not cenſure thoſe who were ſatisfied with a general confeſſion to GOD, and that thoſe who uſed only confeſſion to GOD, and to the Church, ſhould not be offended with thoſe who uſed auricular confeſſion to a prieſt; but that all ſhould keep the rule of charity, every man being ſatisfied to follow his own conſcience, and not judging another man's in things not appointed by GOD. After the prieſt had received the Sacrament, he was to turn to the people, and read an exhortation to them; the ſame we now uſe, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a denunciation againſt ſinners, requiring them who were ſuch, and had not repented, to withdraw, leſt the devil ſhould enter into them as he did into Judas. Then, after a little pauſe, to ſee if any would withdraw, there was to follow a ſhort exhortation, with a confeſſion of ſins, and abſolution, the very ſame which we do yet retain. Then thoſe texts of Scripture were read, which we yet read, followed with the prayer, We do not preſume, &c. After this, the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; firſt, to the miniſters then preſent, and then to the people, with theſe words, The body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was given for thee, preſerve thy body unto everlaſting life, and, The blood of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy ſoul unto everlaſting life. When all was done, the congregation was to be diſmiſſed with a bleſſing. The bread was to be ſuch as had been formerly uſed, and every one of the breads, ſo conſecrated, was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the people were to be taught, that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were ſmall, or great, but that in each of them they received the whole body of CHRIST. If the wine, that was at firſt conſecrated, did not ſerve, the prieſt was to conſecrate more; but all to be without any elevation. This office, being thus finiſhed, was ſet forth with a proclamation, reciting, That, whereas the parliament had enacted that the Communion ſhould be given in both kinds to all the king's ſubjects, it was now order'd to be given in the form here ſet forth; and all were required to receive it with due reverence, and chriſtian behaviour, and with ſuch uniformity as might encourage the king to go on in the ſetting forth godly orders for reformation, which he intended now earneſtly to bring to effect by the help of GOD, willing his ſubjects, not to run before his direction, and ſo, by their raſhneſs, to hinder ſuch things, aſſuring them of the earneſt zeal he had to ſet them forth,

forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it.

THIS was publiſhed on the 8th of March, and on the 13th books were ſent to all the biſhops of England, requiring them to ſend them to every pariſh in their dioceſe, that the curates might have time, both to inſtruct themſelves about it, and to acquaint their people with it; ſo that by the next Eaſter it might be univerſally received in all the churches of the nation. This was variouſly cenſured. Thoſe that were for the old ſuperſtition, were much troubled to have confeſſion thus left indifferent, and a general confeſſion of ſins to be uſed, with which they apprehended the people would, for the moſt part, content themſelves. In the Scripture, there was a power of binding and looſing ſins given to the apoſtles; and St. James exhorted thoſe to whom he wrote, to confeſs their faults to one another. Afterwards, penitents came to be reconciled to the church, when they had given publick ſcandal, either by their apoſtacy, or ill life, by an open confeſſion of their ſins; and after ſome time of ſeparation from the other pure Chriſtians in worſhip, and an abſtention from the Sacrament, they were admitted again to their ſhare of all the privileges that were given in common to Chriſtians. But, according to the nature of their ſins, they were, beſides the publick confeſſion, put under ſuch rules as might be moſt proper for curing theſe ill inclinations in them; and, according to the ſeveral ranks of ſins, the time and degrees of this penitence was proportioned. And the councils that met in the fourth and fifth centuries made the regulating theſe penitentiary canons the chief ſubject of their conſultations. In many churches, there were penitentiary prieſts, who were more expert in the knowledge of theſe rules, and gave directions about them: which were taken away in Conſtantinople, upon the indiſcretion of which one of them had been guilty. For ſecret ſins, there was no obligation to confeſs, ſince all the canons were about publick ſcandals; yet for theſe, the devout people generally went to their prieſts for their counſel, but were not obliged to it; and ſo went to them for the diſtempers of their minds, as they did to phyſicians for the diſeaſes of their bodies.

ABOUT the end of the fifth century, they began in ſome places to have ſecret penances, either within monaſteries, or other places which the prieſts had appointed; and upon a ſecret confeſſion, and performing the penance impoſed, abſolution was alſo given ſecretly: whereas, in former times, confeſſion and abſolution had been performed openly in the church. In the ſeventh century it was every where practiſed, that there ſhould be ſecret penance for ſecret ſins: which Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, did firſt bring into a method, and under rules. But, about the end of the eighth century, the commutation of penance, and exchanging it for money, or other ſervices to the church, came to be practiſed; and then began pilgrimages to holy places, and afterwards the going to the holy war: and all the ſeverities of penance were diſpenſed with ſuch as undertook theſe. This brought on a great relaxation of all eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Afterwards, croiſadoes came in uſe, againſt ſuch princes as were depoſed by popes: and to theſe was likewiſe added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all rules of penitence were diſpenſed with to ſuch as put on that croſs. But penitence being now no more publick, but only private, the prieſts managed it as they pleaſed, and ſo, by confeſſion, enter'd into all mens ſecrets, and, by abſolution, had their conſciences ſo entirely in their power, that the people were generally governed by them; yet, becauſe the ſecular prieſts were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under ſuch an aſſociation as was needful to manage thoſe deſigns, for which this was thought an excellent engine; therefore the friars were employed every where to hear confeſſions, and to give abſolutions; and, to bring in cuſtomers to them, two new things were invented; the one was, a reſerving of certain caſes, in which ſuch as were guilty of them could not be abſolved but by the popes, or thoſe deputed by them: and the friars and faculties, in the pope's name, to abſolve in theſe caſes. The other was, on ſome occaſion, the uſe of certain new ſecrets, by which men were to obtain great indulgences, either by ſaying ſuch prayers, or performing ſuch impoſitions; and theſe were all truſted to the friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the money they could gather, by that means, to Rome. They being bred up to a voluntary poverty, and expecting great rewards for their induſtry, ſold thoſe ſecrets, with as much cunning as mountebanks uſe in ſelling their tricks; only here was the difference, that the ineffectualneſs of the mountebanks medicines was ſoon diſcovered, ſo their trade muſt be but ſhort in one place; whereas the other could not be ſo eaſily found out, the chief piece of the religion of thoſe days being to believe all that their prieſts taught them. By them, indulgences of many years, hundreds, thouſands, and millions of years, and of all ſins whatſoever, were granted to ſuch as devoutly ſaid ſuch collects; but it was always underſtood that they muſt confeſs and be abſolved, which is the meaning of thoſe expreſſions concerning their being in a ſtate of grace: and ſo the whole buſineſs was a cheat.

AND now all this trade was laid aſide, and confeſſion of ſecret ſins was left to all mens free choice; ſince it was certain, that the confeſſion to a prieſt was no where enjoined in the Scriptures. It was a reaſonable objection, that as ſecret confeſſion and private penance had worn out the primitive practice of the publick cenſuring of ſcandalous perſons, ſo it had been well if the reviving of that diſcipline had driven out theſe latter abuſes: but to let that lie unreſtored, and yet to let confeſſion wear out, was to diſcharge the world of all outward reſtraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and ſo to throw up that power of binding and looſing,

looſing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the ſacrament. This was confeſſed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were uſed to retrieve it, though without ſucceſs; and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would ſtudy to repair: but the total diſuſe of all publick cenſure had made the nation ſo unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the civil authority, they could not compaſs it. And though it was acknowledg'd to be a great diſorder in the church, yet as they could not keep up the neceſſity of private confeſſion, ſince it was not commanded in the goſpel; ſo the generality of the clergy being ſuperſtitious men, whoſe chief influence on the people was by thoſe ſecret practices in confeſſion, they judged it neceſſary to leave that free to all people, and to repreſent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general confeſſion to be made in the church, with the abſolution added to it. For the power of binding and looſing, it was by many thought to be only declarative; and ſo to be exerciſed, when the Goſpel was preached, and a general abſolution granted, according to the antient forms. In which forms, the abſolution was a prayer that GOD would abſolve; and ſo it had been ſtill uſed in the abſolution which was given on Maunday-Thurſday; but the formal abſolution given by the prieſt in his own name, I abſolve thee, was a late invention to raiſe their authority higher, and ſignified nothing diſtinct from thoſe other forms that were antiently uſed in the church.

OTHERS cenſured the words in diſtributing the two kinds in the Lord's Supper, the body being given for the preſerving the body, and the blood of CHRIST, for preſerving the ſoul. This was thought done on deſign to poſſeſs the people with a high value of the chalice, as that which preſerved their ſouls; whereas the bread was only for the preſervation of their bodies. But Cranmer being ready to change any thing for which he ſaw good reaſon, did afterwards ſo alter it, that in both it was ſaid, Preſerve thy body and ſoul: and yet it ſtands ſo in the prayer, We do not preſume, &c. On all this Dr. Burnet ſaith he hath digreſſed ſo long, becauſe of the importance of the matter, and for ſatisfying the ſcruples that many ſtill have upon the laying aſide of confeſſion in our reformation.

COMMISSIONS were next given to examine the ſtate of the chantries and guildable lands. The protector and council were now in much trouble. The war with Scotland they found was like to grow chargeable, ſince they ſaw it was ſupported from France. There was a rebellion alſo broke out in Ireland, and the king was much indebted; nor could they expect any ſubſidies from the parliament; in which it had been ſaid, that they gave the chantry lands, that they might be delivered from all ſubſidies. Therefore the parliament was prorogued till winter. Upon this the whole council did, on the 17th of April, unanimouſly reſolve, That it was neceſſary to ſell 5000 l. a year of chantry lands for raiſing ſuch a ſum as the king's occaſions required; and Sir Henry Mildmay was appointed to treat about the ſale of them.

THE new communion-book was received over England without any oppoſition, only complaints were brought of Gardiner, that he did ſecretly detract from the king's proceedings: upon which, the council took occaſion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remember'd, how at firſt upon his refuſing to receive the king's injunctions, he had been put in the Fleet, where he had been well uſed, as if it had been his own houſe; (which is far contrary to his letters to the protector, of which mention has been already made) and that he, upon promiſe of conformity, had been diſcharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his promiſes, he had raiſed much ſtriſe and contention, and had cauſed all his ſervants to be ſecretly armed and harneſſed, and had put publick affronts on thoſe whom the council ſent down to preach in his dioceſe; for in ſome places, to diſgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of ſuch teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been ſent for a ſecond time, but again, upon his promiſe of conformity, was diſcharged, and order'd to ſtay at his own houſe in London. That there he had continued ſtill to meddle in publick matters, of which being again admoniſhed, he deſired that he might be ſuffered to clear himſelf of all miſrepreſentations that had been made of him, in a ſermon which he ſhould preach before the king, in which he ſhould openly declare how well he was ſatisfied with his proceedings: yet it is added, That in his ſermon, where there was a wonderful audience, he did moſt arrogantly meddle with ſome matters that were contrary to an expreſs command given both by word of mouth, and by letters; and in other matters, uſed ſuch words as had almoſt raiſed a great tumult in the very time, and had ſpoken very ſeditiouſly concerning the policy of the kingdom. So they ſaw that the clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it ſeeming neceſſary to terrify others by their proceedings with him, he was ſent to the Tower, and the door of his cloſet was ſealed up. Thus it is enter'd in the council-book, ſigned E. Somerſet, T. Cantuarien. W. St. John's, J. Ruſſel, and T. Cheyney. Yet it ſeems this order was not ſigned when it was made, but ſome years after; for the lord Ruſſel ſigned firſt Bedford, but remembring that at the time when this order was made he had not that title, therefore he daſhed it out; (but ſo it ſtill appears) and ſigned J. Ruſſel.

THE account that Gardiner himſelf gives of this buſineſs, is, That being diſcharged upon the act of pardon, he was deſired to promiſe that he would ſet forth the homilies; and a form was given him, to which he ſhould ſet his hand; but he, conſidering of it a fortnight, returned, and ſaid, he could not ſubſcribe it; ſo he was confined to his houſe. Then Ridley and Mr. Cecil (afterwards

wards the great lord Burleigh, lord treaſurer to queen Elizabeth, at that time ſecretary to the protector) were ſent to him, and ſo prevailed, that he did ſet his hand to it: but, upon ſome complaints that were made of him, he was ſent for after Whit-Sunday, and accuſed, that he had carried palms, and had crept to the croſs, and had a ſepulchre on Good Friday, which was contrary to the king's proclamations: all which he denied, and ſaid, he had and would ſtill give obedience to what the king ſhould command. That of affronting the king's preachers was objected to him, to which he anſwer'd, telling matter of fact how it was done; but he does not, in his writing, ſet it down. Then it was complained, that in a ſermon he had ſaid, The apoſtles came away rejoicing from the council; the council; the council; repeating it thus, to make it ſeem applicable to himſelf. This he denied. Then it was objected, that he preached the real preſence in the Sacrament, the word Real not being in the Scripture; and ſo it was not the ſetting forth the pure Word of GOD. He ſaid, he had not uſed the word Real, only he had aſſerted the preſence of CHRIST, in ſuch words as he had heard the archbiſhop of Canterbury diſpute for it againſt Lambert, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in London; but he deſired, that ſince he was not an offender, he might be at his liberty. He complained much of the ſongs made of him, and of the books written againſt him, and particularly one Philpot in Weſtminſter, whom he accounted a madman.

THEN he relates, that Cecil came to him, and propoſed to him to preach before the king, and that he ſhould write his ſermon; and alſo brought him ſome notes, which he wiſhed him to put in his ſermon: he ſaid he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an offender; nor would he make uſe of notes prepared by other men. Then he was privately brought to the protector, none but the lord St. John being preſent, who ſhewed him a paper containing the opinon of ſome lawyers, and of the king's power, and of a biſhop's authority, and of the puniſhment of diſobeying the king: but he deſired to ſpeak with thoſe lawyers, and ſaid, no ſubſcription of theirs ſhould oblige him to preach otherwiſe than as he was convinced. The protector ſaid, he ſhould either do that or do worſe. Secretary Smith came to him to preſs him further in ſome points; but what they were, is not mentioned: yet, by the other papers in that buſineſs, it appears they related to the king's authority when under age, and for juſtifying the king's proceedings in what had been done about the ceremonies, and that auricular confeſſion was indifferent. So the conteſt between him and the protector ended, and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, ſo that he ſhould treat plainly of thoſe things mention'd to him by Cecil. He choſe St. Peter's day, becauſe the Goſpel agreed to his purpoſe. Cecil ſhew'd him ſome notes, written with the king's hand, of the ſermons preached before him; eſpecially what was ſaid of the duty of a king; and warned him, that whenever he named the king, he ſhould add, and his council. To this, he made no anſwer; for though he thought it wiſely done of a king to uſe his council, yet being to ſpeak of the king's power according to Scripture, he did not think it neceſſary to add any thing of his council: and hearing, by a confuſed report, ſome ſecret matter, he reſolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the protector ſent him a meſſage, not to meddle with thoſe queſtions about the Sacrament, that were yet in controverſy among learned men; and that therefore he was reſolved there ſhould be no publick determination made of them beforehand in the pulpit. He ſaid, he could not forbear to ſpeak of the maſs, for he looked on it as the chief foundation of the Chriſtian Religion: but he doubted not that he ſhould ſo ſpeak of it, as to give them all content. So the day following the protector writ to him, requiring him, in the king's name, not to meddle with theſe points, but to preach concerning the articles given him, and about obedience, and good life, which would afford him matter enough for a long ſermon; ſince the other points were to be reſerved to a publick conſultation. The protector added, That he held it a great part of his duty under the king, not to ſuffer wilful perſons to diſſuade the people from receiving ſuch truths as ſhould be ſet forth by others. But Gardiner pretended that there was no controverſy about the preſence of CHRIST. And ſo the next day he took his text out of the Goſpel for the day, Thou art Chriſt, &c. In his ſermon he expreſſed himſelf very fully concerning the pope's ſupremacy, as juſtly aboliſhed, and the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries and chantries; he approved of the king's proceedings; he thought images might have been well uſed, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of maſſes ſatisfactory, and liked well the new order for the Communion. But he aſſerted largely the preſence of CHRIST's fleſh and blood in the Sacrament; upon which many of the aſſembly, that were indiſcreetly hot on both ſides, cried out, ſome approving, and others diſliking it. Of the king's authority under age, and of the power of the council in that caſe, he ſaid not a word; and upon that he was impriſoned.

THE occaſion of this was, the popiſh clergy began generally to have it ſpread among them, that though they had acknowledg'd the king's ſupremacy, yet they had never owned the council's ſupremacy: that the council could only ſee to the execution of the laws and orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the ſupremacy could not be exerciſed, till the king, in whoſe perſon it was veſted, came to be of age to conſider of matters himſelf. Upon this, the lawyers were conſulted, who did unanimouſly reſolve, that the ſupremacy being annexed to the regal dignity, was the ſame in a king under age, when it was executed by the council,

council, that it was in a king at full age; and therefore, things ordered by the council now, had the ſame authority in law that they could have when the king did act himſelf. But this did not ſatisfy the greater part of the clergy. Some of whom, by the high flatteries that had been given to kings in king Henry's time, ſeemed to fancy that there were degrees of divine illumination derived unto princes, by the anointing them at the coronation; and theſe not exerting themſelves till a king attained to a ripeneſs of underſtanding, they thought the ſupremacy was to lie dormant while he was ſo young. The protector and council endeavour'd to have got Gardiner to declare againſt this; but he would not meddle in it. How far he might ſet forward the other opinion, Dr. Burnet ſays he does not know. Theſe proceedings againſt him were thought too ſevere, and without law; but he being generally hated, they were not ſo much cenſured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable man.

AND thus were the orders made by the council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the uſage Gardiner met with; from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when ſo great a biſhop was ſo treated.

THE next thing Cranmer ſet about, was the compiling a Catechiſm, or large inſtruction of young perſons in the grounds of religion. In it, he reckons the two firſt Commandments but one; though, he ſays, many of the antients divided them in two: but the diviſion was of no great conſequence, ſo no part of the Decalogue was ſuppreſſed by the church. He ſhewed that the excuſes the papiſts had for images, were no other than what the heathens brought for their idolatry; who alſo ſaid, they did not worſhip the image, but that only which was repreſented by it. He particularly takes notice of the image of the Trinity. He ſhews how St. Peter would not ſuffer Cornelius, and the angel would not ſuffer St. John, to worſhip them. The believing that there is a virtue in one image more than in another, he accounts plain idolatry. Ezekias broke the brazen ſerpent, when abuſed, though it was a type or image of CHRIST, made by GOD's command, to which a miraculous virtue had been once given. So now there was good reaſon to break images, when they had been ſo abuſed to ſuperſtition and idolatry; and when they gave ſuch ſcandal to Jews and Mahometans, who generally accounted the Chriſtians idolaters on that account. He aſſerts, beſides the two Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, the power of reconciling ſinners to GOD, as a third; and fully owns the divine inſtitution of biſhops and prieſts; and wiſhes that the canons, and rites of publick penitence, were again reſtored; and exhorts much to confeſſion, and the people's dealing with their paſtors about their conſciences, that ſo they might, upon knowledge, bind and looſe according to the Goſpel. Having finiſhed this eaſy, but moſt uſeful work, he dedicated it to the king, and, in his epiſtle to him, complains of the great neglect that had been in former times, of catechiſing, and that confirmation had not been rightly adminiſtred, ſince it ought to be given only to thoſe of age, who underſtood the principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and did, upon knowledge, and with ſincere minds, renew their baptiſmal vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this reformation, the practice of the Roman Church in the matter of images, was held idolatrous. Cranmer's zeal for reſtoring the penitentiary canons is alſo clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aſide thoſe ſingular opinions which he formerly held of the eccleſiaſtical functions; for now, in a work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully ſets forth their divine inſtitution.

A general reformation of all the offices of the church is ſet about.

ALL theſe things made way for a greater work, which theſe ſelected biſhops and divines, who had laboured in the ſetting forth of the office of the Communion, were now preparing; which was, the entire reformation of the whole ſervice of the church. In order to this, they brought together all the offices uſed in England. In the ſouthern parts, thoſe after the uſe of Sarum were univerſally received, which were believed to have been compiled by Oſmund, biſhop of Sarum. In the north of England, they had other offices, after the uſe of York. In South Wales they had them after the uſe of Hereford. In North Wales after the uſe of Bangor. And in Lincoln, another ſort of an office proper to that ſee.

IN the primitive church, when the extraordinary gifts ceaſed, the biſhops of the ſeveral churches put their offices and prayers into ſuch a method, as was neareſt to what they had heard or remember'd from the apoſtles. And theſe liturgies were called by the apoſtles names from whoſe forms they had been compoſed; as, that at Jeruſalem carried the name of St. James, and that of Alexandria the name of St. Mark; though thoſe books that we have now under theſe names are certainly ſo interpolated, that they are of no great authority: but, in the fourth century, we have theſe liturgies firſt mentioned. The council of Laodicea appointed the ſame office of prayers to be uſed in the mornings and evenings. The biſhops continued to draw up new additions, and to put old forms into other methods. But this was left to every biſhop's care; nor was it made the ſubject of any publick conſultation, till St. Auſtin's time, when in their dealings with hereticks, they found they took advantages from ſome of the prayers that were in ſome churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there ſhould be no prayers uſed in the church, but upon common advice: after that the liturgies came to be more carefully conſidered. Formerly the worſhip of GOD was a pure and ſimple thing, and ſo it continued, till ſuperſtition had ſo infected the church, that thoſe forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more artificial rules, and dreſſed up with much ceremony. Gregory the Great was the firſt that took much care to make the church-

muſick very regular, and he did alſo put the liturgies in another method than had been formerly uſed: yet he had no ſuch fondneſs of his own compoſures, but left it to Auſtin the monk, whom he ſent over into England, when he conſulted him in it, either to uſe the Roman or French rituals, or any other, as he ſhould find they were moſt likely to edify the people. After this, in moſt ſees there were great variations; for as any prelate came to be canonized, or held in high eſteem by the people, ſome private collects or particular forms that he had uſed, were practiſed in his, or perhaps, as his fame ſpread, in the neighbouring dioceſe. In every age there were notable additions made, and all the writers almoſt, in the eighth and ninth centuries, employed their fancies to find out myſtical ſignifications for every rite that was then uſed; and ſo, as a new rite was added, it was no hard matter to add ſome myſtery to it. This had made the offices ſwell out of meaſure, and there was a great variety of them, miſſals, breviaries, rituals, pontificals, portoiſes, pies, graduals, antiphonals, pſalteries, hours, and a great many more. Every religious order had likewiſe their peculiar rites, with the ſaints days that belonged to their order, and ſervices for them; and the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a piece of the trade, that it was not eaſy to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it. So now it was reſolved to correct and examine theſe.

Dr. Burnet ſays he does not find it was ever brought under conſideration, whether they ſhould compoſe a form for all the parts of divine worſhip, or leave it to the ſudden and extemporary heats of thoſe who were to officiate, which ſome have called, ſince that time, The worſhipping by the Spirit. Of this way of ſerving GOD, they did not then dream; much leſs that the appointing of forms of prayer was an incroaching on the kingly office of CHRIST, but thought, whatever praying in the Spirit might have been in the apoſtles time, (where yet every man brought his pſalms, which are a ſort of prayers, as well as praiſes; and theſe look like ſome written compoſures, as St. Paul expreſſes it) that now to pray with warm affection and ſincere devotion, was ſpiritual worſhip; and that where it was the ſame thing that was to be daily asked of GOD, the uſing the expreſſions, was the ſign of a ſteady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for; whereas the heat that new words raiſed, look'd rather like a warmth in the fancy: nor could it agree with the principles of a reformation, that was to diveſt the churchmen of that unlimited authority which they had formerly exerciſed over mens conſciences, to leave them at liberty to make the people pray after them, as they pleaſed; this being as great a reſignation of the people, when their devotion depended on the ſudden heats of their paſtors, as the former ſuperſtition had made of their faith and conſcience to them. So it being reſolved to bring the whole worſhip of GOD under ſet forms, they ſet one general rule to themſelves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelties ſake, or meerly becauſe it had been formerly uſed. They reſolved to retain ſuch things as the primitive church had practiſed, cutting off ſuch abuſes as the latter ages had grafted on them, and to continue the uſe of ſuch other things, which, tho' they had been brought in not ſo early, yet were of good uſe to beget devotion; and were ſo much recommended to the people by the practice of them, that the laying theſe aſide would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made; and therefore they reſolved to make no change without very good and weighty reaſons. In which they conſider'd the practice of our Saviour, who did not only comply with the rites of Judaiſm himſelf, but even the prayer he gave to his diſciples, was framed according to their forms; and his two great inſtitutions of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, did conſiſt of rites that had been uſed among the Jews. And ſince he, who was delivering a new religion, and was authorized in the higheſt manner that ever any was, did yet ſo far comply with received practices, as from them to take thoſe which he ſanctified for the uſe of his church; it ſeemed much fitter for thoſe who had no ſuch extraordinary warrant to give them authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuſes, to let the world ſee, they did not, from the wanton deſire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with thoſe reſolutions they enter'd on their work.

IN the ſearch of the former offices, they found an infinite deal of ſuperſtition in the conſecrations of water, ſalt, bread, incenſe, candles, fire, bells, churches, images, altars, croſſes, veſſels, garments, palms, and flowers; all looked like the rites of heatheniſm, and ſeemed to ſpring from the ſame fountain. When the water or ſalt were bleſſed, it was expreſſed to be to this end, that they might be health both to ſoul and body, and devils (who might well laugh at theſe tricks which they had taught them) were abjured not to come to any place where they were ſprinkled: and the holy bread was bleſſed, to be a defence againſt all diſeaſes, and ſnares of the devil; and the holy incenſe, that devils might not come near the ſmoak of it, but that all who ſmelled at it might perceive the virtue of the HOLY GHOST: and the aſhes were bleſſed ſo, that all who were covered with them, might deſerve to obtain the remiſſion of their ſins. All thoſe things had drawn the people to ſuch confidence in them, that they generally thought, that without thoſe harder terms of true holineſs, they might, upon ſuch ſuperſtitious obſervances, be ſure of heaven. So all theſe they reſolved to caſt out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw men away from a lively application to GOD through CHRIST, according to the method of the Goſpel. Then the many rites in ſacramental actions were conſider'd; all which had ſwelled up to an infinite heap: and as ſome of theſe, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown

out, ſo the others were brought back to a greater ſimplicity. In no part of religion was the corruption of the former offices more remarkable, than in the prieſts granting abſolution to the living and the dead. To ſuch as confeſſed, the abſolution was thus granted: I abſolve thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. To which this was added, And I grant to thee that all the indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any prelate, with the bleſſings of them, all the ſprinklings of holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breaſt, the contritions of thy heart, this confeſſion, and all thy other devout confeſſions, all thy faſtings, abſtinences, alms-givings, watchings, diſciplines, prayers, and pilgrimages, and all the good thou haſt done, or ſhall do, and all the evils thou haſt ſuffered, or ſhall ſuffer, for GOD; the paſſions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the merits of the glorious and bleſſed Virgin Mary, and of all other ſaints, and the ſuffrages of all the holy catholick church, turn to thee for the remiſſion of theſe, and all other thy ſins; the increaſe of thy merits, and the attainment of everlaſting rewards. When extream unction was given to dying perſons, they applied it to the ears, lips, noſe, and other parts, with this prayer: By this holy unction, and his own moſt tender mercy, and by the interceſſion of the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the ſaints, may God pardon thee whatever thou haſt ſinned, by thy hearing, ſpeaking, or ſmelling, and ſo in the other parts. And when the dead body was laid in the grave, this abſolution was ſaid over it; The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave to St. Peter and his other diſciples power to bind and looſe, abſolve thee from all the guilt of thy ſins; and ſo far as is committed to my weakneſs, be thou abſolved before the tribunal of our Lord; and may'ſt thou have eternal life, and live for evermore. This was thought the higheſt abuſe poſſible; when in giving the hopes of heaven, and the pardon of ſins, which were of all the other parts of religion the moſt important, there were ſuch mixtures; and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by Jeſus Chriſt, and that upon the ſincere belief and obedience of his Goſpel, was now aſcribed to ſo many other procuring cauſes. Theſe things had poſſeſſed the world with that conceit that there was a trick for ſaving ſouls, beſides that plain method which Chriſt had taught; and that the prieſts had the ſecret of it in their hands; ſo that thoſe who would not come under the yoke of Chriſt, and be ſaved that way, needed only to apply themſelves to prieſts, and purchaſe their favour, and the buſineſs would be done.

THERE were two other changes, which run through the whole offices. One was, the tranſlating them into a vulgar tongue: the Jewiſh Worſhip was either in Hebrew, or, after the captivity, in the Syriac, the vulgar tongues of Paleſtine. The apoſtles always officiated in the tongues that were beſt underſtood; ſo that St. Paul did copiouſly cenſure thoſe who in prayers or pſalms, uſed any language that was not underſtood. Origen and Baſil, with all the fathers that had occaſion to mention this, took notice, that every one in their own tongue worſhipped GOD. After the renting of the Roman Empire by the Goths, and other barbarous nations, the Roman Tongue did ſlowly mix with their tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from itſelf by degrees; yet it was ſo long a doing, that it was not thought neceſſary to tranſlate the Liturgy into their languages. But in the ninth century, when the Slavons were converted, it being deſired that they might have divine offices in their own language, while ſome oppoſed it, a voice was ſaid to be heard, Let every tongue praiſe GOD; upon which, pope John the VIIIth writ to Methodius their biſhop, that it might be granted, and founded it on St. Paul's epiſtle to the Corinthians, and on theſe words of David, Let every tongue praiſe the Lord. And in the fourth council of Lateran it was decreed, That biſhops who lived in places where they were mix'd with Greeks, ſhould provide fit prieſts for performing divine offices, according to the rites and language of thoſe to whom they miniſtred. But the Roman church, though ſo merciful to the Greeks and Slavons, was more cruel to the reſt of Europe: and ſince only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, had been written on the croſs of Chriſt by Pilate, they argued that theſe languages were thereby conſecrated; though it is not eaſy to apprehend what holineſs could be derived into theſe tongues by Pilate, who order'd theſe inſcriptions. It was alſo pretended, that it was a part of the communion of ſaints, that every where the worſhip ſhould be in the ſame tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raiſe the value of the prieſtly function, by keeping all divine offices in a tongue not underſtood; which in people otherwiſe well ſeaſoned with ſuperſtition, might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the reſt of the world from them. There was alſo a vaſt number of holidays, formerly obſerved, with ſo many prayers and hymns belonging to them, and ſo many leſſons that were to be read; which were, many of them, ſuch impudent forgeries, that, the whole breviary and miſſal being full of theſe, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole breviary ſcarce one ſaint, but the leſſons concerning him contain ſome ridiculous legend, ſuch as indeed could not be well read in a vulgar tongue without the ſcorn and laughter of the hearers; and for moſt part the prayers and hymns do relate to thoſe lying ſtories. Many of the prayers and hymns were alſo in ſuch a ſtile, that the pardon of ſin, grace, and heaven were immediately deſired from the ſaints, as if theſe things had come from their bounty, or by their merits, or were given by them only.

THE reformers having thus conſider'd the corruptions of the former offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the prieſts had officiated in ſome garments, which were appropriated to that uſe, as ſurplices, copes, and other veſtments; and it was long under conſideration whether theſe ſhould continue. It was objected, that theſe

Garments had been Parts of the Train of the Maſs, and had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed, only to ſet it off with the more Pomp. On the other hand, it was argued, That as White was antiently the Colour of the Prieſts Garments in the Moſaical Diſpenſation, ſo it was uſed in the African Churches in the fourth Century: And it was thought a natural Expreſſion of the Purity and Decency that became Prieſts: Beſides, the Clergy were then generally extream poor, ſo that they could ſcarce afford themſelves decent Cloaths; the People alſo running from the other Extream of ſubmitting too much to the Clergy, were now as much inclined to deſpiſe them, and to make light of the Holy Function; ſo that if they ſhould officiate in their own mean Garments, it might make the Divine Offices grow alſo into Contempt: And therefore, it was reſolved to continue the Uſe of them; and it was ſaid, That their being bleſſed, and uſed ſuperſtitiouſly, gave as ſtrong an Argument againſt the Uſe of Churches, and Bells, but that St. Paul had ſaid, That every Creature of GOD was good, and even the Meat of the Sacrifice offered to an Idol, than which there could be no greater Abuſe, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they ſaw no Neceſſity, becauſe of a former Abuſe, to throw away Habits, that had ſo much Decency in them, and had been formerly in Uſe.

IN the compiling the Offices, they began with Morning and Evening Prayer. Theſe were put in the ſame Form they are now; only there was no Confeſſion nor Abſolution; the Office beginning with the LORD's Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandments were not ſaid, as they are now; but in other Things, it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the Order of the Communion, formerly mentioned, was put into it. The Offertory was to be made of Bread and Wine mixed with Water. Then was ſaid the Prayer for the State of CHRIST's Church, in which they gave Thanks to GOD for his wonderful Grace declared in his Saints, in the Bleſſed Virgin, the Patriarchs, Apoſtles, Prophets, and Martyrs; and they commended the Saints departed to GOD's Mercy and Peace, that at the Day of the Reſurrection we with them might be ſet on CHRIST's Right Hand. To this, the Conſecratory Prayer which we now uſe, was joined as a Part of it; only with theſe Words that are ſince left out, With thy Holy Spirit vouchſafe to bleſs, and ſanctify theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son, &c. To the Conſecration was alſo joyned the Prayer of Thankſgiving now uſed. After the Conſecration, all Elevation was forbidden, which had been firſt uſed as a Rite expreſſing how CHRIST was lifted up on the Croſs; but was, after the Belief of the Corporal Preſence, made Uſe of to ſhew the Sacrament, that the People might fall down and worſhip it. And it was ordered, that the whole Office of the Communion, except the Conſecratory Prayer, ſhould be uſed on all Holidays, when there was no Communion, to put People in Mind of it, and of the Sufferings of CHRIST. The Bread was to be unleavened, round, but no Print on it, and ſomewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was antiently put in the People's Hands, yet becauſe ſome might carry it away, and apply it to Superſtitious Uſes, it was ordered to be put by the Prieſt into their Mouths. It is clear, that CHRIST delivered it into the Hands of the Apoſtles, and it ſo continued for many Ages, as appears by ſeveral remarkable Stories of Holy Men carrying it with them in their Journies. In the Greek Church, where the Bread and Wine were mingled together, ſome began to think it more decent to receive it in little Spoons of Gold, than in their Hands; but that was condemned by the Council in Trullo: Yet ſoon after they began in the Latin Church to appoint Men to receive it with their Hands, but Women to take it in a Linnen Cloth, which was called their Dominical. But when the Belief of the Corporal Preſence was received, then a new Way of receiving was invented among other Things to ſupport it: The People were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the Fleſh of their Saviour, and therefore the Prieſt's Thumb and Fingers were particularly anointed, as a neceſſary Diſpoſition for ſo holy a Contract, and ſo it was by them put into the Mouths of the People. A Litany was alſo gathered, conſiſting of many ſhort Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages between them; and was the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only they had one Suffrage that

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we have not, To be delivered from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable Enormities.

IN Baptiſm there was, beſides the Forms which we ſtill retain, a Croſs at firſt made on the Child's Forehead, and Breaſt, with an Abjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the Prieſt was to take the Child by the Right Hand, and to place him within the Font: There he was to be dipt thrice, once on the Right Side, once on the Left, and once on the Breaſt; which was to be diſcreetly done: But, if the Child were weak, it was ſufficient to ſprinkle Water on his Face. Then was the Prieſt to put a White Veſtment, or Chriſome, on him, for a Token of Innocence, and to anoint him on the Head, with a Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghoſt. In Confirmation, thoſe that came, were to be Catechiſed, which having in it a formal Engagement to make good the Baptiſmal Vow, was all that was asked: (The Catechiſm then was the ſame that is now, only there is ſince added an Explanation of the Sacraments:) This being ſaid, the Biſhop was to ſign them with the Croſs, and to lay his Hands on them, and ſay, I ſign thee with the Sign of the Croſs, and lay my Hands on thee, in the Name of the Father, &c. The Sick, who deſired to be anointed, might have the Unction on their Forehead, or their Breaſt only; with a Prayer, that as their Body was outwardly anointed with Oyl, ſo they might receive the HOLY GHOST, with Health, and Victory over Sin, and Death. At Funerals, they recommended the Soul departed to GOD's Mercy, and prayed that his Sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven, and and that his Body might be raiſed at the laſt Day.

THEY alſo took Care that thoſe who could not come, or be brought to Church, ſhould not therefore be deprived of the Uſe of the Sacraments. The Church of Rome had raiſed the Belief of the indiſpenſible Neceſſity of the Sacraments ſo high, that they taught they did, ex opere operato, by the very Action it ſelf, without inward Acts, juſtify and confer Grace, unleſs there were a Bar put to it by the Receiver; and the firſt Riſe of the Queſtions about Juſtification ſeems to have come from this; For, that the Church teaching that Men were juſtified by Sacramental Actions, the Reformers oppoſed this, and thought Men were juſtified by the internal Acts of the Mind: If they had held at this, the Controverſy might have been managed with much greater Advantages; which they loſt, in a great meaſure, by deſcending to ſome minuter Subtleties. In the Church of Rome, purſuant to their Belief concerning the Neceſſity of the Sacraments, Women were allowed, in extream Caſes, to Baptize: and the Midwives commonly did it; which might be the Beginning of their being licenſed by Biſhops to exerciſe that Calling. And they alſo believed, that a ſimple Attrition with the Sacraments was ſufficient for Salvation in thoſe who were grown up; and upon theſe Grounds the Sacraments were adminiſtred to the Sick.

IN the Primitive Church they ſent Portions of the Sacrament to thoſe who were Sick, or in Priſon; and did it not only without Pomp or Proceſſion, but ſent it often by the Hands of Boys and other Laicks, as appears from the famed Story of Serapion: Which, as it ſhews, did not then believe it was the very Fleſh and Blood of CHRIST; ſo when that Doctrine was received, it was a Natural Effect of that Belief, to have the Sacrament carried by the Prieſt himſelf with ſome Pomp and Adoration. The Antients thought it more decent and ſuitable to the Communion of Saints, to conſecrate the Elements only in the Church, and to ſend Portions to the Sick, thereby expreſſing their Communion with the reſt. The Reformers conſidering theſe Things, ſteered a middle Courſe: They judged the Sacraments neceſſary, where they could be had, as Appointments inſtituted by CHRIST; and though they thought it more expedient to have all Baptiſms done in the Church, at the Fonts, than in private Houſes; thereby ſignifying, that the Baptized were admitted to the Fellowſhip of that Church; yet ſince our SAVIOUR had ſaid, That where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midſt of them; they thought it favoured too much of a Superſtition to the Walls or Fonts of Churches, to tie this Action ſo to theſe, that where Children, either through Infirmity, or the Sharpneſs of Weather, could not be, without Danger, carried to Church, they ſhould be denied Baptiſm: But ſtill they thought publick Baptiſm more expreſſive of the Communion of the Saints,

Saints, ſo that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in Caſes of Neceſſity. This has ſince grown to a great Abuſe; many thinking it a Piece of State to have their Children Baptized in their Houſes; and ſo bringing their Pride with them even into the moſt ſacred Performances. There may be alſo a Fault in the Miniſters, who are too eaſily brought to do it. But it is now become ſo univerſal, that all the Endeavours of ſome of our Biſhops have not been able to bring it back, to the firſt Deſign of not Baptizing in private Houſes; excepting only where there was ſome viſible Danger in carrying the Children to Church.

As for the other Sacrament, it was thought by our Reformers, that according to the Mind of the Primitive Church, none ſhould be denied it in their Extremities; it never being more neceſſary than at that Time, to uſe all Means that might ſtrengthen the Faith, and quicken the Devotion of dying Perſons; it being alſo moſt expedient that they ſhould then profeſs their dying in the Faith and with a good Conſcience, and in Charity with all Men: Therefore they ordered the Communion to be given to the Sick, and that before it were ſo given, the Prieſt ſhould examine their Conſciences; and upon the ſincere Profeſſion of their Faith, and the Confeſſion of ſuch Sins as oppreſſed their Conſciences, with the doing of all that was then in their Power, for the compleating of their Repentance, as the forgving Injuries, and dealing juſtly with all People, he ſhould give them the Peace of the Church in a formal Abſolution, and the Holy Euchariſt. But that they might avoid the Pomp of vain Proceſſions on the one hand, and the Indecencies of ſending the Sacrament by common Hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a Congregation about the ſick Perſon, and there to conſecrate and give the Sacrament to that ſmall Aſſembly: where, as CHRIST's Promiſe, of being in the midſt of two or three that are gathered together in his Name, ſhould have put an End to the weak Exceptions ſome have made to theſe private Communions; ſo on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater Part retain ſtill too much of the Superſtition of Popery; as if the Prieſts Abſolution with the Sacrament, and ſome ſlight Sorrow for Sin, would be a ſure Paſſport for their Admittance to Heaven; which it is certain can only be had, upon ſo true a Faith as carries a ſincere Repentance with a Change of Heart and Life along with it: for to ſuch only the Mercies of GOD, through the Merits of JESUS CHRIST are applied in all ordinary Caſes.

The Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer.

To all this they prefixed a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill before the Common-Prayer-Book. In which Preface they make a Difference between thoſe Ceremonies that were brought in with a good Intent, and were afterwards abuſed; and others that had been brought in out of Vanity and Superſtition at firſt, and grew to be more abuſed: The one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for Decency and Edification. Some were ſo ſet on their old Forms, that they thought it a great Matter to depart from any of them; others were deſirous to innovate in every Thing; between both which they had kept a Mean. The Burthen of Ceremonies in St. Auſtin's Days was ſuch, that he complained of them then as intolerable, by which the State of Chriſtians was worſe than that of the Jews; but theſe were ſwelled to a far greater Number ſince his Days, which did indeed darken Religion, and had brought Chriſtians under a heavy Yoke. Therefore they had only reſerved ſuch as were decent and apt to ſtir up Mens Minds with ſome good Signification. Many Ceremonies had been ſo abuſed by Superſtition and Avarice, that it was neceſſary to take them quite away: But ſince it was fit to retain ſome, for Decency and Order, it ſeemed better to keep thoſe which were old, than to ſeek new ones: But theſe that were kept, were not thought equal with GOD's Law, and ſo were upon juſt Cauſes to be altered: They were plain and eaſy to be underſtood, and not very ſubject to be abuſed. Nor did they in retaining theſe, condemn other Nations, or preſcribe to any but their own People. And thus was this Book made ready againſt the next Meeting of Parliament.

Reflections made on the new Liturgy.

IN it the Uſe of the Croſs was retained, ſince it had been uſed by the antient Chriſtians, as publick Declaration that they were not aſhamed of the Croſs of CHRIST. Though they acknowledged this had been ſtrangely abuſed in the latter Ages, in which the bare Uſe of the Croſs was thought to have

have ſome Magical Virtue in it; and this had gone ſo far that in the Roman Pontifical it was declared, That the Croſier Staff was to be worſhiped with that ſupream Degree of Adoration, called Latria. But it was thought fit to retain it in ſome Parts of Worſhip: And the rather becauſe it was made Uſe of among the People to defame the Reformers, that they had no Veneration for the Croſs of CHRIST. And therefore, as an outward Expreſſion of that, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and in the Office of Confirmation, and in the Conſecration of the Sacramental Elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this Difference, that the Sign of the Croſs was not made with the Opinion of any Virtue, or Efficacy in it; to drive away evil Spirits, or to preſerve one out of Dangers, which were thought Virtues that followed the Uſe of it in the Roman Church; for in Baptiſm, as they uſed the Sign of the Croſs, they added an Adjuration to the evil Spirit not to violate it, and in the making it ſaid, Receive the Sign of the Croſs both in thy Forehead and in thy Heart, and take the Faith of the Heavenly Precepts. Thus a Sacramental Virtue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the Reformers thought could not be done without a Warrant from Divine Inſtitution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the Uſe of it only as an Expreſſion of the Belief of the Church, and as a Badge of Chriſtianity, with ſuch Words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no Exception. This ſeems more neceſſary to be well explained, by Reaſon of the Scruples that many have ſince raiſed againſt ſignificant Ceremonies, as if it were too great a Preſumption in any Church to appoint ſuch; ſince theſe ſeem to be of the Nature of Sacraments. Ceremonies that ſignify the Conveyance of a Divine Grace, and Virtue, are, indeed, Sacraments, and ought not to be uſed without an expreſs Inſtitution in Scripture: but Ceremonies that only ſignify the Senſe we have, which is ſometimes expreſſed as ſignificantly in dumb Shews as in Words, are of another Kind; and it is as much within the Power of the Church to appoint ſuch to be uſed, as it is to order Collects or Prayers, Words and Signs being but different Ways of expreſſing our Thoughts. The Belief of CHRIST's Corporal Preſence was yet under Conſideration. And they obſerving wiſely how the Germans had broken, by their running too ſoon into Conteſts about that, reſolved to keep up, ſtill, the old General Expreſſions of the Sacraments being the Whole and True Body of CHRIST, without coming to a more particular Explanation of it. The Uſe of Oyl on ſo many Occaſions, was taken from the Antient Chriſtians, who as Theophilus ſays, began early to be anointed; and underſtood thoſe Words of St. Paul, Of GOD's Anointing and Sealing, literally. It was alſo antiently applied to the receiving of Penitents. But it was not uſed about the Sick, from the Apoſtles Time till about the 10th Century. And then, from what St. James writ to thoſe in the Diſperſion, of ſending for the Elders to come to ſuch as were ſick, who ſhould anoint them, with Oyl, and their Sins ſhould be forgave them, and they ſhould recover; they came to give it to thoſe that were dying; but not while there was any Hope of Life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. James writ, related to that extraordinary Gift of Healing, by Impoſition of Hands, and Anointing with Oyl, which yet continued in the Church when he writ that Epiſtle. And it is plain, That this Paſſage in St. James, was not ſo underſtood by the Antients, as it is now in the Roman Church; ſince the Antients, though they uſed Oyl on many Occaſions, yet applied it not at all to the Sick, till after ſo many Ages, that groſs Superſtition had ſo diſpoſed the World to new Rites, that there could be no Diſcovery or Invention more acceptable, than the Addition of a new Ceremony; though they were then much oppreſſed with the old ones.

THE Changes that were made, and thoſe that were deſigned to be made, occaſioned great Heats every where. And the Pulpits generally contending with one another; to reſtrain that Claſhing, the Power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Biſhops of each Dioceſe, ſo that none might give them, but the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Yet that not proving an effectual Reſtraint, on the 23d of September, a Proclamation is ſaid to have come out, ſetting forth, That whereas, according to former Proclamations, none was to preach, but ſuch as obtained Licenſes from the King or the Archbiſhop, yet ſome of

thoſe that were ſo licenſed, had abuſed that Permiſſion, and had carried themſelves irreverently contrary to the Inſtructions that were ſent them. Therefore the King intending to have ſhortly an uniform Order over all the Kingdom, and to put an End to all Controverſies in Religion; about which ſome Biſhops and other Learned Men were then aſſembled; and though many of the Preachers ſo licenſed had carried themſelves wiſely, to the Honour of GOD, and the King's great Contentation; yet till the Order now preparing ſhould be ſet forth, he did inhibit all Manner of Perſons to Preach in any publick Audience; to the Intent that the Clergy might apply themſelves to Prayer, for a Bleſſing on what the King was now about to do, (not doubting but the People would be employed likewiſe in Prayer, and hearing the Homilies read in their Churches, and be ready to receive that uniform Order that was to be ſet forth:) And and the inferior Magiſtrates were required to ſee to the Execution of this. Dr. Burnet (*) ſays he never met with any Footſtep of this Proclamation, neither in Records, nor in Letters, nor in any Book written at that Time: But Mr. Fuller has printed it, and Dr. Heylin has given an Abſtract of it from him. If Fuller had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined: But we know not, ſaith he, whether he ſaw the printed Proclamation, or only a Copy of it. And if he ſaw but a Copy, there is Reaſon to doubt it.

The Affairs of Scotland.

HAVING thus given an Account of the Progreſs of the Reformation this Summer, the Author turns to Tranſactions of State, and looks firſt towards Scotland. The Scots gaining Time the laſt Winter, and being in daily Expectation of Succours from France, were reſolved to carry on the War. The Governor began the Year with the Seige of Broughty Caſtle, a little below Dundee: But the Engliſh that were in it defended themſelves ſo well, that after they had been beſieged three Months, the Siege was raiſed, and only ſo many were left about it as might cover the Country from their Excurſions. The Engliſh, on the other Side, had taken and fortified Hadingtoun; and were at Work alſo at Lauder, to make it ſtrong. The former of theſe, lying in a Plain, and in one of the moſt fruitful Counties of Scotland, within twelve Miles of Edinburgh, was a very fit Place to be kept as a Curb upon the Country. About the End of May, 6000 Men were ſent from France under the Command of Deſſie: 3000 of theſe were Germans, commanded by the Rhinegrave; 2000 of them were French, and a Thouſand were of other Nations. They landed at Leith; and the Governor having gathered 8000 Scots to join with them, they ſat down before Hadingtoun; and here the Scottiſh Nobility entered into a Conſultation about their Affairs.

THE Protector had ſent a Propoſition to them, that there might be a Truce for ten Years. (But whether he offered to remove the Garriſons, does not appear.) This he was forced to upon many Accounts. He ſaw the War was like to laſt long, and to draw on great Expence, and would certainly end in another War with France; he durſt not any more go from Court, and march himſelf at the Head of the Army, and leave the King to the Practices of his Brother: There were alſo great Diſcontents in England; many were offended with the Changes made in Religion; the Commons complained geerally of Oppreſſion, and of the encloſing of Grounds, of which the ſad Effects broke out next Year: He began to labour under the Envy of the Nobility; the Clergy were almoſt diſpleaſed with him; and the State of Affairs in Germany made it neceſſary to join with the King of France againſt the Emperor. All this made him very deſirous of ſuch a Peace with Scotland, as might at leaſt preſerve the Queen from being diſpoſed of, for ten Years. In that Time, by Treaty and Penſions, they might hope to gain their Ends; more certainly than by a War, which only inflamed the Scots againſt them; according to the witty Saying of one of the Scots, who being aſked what he thought of the Match with England, ſaid, He knew not how he ſhould like the Marriage, but he was ſure he did not like the Way of Wooing. On the other hand, the French preſſed the Scots to ſend their young Queen into France, in the Ships that had brought over their Forces; who ſhould be married to the Dauphin, and then they

(*) But this Proclamation is printed in the Collection of Proclamations, made and iſſued in the three or four firſt Years of Edward the VIth, printed A. D. 1550, and is dated the 23d of September.

might depend on the Protection of France. Many were for accepting the Propoſition from England, (particularly all thoſe who ſecretly favoured the Reformation:) They thought it would give them preſent Quiet, and free them from all the Diſtractions, which they either felt, or might apprehend, from a laſting War, with ſo powerful an Enemy: Whereas the ſending away of their Queen would put them out of a Capacity of obtaining a Peace, if the War this Year proved as unſucceſsful as it was the laſt; and the Defence they had from France was almoſt as bad as the Invaſions of the Engliſh; for the French were very inſolent, and committed great Diſorders. But all the Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of their Ruin by the Marriage with England, that they never judged themſelves ſafe till the Thing was out of their Power, by the ſending their Queen into France. And it was ſaid, That when once the Engliſh ſaw the Hopes of the Marriage irrecoverably loſt, they would ſoon grow weary of the War: For then the King of France would engage in the Defence of Scotland with his whole Force; ſo that nothing would keep up the War ſo much as having their Queen ſtill among them. To this many of the Nobility yielded, being corrupted by Money from France; and the Governor conſented to it; for which he was to be made Duke of Chaſtelherault, in France, and to have an Eſtate of 12,000 Livres a Year: And ſo it was agreed to ſend their Queen away. This being gained, the French Ships ſet Sail to Sea, as if they had been to return to France; but ſailed round Scotland by the Iſles of Orkney, and came into Dunbriton-Frith, near to which the Queen was kept in Dunbriton-Caſtle; and receiving her from thence, with an Honourable Convoy that was ſent to attend on her, they carried her over to Bretaigne in France, and ſo by eaſy Journies ſhe was brought to Court, where her Unkles received her with great Joy, hoping by her Means to raiſe and eſtabliſh their Fortunes in France.

IN the mean Time the Siege of Hadingtoun was carried on with great Valour, on both Sides. The French were aſtoniſhed at the Courage; the Nimbleneſs, and Labours of the Scotch Highlanders; who were half naked; but capable of great Hardſhips, and run with marvellous Swiftneſs. In one Sally which the Beſieged made, one of thoſe got an Engliſh-Man on his Shoulders, and carried him away, with that quickneſs that nothing could ſtop him; and though the Engliſh-Man bit him ſo in the Neck, that as ſoon as he had brought him into the Camp, he himſelf fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by Deſſie. The Engliſh defended themſelves no leſs couragiouſly; and though a Recruit of about 1000 Foot and 300 Horſe, that were ſent from Berwick, led by Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir Tho. Palmer, was ſo fatally intercepted, that they were almoſt all to a Man killed, yet they loſt no Courage. Another Party, of about 300, eſcaped the Ambuſh laid for them and got into the Town, with a great deal of Ammunition and Proviſions, of which the Beſieged were come to be in Want. But at the ſame Time both Home-Caſtle and Faſ-Caſtle were loſt. The former was taken by Treachery: For ſome coming in as Deſerters, ſeeming to be very zealous for the Engliſh Quarrel, and being too much truſted by the Governor, and going often out to bring Intelligence, gave the Lord Home Notice, That on that Side where the Rock was, the Engliſh kept no good Watches, truſting to the Steepneſs of the Place; ſo they agreed that ſome ſhould come and climb the Rock, to whom they ſhould give Aſſiſtance; which was accordingly done, and ſo it was ſurprized in the Night. The Governor of Faſ-Caſtle had ſummoned the Country People to bring him in Proviſions; upon which (by a common Stratagem) Soldiers coming, as Countrymen, threw down their Carriages at the Gates, and fell on the Centinels; and ſo the Signal being given, ſome, that lay concealed near at hand, came in Time to aſſiſt them and took the Caſtle.

THE Protector, till the Army was gathered together, ſent a Fleet of Ships to diſturb the Scots, by the Deſcents they ſhould make in divers Places; and his Brother being Admiral, he commanded him to go to his Charge. He landed firſt at Fife, at St. Minins, but there the Queen's Natural Brother, James, afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland, gathered the Country People together, and made Head againſt them. The Engliſh were 1200, and had brought their Cannon to Land; but the Scots charged them ſo home, that they forced them to

their

their Ships: Many were drowned, and many killed; the Scots reckoned the Number of the ſlain to be 600, and 100 Priſoners taken. The next Deſcent they made was no more proſperous to them; for, landing in the Night at Montroſe, Ærſkin of Dun gathered the Country together, and divided them in three Bodies, ordering one to appear, ſoon after the former had engaged: the Enemy, ſeeing a ſecond, and a third Body coming againſt them, and apprehending greater Numbers, run back to their Ships; but with ſo much Loſs, that of 800 who had landed, the third Man got not ſafe to the Ships again. So the Admiral returned, having got nothing but Loſs and Diſgrace by the Expedition.

BUT now the Engliſh Army came into Scotland, commanded by the Earl of Shrewſbury: though both the Scotch Writers and Thuanus ſay, the Earl of Lennox had the Chief Command; but he only came with the Earl of Shrewſbury, as knowing the Country and People beſt, and ſo being the fitter both to get Intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was Room for it. The Scots were by this Time gone home, for the moſt Part; and the Nobility, with Deſſie, agreed, that it was not fit to put all to Hazard, and therefore raiſed the Siege of Hadingtoun and marched back to Edinburgh. The Lord Grey, with a great Part of the Engliſh Army, followed him in the Rear, but did not engage him into any great Action; by which a good Opportunity was loſt; for the French were in great Diſorder. The Engliſh Army came into Hadingtoun. They conſiſted of about 17,000 Men; of which Number 7000 were Horſe; and 3000 of the Foot were German Landſknights, whom the Protector had entertained in his Service. Theſe Germans were ſome of the broken Troops of the Proteſtant Army, who, ſeeing the State of their own Country deſperate, offered their Service to the Protector. He too eaſily entertained them; reckoning, that being Proteſtants, they would be ſure to him, and would depend wholly on himſelf. But this proved a fatal Counſel to him; the Engliſh having been always jealous of a Standing, but much more of a Foreign Force about their Prince; ſo there was great Occaſion given by this to thoſe who traded in ſowing Jealouſies among the People. The Engliſh, having victualled Hadingtoun, and repaired the Fortifications, returned back into their own Country. But had they gone on to Edinburgh, they had found Things there in great Confuſion. For Deſſie, when he got thither, having loſt 500 of his Men in the Retreat, went to quarter his Soldiers in the Town; but the Provoſt, (ſo is the Chief Magiſtrate their called) oppoſed it. The French broke in with Force, and killed him and his Son, with all they found in the Streets, Men, Women, and Children, and as a Spie, whom the Engliſh had in Edinburgh, gave them Notice, the Scots were now more alienated from the French than from the Engliſh. The French had carried it very gently, till the Queen was ſent away; but reckoned Scotland now a Conquered Country, and a Province to France. So the Scots began, though too late, to repent the ſending away of the Queen: But it ſeems the Engliſh had Orders not to venture too far; for the Hopes of the Marriage were now gone, and the Protector had no Mind to engage in a War with France, Theſe things happened in the Begining of October. Deſſie, apprehending that at Hadingtoun they were now ſecure, the Siege being ſo lately raiſed, reſolved to try if he could carry the Place by Surprize. The Engliſh from thence had made Excurſions as far as Edinburgh; in one of which the French fell on them, purſued them, and killed about 200, and took 120 Priſoners, almoſt within their Works. Soon after, Deſſie marched in the Night, and ſurprized one of their Outworks, and was come to the Gates, where the Place had been certainly loſt, if it had not been for a French Deſerter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great Cannon, which being diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of the French, killed ſo many, and put the reſt in ſuch Diſorder, that Deſſie was forced to quit the Attempt. From thence he went and fortified Leith, which was then but a mean Village; but the Situation of the Place being recommended by the Security it now had, it ſoon came to be one of the beſt Peopled Towns in Scotland. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take Broughty-Caſtle, and to recover Dundee, which were there in the Hands of the Engliſh; But he was ordered by the Queen Regent to make an Inroad into England. There, after ſome

ſlight

liſh had the worſt, the Scotch and French came in as far as Newcaſtle, and returned loaded with Spoil; which the French divided among themſelves, allowing the Scots no Share of it. An Engliſh Prieſt was taken, who bore that Diſgrace of his Country ſo heavily, that he threw himſelf on the Ground, and would not eat, nor ſo much as open his Eyes, but lay thus proſtrate till he died. This the French who ſeldom let their Misfortunes afflict them, looked on with much Aſtoniſhment. But at that Time; the Engliſh had fortified Inch-keith, an Iſland in the Frith, and put 800 Men in it. Seventeen Days after that, Deſſie brought his Forces from Leith, and recovered it; having killed 400 Engliſh, and forced the reſt to ſurrender.

THUS ended this Year, and with it Deſſie's Power in Scotland. For the Queen Mother of the Governor had made great Complaints of him at the Court of France, that he put the Nation to vaſt Charge to little Purpoſe; ſo that he was more uneaſy to his Friends than his Enemies: and his laſt Diſorder at Edinburgh had on the one hand ſo raiſed the Inſolence of the French Soldiers, and on the other hand ſo alienated and inflamed the People, that unleſs another were ſent to command, who ſhould govern more mildly, there might be great Danger of a Defection of a whole Kingdom. For now the Seeds of their Diſtaſt of the French Government were ſo ſown, that Men came generally to condemn their ſending the Queen away; and to hate the Governor for conſenting to it; but chiefly, to abhor the Clergy, who had wrought it for their own Ends.

M. de Thormes was ſent over to command; and Monlue, Biſhop of Valence, came with him to govern the Councils, and be Chancellor of the Kingdom. He had lately returned from his Ambaſſy at Conſtantinople. He was one of the wiſeſt Men of that Time, and was always for moderate Councils in Matters of Religion; which made him to be ſome Time ſuſpected of Hereſy. And indeed the whole Sequel of his Life declared him to be one of the greateſt Men of that Age; only his being ſo long, and ſo firmly, united to Queen Catharine Medici's Intereſt, takes off a great deal of the high Character which the reſt of his Life has given of him. But he was at this Time unknown, and ill repreſentd, in Scotland; where they that looked for Advantages from their Alliance with France, took it ill to ſee a French Man ſent over to enjoy the beſt Office in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother herſelf was afraid of him; ſo to avoid new Grounds of Diſcontent, he left the Kingdom, and returned into France.

THUS ended the War beween Scotland and England this Year, in almoſt an equal Mixture of good and bad Succeſs. The Engliſh had preſerved Hadingtoun, which was the Chief Matter of this Year's Action. But they had been at great Charge in the War, in which they were only on the Defenſive: They had loſt other Places, and been unſucceſsful at Sea; and which was worſt of all, they had now loſt all Hopes of the Marriage, and were almoſt engaged in a War with France, which was like to fall on the King, when his Affairs were in an ill Condition, his People being divided and diſcontented at Home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by this War.

THE State of Germany was at this Time moſt deplorable: The Pope and Emperor continued their quarrelling about the Tranſlation of the Council. Mendoza at Rome, and Velaſco at Bologna, declared in the Emperor's Name, that a Council being called by his great and long Endeavours for the quieting of Germany, and he being engaged in a War to get it to be received, and having procured a Submiſſion of the Empire to the Council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned Cauſes, removed out of Germany, to one of the Pope's Towns; by which the Germans thought themſelves diſengaged of their Promiſe, which was to ſubmit to a Council in Germany; and therefore that he proteſted againſt it, as an unlawful Meeting, to whoſe Decrees he would not ſubmit; and that if they did not return to Trent, he would take Care of ſettling Religion ſome other Way. But the Pope, being encouraged by the French King, was not ill pleaſed to ſee the Emperor anew embroil himſelf with the Germans; and therefore intended the Council ſhould be continued at Bologna. Upon this the Emperor ordered three Divines, Julius Flugius Biſhop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Iſlebius Agricola, to draw up a Form of Religion. The two former had been always Papiſts, and the latter was formerly a Proteſtant,

but was believed to be now corrupted by the Emperor, that the Name of one of the Auſburg Confeſſion might make what they were to ſet out, paſs the more eaſily. They drew up all the Points of Religion in a Book, which was beſt known by the Name of the Interim, becauſe it was to laſt during that Interval, till a General Council ſhould meet in Germany. In it, all the Points of the Romiſh Doctrine were ſet forth in the ſmootheſt Terms poſſible; only married Men might officiate as Prieſts, and the Communion was to be given in both Kinds. The Book being thus prepared, a Diet was ſummonded to Auſburg in February; where the firſt thing done was the Solemn Inveſtiture of Maurice in the Electorate of Saxony. He had been declared Elector laſt Year by the Emperor before Wittenburg; but now it was performed with great Ceremony on the 24th of February which was the Emperor's Birth-day: John Frederick looking on with his uſual Conſtancy of Mind. All he ſaid was, "Now they triumph "in that Dignity, of which they have "againſt Juſtice and Equity ſpoiled me; "GOD grant they may enjoy it peace-"ably and happily, and may never "need any Aſſiſtance from me or my "Poſterity." And without expreſſing any further Concern about it he went to his Studies, which were almoſt wholly employed in the Scriptures.

Maurice made Elector of Saxony.

THE Book of the Interim being prepared, the Elector of Brandenburg ſent for Martin Bucer, who was both a learned and moderate Divine; and ſhewed it him. Bucer having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little diſguiſed: At which the Elector was much offended, for he was pleaſed with it; and Bucer not without great Danger returned back to Strasburg. On the 15th of March, the Book was propoſed to the Diet; and the Elector of Mentz, without any Order, did in all the Princes Names, give the Emperor Thanks for it: which he interpreted as the Aſſent of the whole Diet; and after that would not hear any that came to him to ſtop it, but publiſhed it as agreed by the Diet.

AT Rome and Bologna it was much condemned, as an high Attempt in the Emperor to meddle with Points of Religion; ſuch as diſpenſing with the Marriage of Prieſts, and the Communion in both Kinds: Wherefore ſome of that Church writ againſt it. And Matters went ſo high, that wiſe Men of that Side began to fear the Breach between the Emperor and them, might, before they were aware, be paſt reconciling; for they had not forgot that the laſt Pope's Stiffneſs had loſt England, and they were not a little afraid they might loſe the Emperor. But if the Pope were offended for the Conceſſions in theſe Particulars, the Proteſtants thought they had much greater Cauſe to diſlike it; ſince in all other controverted Points it was againſt them; ſo that ſeveral of that Side writ likewiſe againſt it. But the Emperor was now ſo much exalted with his Succeſs, that he reſolved to go through with it, little regarding the Oppoſition of either hand. The new Elector of Saxony went home, and offered it to his Subjects. But they refuſed to receive it, and ſaid, (as Sir Philip Hobbey, then Ambaſſador from England at the Emperor's Court writ over) That they had it under the Emperor's Hand and Seal, that he ſhould not meddle with Matters of Religion, but only with reforming the Common-Wealth: and that if their Prince would not protect them in this Matter, they ſhould find another, who would defend them from ſuch Oppreſſion. An Exhortation for the receiving of it was read at Ausburg; but they alſo refuſed it. Many Towns ſent their Addreſſes to the Emperor, deſiring him not to oppreſs their Conſciences. But none was of ſuch a Nature as that from Linda, a little Town near Conſtance, which had declared for the Emperor in the former War. They returned Anſwer, That they could not agree to the Interim, without incurring Eternal Damnation; but to ſhew their Submiſſion to him in all other Things, they ſhould not ſhut their Gates, nor make Reſiſtance, againſt any he ſhould find, though it were to ſpoil and deſtroy their Town. This let the Emperor and his Council ſee how difficult a Work it would be to ſubdue the Conſciences of the Germans. But his Chancellor, Granvell, preſſed him to extream Councils, and to make an Example of that Town, who had ſo peremptorily refuſed to obey his Commands. Yet he had little Reaſon to hope he ſhould prevail on thoſe who were at Liberty, when he could work ſo little on his Priſoner the Duke of Saxe. For he had endeavoured by great Offers to perſwade him to agree to it: But all

was

was in vain; for he always told them that kept him, that his Perſon was in their Power, but his Conſcience was his own; and that he would not, on any Terms, depart from the Auſburg Confeſſion. Upon this he was ſeverely uſed; his Chaplain was put from him, with moſt of his Servants; but he continued ſtill unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greateſt Proſperity. The Lutheran Divines entered into great Diſputes, how far they might comply. Melancthon thought that the Ceremonies of Popery might be uſed, ſince they were of their own Nature indifferent. Others, as, Amſtorfius, Illiricus, with the greateſt Part of the Lutherans, thought the receiving the Ceremonies would make Way for all the Errors of Popery; and though they were of their own Nature indifferent, yet they ceaſed to be ſo, when they were enjoined as Things neceſſary to Salvation. But the Emperor going on reſolutely, many Divines were driven away; ſome concealed themſelves in Germany, others fled into Switzerland, and ſome came over into England.

WHEN the News of the Changes that were made here in England were carried beyond Sea, and after Peter Martyr's being with Cranmer, were more copiouſly written by him to his Friends, Calvin, and Martin Bucer, who began to think the Reformation almoſt oppreſt in Germany, now turned their Eyes more upon England. Calvin writ to the Protector, on the 29th of October, encouraging him to go on, notwithſtanding the Wars; as Hezekias had done in his Reformation. He lamented the Heats of ſome that profeſſed the Goſpel, but complained that he heard there were few lively Sermons preached in England; and that the Preachers recited their Diſcourſes coldly. He much approves a ſet Form of Prayers, whereby the Conſent of all the Churches did more manifeſtly appear. But he adviſes a more compleat Reformation; he taxed the Prayers for the Dead, the Uſe of Chriſme and Extream Unction, ſince they were no where recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the Reaſon why they went no further was, becauſe the Times could not bear it; but this was to do the Work of GOD by Political Maxims; which though they ought to take Place in other Things, yet ſhould not be followed in Matters in which the Salvation of Souls was concerned. But above all Things, he complained of the great Impieties and Vices that were ſo common in England; as Swearing, Drinking, and Uncleaneſs; and prayed him earneſtly, that theſe Things might be looked after.

Bucer wrote againſt Gardiner.

Martin Bucer writ alſo a Diſcourſe, congratulating the Changes then made in England, which was tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir Philip Hobbey's Brother. In it he anſwered the Book that Gardiner had written againſt him; which he had formerly delayed to do, becauſe King Henry had deſired he would let it alone, till the Engliſh and Germans had conferred about Religion. That Book did chiefly relate to the Marriage of the Clergy: Bucer ſhewed from many Fathers, that they thought every Man had not the Gift of Chaſtity which Gardiner thought every one might have that pleaſed. He taxed the Lewdneſs of the Romiſh Clergy, who being much ſet againſt Marriage, which was GOD's Ordinance, did gently paſs over the Impurities which the forbidding it had occaſioned among themſelves. He particularly taxed Gardiner himſelf, that he had his Rents payed him out of Stews. He taxed him alſo for his State and pompous Way of Living, and ſhewed how indecent it was for a Churchman to be ſent in Ambaſſies: And that St. Ambroſe, though ſent to make Peace, was aſhamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the Prieſthood. Both Fagius, and he, being forced to leave Germany, upon the Buſineſs of the Interim, Cranmer invited them over to England; and ſent them to Cambridge, as he had done Peter Martyr to Oxford. But Fagius, not agreeing with this Air, died ſoon after; a Man greatly learned in the Oriental Tongues, and a good Expounder of the Scripture.

THIS being the State of Affairs both abroad and at home, a Seſſion of Parliament was held in England on the * 24th of November, to which Day it had been prorogued from the 15th of October, by Reaſon of the Plague then in London. The firſt Bill that was finiſhed, was that about the Marriage of the Prieſts. It was brought into the Houſe of Commons the 3d of December, read the ſecond Time on the 5th, and the third Time the 6th. But this Bill being only, that married Men might be made Prieſts, a new Bill was framed, that, beſides the former

(*) If we may rely on the Statute-Books this Seſſion began the 4th of Novemb.

Proviſion

Proviſion, Prieſts might marry. This was read the firſt Time the 7th, the ſecond Time the 10th, and was fully argued on the 11th, and agreed on the 12th, and ſent up to the Lords the 13th of December. In that Houſe it ſtuck as long, as it had been ſoon diſpatched by the Commons. It lay on the Table till the 9th of February: Then it was read the firſt Time, and the 11th the ſecond Time; on the 16th it was committed to the Biſhops of Ely and Weſtminſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice, and the Attorney-General: And on the 19th of February it was agreed to; the Biſhops of London, Dureſme, Norwich, Carliſle, Hereford, Worceſter, Briſtol, Chicheſter, and Landaff; and the Lords, Morley, Dacres, Windſor, and Warton, diſſenting. It had the Royal Aſſent, and ſo became a Law.

An Act about the Marriage of the Clergy:

The Preamble ſets forth, "That it "were better for Prieſts and other "Miniſters of the Church to live chaſt "and without Marriage; whereby "they might better attend to the Mi-"niſtry of the Goſpel, and be leſs di-"ſtracted with ſecular Cares; ſo that "it were much to be wiſhed, that they "would of themſelves abſtain. But "great Filthineſs of Living, with other "Inconveniencies, had followed on "the Laws that compelled Chaſtity, "and prohibited Marriage; ſo that it "was better they ſhould be ſuffered "to marry, than be ſo reſtrained. "Therefore all Laws and Canons that "had been made againſt it, being only "by humane Authority, are repealed. "So that all ſpiritual Perſons, of what "Degree ſoever, might lawfully marry, "providing they married according to "the Order of the Church. But a "Proviſo was added, that becauſe ma-"ny Divorces of Prieſts had been made "after the ſix Articles were enacted, "and that the Woman might have "thereupon married again, all theſe "Divorces, with every Thing that "had followed on them, ſhould be "confirmed." There was no Law that paſſed in this Reign with more Contradiction and Cenſure than this, and therefore the Reader may expect the larger Account of this Matter.

Which was much enquired into.

THE unmarried State of the Clergy had ſo much to be ſaid for it, as being a Courſe of Life that was more diſengaged from ſecular Cares, and Pleaſures, that it was caſt on the Reformers every where as a foul Reproach, that they could not reſtrain their Appetites, but engaged in a Life that drew after it domeſtick Cares, with many other Diſtractions. This was an Objection ſo eaſy to be apprehended, that the People had been more prejudiced againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, if they had not felt greater Inconveniencies by the Debaucheries of Prieſts; who being reſtrained from Marriage, had defiled the Beds, and deflow'red the Daughters of their Neighbours, into whoſe Houſes they had free and unſuſpected Acceſs, and whom under the Cloak of receiving Confeſſions they could more eaſily entice. This made them that they were not ſo much wrought on by the Noiſe of Chaſtity, (when they ſaw ſo much and ſo plainly to the contrary) as otherwiſe they would have been, by a Thing that founded ſo well. But on the other hand, there was no Argument which the Reformers had more conſidered. There were two Things upon which the Queſtion turned: The one was, the Obligation that Prieſthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the Tie they might be under by any Vow they had made. For the former, they conſidered, that GOD having ordained a Race of Men to be Prieſts under Moſes's Law, who ſhould offer up expiatory Sacrifices for the Sins of the Jews, did not only not forbid Marriage, but made it neceſſary; for that Office was to deſcend by Inheritance; ſo that Prieſthood was not inconſiſtent with that State. In the New Teſtament ſome of the Qualifications of a Biſhop and Deacon, are their being the Huſband of one Wife, and their having well ordered their Houſe, and brought up their Children. St. Peter and other Apoſtles were married; it was thought St. Paul was ſo likewiſe; Aquila was certainly married to Priſcilla, and carried her about with him. Our SAVIOUR, ſpeaking of the Help that an unmarried State was to the Kingdom of GOD, recommended it equally to all Ranks of Men as they could bear it. St. Paul ſaid, Let every Man have his own Wife; It is better to marry than to burn; and, Marriage is honourable in all; and the forbibding to marry is reckon'd by him a Mark of the Apoſtacy of the latter Times; ſo that the Matter ſeemed clear from the Scriptures.

Arguments for it from Scripture,

IN the firſt Ages Saturninus, Baſilides, Montanus, Novatus, and the Eucratites condemned

And from the Fathers

condemned Marriage as a State of Liberty more than was fit for Chriſtians. Againſt thoſe was aſſerted by the Primitive Fathers the Lawfulneſs of Marriage to all Chriſtians without Diſcrimination; and they who entering into Holy Orders forſook their Wives, were ſeverely condemned by the Apoſtolical Canons, and by the Council of Gangra in the Beginning of the fourth, and the Council in Trullo in the fifth Age. Many great Biſhops in theſe Times lived ſtill with their Wives and had Children by them, as namely both Nazianzen's and Baſil's Fathers: And Hilary of Poictiers when baniſhed to Phrygia, and very old, writing to his own Daughter Abra, bid her aſk her Mother the Meaning of thoſe Things which ſhe by Reaſon of her Age underſtood not; by which it appears that his Daughter was then very young, and by Conſequence born to him after he was a Biſhop. In the Council of Nice, it being propoſed that Clergymen ſhould depart from their Wives, Paphnutius, though himſelf unmarried, oppoſed it as an unreaſonable Yoke. And Heliodorus Biſhop of Trica, the Author of the firſt of thoſe Love Fables, now known by the Name of Romances, being ſuſpected of too much Laſciviouſneſs, and concerned to clear himſelf of that Charge, did firſt move that Clergymen ſhould be obliged to live ſingle, which the Hiſtorian ſays they were not tied to before, but Biſhops, as they pleaſed, lived ſtill with their Wives. The Fathers in thoſe Times extolled a ſingle Life very high, and yet they all thought a Man once married might be a Biſhop though his Wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a Diſtinction, that if a Man had been once married before his Baptiſm, and again after his Baptiſm, he was to be underſtood to be in the State of a Single Marriage. So that Jerome, who writ warmly enough againſt ſecond Marriages, yet ſays, ad Oceanum, that the Biſhops in his Age who were but once married in that Sence were not to be numbered, and that more of theſe could be reckoned than were at the Council of Ariminum, who are ſaid to have been 800 Biſhops. It is true, that in that Age they began to make Canons againſt the Marriage of thoſe who were in Orders, eſpecially in the Roman and African Churches; but thoſe were only Poſitive Laws of the Church, and the frequent repeating of thoſe Canons ſhews that even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of Syneſius we read, that when he was ordained Prieſt, he declared that he would not live ſecretly with his Wife as ſome did, but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wiſh'd that he might have many Children by her. In the Eaſtern Church all their Clergy, below the Order of Biſhops, are uſually married before they be ordained, and afterwards live with their Wives, and have Children by them, without any kind of Prohibition. In the Weſtern Church the married Clergy are taken Notice of in many of the Spaniſh and Gallican Synods, and the Biſhops and Prieſts Wives are called Epyſcopæ and Preſbyteræ. In moſt Times, but as was ſhewn, in the firſt Part, becauſe they would not quit their Wives they were put out, not of Sacred Orders, but only out of the Seats they were then in, and thoſe were given the Monks. When Pope Nicholas had preſſed the Cælibate of the Clergy in the 9th Century, there was great Oppoſition made to it, chiefly by Huldericus, Biſhop of Auſburg, who was held a Saint, notwithſtanding this Oppoſition. Reſtitutus, Biſhop of London, lived openly with his Wife: Nor was the Cælibate of the Clergy generally impoſed till Pope Gregory the VIIth's Time in the 11th Century, who projecting to have the Clergy depend wholly on himſelf, and ſo to ſeparate them from the Intereſts of thoſe Princes in whoſe Dominions they lived, conſidered that by having Wives and Children they gave Pledges to the State where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this Incumbrance, then their Perſons being Sacred, there would be nothing to hinder but that they might do as they pleaſed in Obedience to the Popes, and Oppoſition to their own Princes Orders. The Writers near Gregory the VIIth's Time called this a new Thing, againſt the Mind of the Holy Fathers, and full of Raſhneſs in him thus to turn out married Prieſts. Lanfrane, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, did not impoſe Cælibate on the Clergy in the Villages, but only on thoſe that lived in Towns, and on Prebendaries: But Anſelm carried it further, and ſimply impoſed it on all the Clergy; yet himſelf laments, that Sodomy was become then very common, and even

publick, which was alſo the Complaint of Petrus Damiani in Pope Gregory's Time. Bernard ſaid, that Sin was frequent among the Biſhops in his Time, and that this, with many other Abominations, was the natural Effect of prohibiting Marriage. This made Abbot Panormitan wiſh, that it were left to Men's Liberty to marry if they pleaſed: And Pius the IId ſaid, there might have been good Reaſons for impoſing Cælibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better Reaſons for taking away thoſe Laws that impoſed it: Yet even ſince thoſe Laws have been made, Petrarch had a Licence to Marry, and keep his Preferments ſtill. Boniface Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Geofrey Biſhop of Ely, are ſaid to have had Wives; and though there were not ſo many Inſtances of Prieſts marrying after Orders, yet if there were any thing in the Nature of Prieſthood inconſiſtent by the Law of GOD with Marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former Marriages as to contract a new one. Some few Inſtances were alſo gathered out of Church Hiſtory of Biſhops and Prieſts marrying after Orders: But as theſe were few, ſo there was juſt Reaſon to controvert them.

The Vows and other Reaſons againſt it examined.

UPON the whole Matter it was clear, that the Cælibate of the Clergy flowed from no Law of GOD, nor from any general Law of the Church; but the contrary, of Clergymen's living with their Wives, was univerſally received for many Ages. As for Vows, it was much queſtioned how far they did bind in ſuch Caſes. It ſeemed a great Sin to impoſe ſuch on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own Diſpoſitions. Nor was it in a Man's Power to keep them: For, Continence being none of thoſe Graces that are promiſed by GOD to all that aſk it, as it was not in a Man's Power without extream Severities on himſelf to govern his own Conſtitution of Body, ſo he had no Reaſon to expect GOD ſhould interpoſe when he had provided another Remedy for ſuch Caſes. Beſides, the Promiſe made by Clergymen, according to the Rites of the Roman Pontifical, did not oblige them to Cælibate. The Words were, Wilt thou follow Chaſtity and Sobriety? To which the Sub-Deacon anſwered, I will. By Chaſtity was not to be underſtood a total Abſtinence from all, but only from unlawful Embraces; ſince a Man might live chaſt in a State of Marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the Engliſh Clergy were not concerned in it: For there was no ſuch Queſtion nor Anſwer made in the Forms of their Ordination. So they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage. And for the Expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that theſe Laws had brought in much Uncleanneſs into the Church, and thoſe who preſſed them moſt had been ſignally noted for theſe Vices: No Prince in the Engliſh Hiſtory lewder than Edgar that had ſo promoted it. The Legate that in King Henry the II's Time got that ſevere Decree made, that put all the married Clergy from their Livings, was found the very Night after (for the Credit of Cælibate) in Bed with a Whore. On this Subject many undecent Stories were gathered, eſpecially by Bale, who was a learned Man, but did not write with that Temper and Diſcretion that became a Divine. He gathered all the lewd Stories that could be raked together to this Purpoſe; and the many abominable Things found in the Monaſteries were then freſh in all Mens Memories. It was alſo obſerved, That the unmarried Clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raiſing Families, and the enriching of their Nephews and Kindred, (and ſometimes of their Baſtards, witneſs the preſent Pope Paul the IIId, and not long before him Alexander the VIth) ſo that the married Clergy could not be tempted to more Covetouſneſs than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the Diſtraction of Domeſtick Affairs, the Clergy had formerly given themſelves up to ſuch a ſecular Courſe of Life, that it was thought nothing could encreaſe it; but if the married Clergy ſhould ſet themſelves to raiſe more than a decent Maintainance for their Children, ſuch as might fit them for Letters or Callings, and ſhould neglect Hoſpitality, become covetous, and accumulate Livings and Preferments, to make Eſtates for their Children; this might be juſtly curbed by new Laws, or rather the renewing of the antient Canons, by which Clergymen were declared to be only entruſted with the Goods of the Church for publick Ends, and were not to apply them to their own private Uſes, nor to leave them to their Children and Friends.

THUS had this Matter been argued in many Books that were written on this Subject, by Poinet, and Parker; the one afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter and the other Archbiſhop of Canterbury; alſo by Bale Biſhop of Oſſory, with many more. Dr. Ridley, Dr. Taylor, (afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln) Dr. Benſon, and Dr. Redmayn, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being Men that were reſolved never to marry themſelves; who yet thought it neceſſary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the Pattern that Paphnutius had ſet them) that all ſhould be left to their Liberty in this Matter.

THE Debate about it was brought into the Convocation, where Dr. Redmayn's Authority went a great way. He was a Man of great Learning and Probity, and of ſo much greater Weight, becauſe he did not in all Points agree with the Reformers: But being at this Time ſick, his Opinion was brought under his Hand. It was to this Purpoſe, "That though Scriptures "exhorted Prieſts to live chaſt, and "out of the Cares of the World; yet "the Laws forbidding them Marriage, "were only Canons and Conſtitutions "of the Church; not founded on the "Word of GOD: And therefore he "thought that a Man once married "might be a Prieſt: And he did not "find the Prieſts in the Church of "England had made any Vow againſt "Marriage; and therefore he thought "that the King and the higher Powers "of the Church, might take away the "Clog of perpetual Continence from "the Prieſts, and grant that ſuch as "could not, or would not contain, "might marry once, and not be put "from their holy Miniſtration." It was oppoſed by many in both Houſes, but carried at laſt by the Major Vote. This Act ſeemed rather a Contrivance, and Permiſſion of the Clergy to marry, than any direct Allowance of it; ſo the Enemies of that State of life continued to reproach the married Clergy ſtill: And this was much heightned by many undecent Marriages, and other light Behaviour of ſome Prieſts. But theſe Things made Way for a more full Act concerning this Matter about three Years after.

An Act to confirm the Liturgy.

THE next Act that paſt in this Parliament was about the publick Service; which was put into the Houſe of Commons on the 9th of December, and the next Day was alſo put into the Houſe of Lords: It lay long before them, and was not agreed till the 15th of January. The Earl of Derby, the Biſhops of London, Dureſme, Norwich, Carliſle, Hereford, Worceſter, Weſtminſter, and Chicheſter, and the Lord Dacres, and Windſor, proteſting. The Preamble of the Act ſets forth, "That there had been ſeveral "Forms of Service, and that of late "there had been great Difference in "the Adminiſtration of the Sacra-"ments, and other Parts of Divine "Worſhip: And that the moſt effectual "Endeavours could not ſtop the In-"clinations of many to depart from "the former Cuſtoms; which the "King had not puniſhed, believing "they ſlowed from a good Zeal: But "that there might be an uniform Way "over all the Kingdom, the King, by "the Advice of the Lord Protector "and his Council, had appointed the "Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with o-"ther learned and diſcreet Biſhops and "Divines, to draw an Order of Divine "Worſhip, having Reſpect to the Pure "Religion of CHRIST taught in the "Scripture, and to the Practice of the "Primitive Church, which they, by "the Aid of the HOLY GHOST, had "with one uniform Agreement con-"cluded on; wherefore the Parliament, "having conſidered the Book, and the "Things that were altered or retained "in it, they gave their moſt humble "Thanks to the King for his Care a-"bout it; and did pray that all who "had formerly offended in theſe Mat-"ters, except ſuch as were in the "Tower of London, or the Priſon of "the Fleet, ſhould be pardoned; and "did enact, that from the Feaſt of "Whitſunday next, all Divine Offices "ſhould be performed according to it, "and that ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould "refuſe to do it, or continue to offi-"ciate in any other Manner, ſhould "upon the firſt Conviction be im-"priſoned ſix Months, and forfeit a "Year's Profit of their Benefice: For "the ſecond Offence forfeit all their "Church Preferments, and ſuffer a "Year's impriſonment: And for the "third Offence ſhould be impriſoned "during Life. And that all who ſhould "write, or put out Things in Print "againſt it, or threaten any Clergy-"men for uſing it, were to be fined "in 10l. for the firſt Offence, 20l. "for the ſecond, and to forfeit all their

"Goods

" Goods, and be impriſoned for life, " upon a third Offence. Only at the " Univerſities they might uſe it in La- " tin and Greek, excepting the Office " of the Communion. It was alſo " lawful to uſe other Pſalms or Prayers " taken out of the Bible, ſo theſe in " the Book were not omitted. " This Act was variouſly cenſured by thoſe who diſliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was ſaid the Book was drawn by the Aid of the HOLY GHOST; but others ſaid this was not to be ſo underſtood, as if they had been inſpired by extraordinary Aſſiſtance; for then there had been no Room for any Correction of what was now done: And therefore it was only to be underſtood in that Sence, as all good Motions and Conſultations are directed or aſſiſted by the ſecret Influences of GOD's Holy Spirit; which do oft help good Men, even in their imperfect Actions, where the Good that is done is juſtly aſcribed to the Grace of GOD. Others cenſured it, becauſe it was ſaid to be done by uniform Agreement, tho' four of the Biſhops that were employed in the drawing of it proteſted againſt it. Theſe were the Biſhops of Norwich, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter; but theſe had agreed in the main Parts of the Work, tho' they were not ſatiſfied, which made them diſſent from the whole.

Singing of Pſalms brought in.

The Proviſo for the Pſalms and Prayers taken out of the Bible, was for the Singing Pſalms, which were tranſlated into Verſe, and much ſung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many Places uſed in Churches. In the Antient Church the Chriſtians were much exerciſed in repeating the Pſalms of David; many had them all by Heart, and uſed to be reciting them when they went about their Work; and thoſe who retired into a Monaſtical Courſe of Life, ſpent many of their Hours in repeating the Pſalter. Apollinaris put them in Verſe, as being eaſy for the Memory. Other devout Hymns came to be alſo in Uſe. Nazianzen among the Greeks, and Prudentius among the Latins, laboured on that Argument with the greateſt Succeſs. There were other Hymns that were not put in Verſe, the chief of which were, that moſt antient Hymn which we uſe now after the Sacrament, and the Celebrated Ambroſian Hymn that begins Te Deum Laudamus. But as when the Worſhip of the departed Saints came to be dreſſed up with much Pomp, Hymns were alſo made for their Honour: And in the Latin Tongue, as well as Proſody, being then much decayed, theſe came to be caſt into Rhymes, and were written generally in a fantaſtical affected Style: So now at the Reformation, ſome Poets, ſuch as the Times afforded, tranſlated David's Pſalms into Verſe; and it was a Sign by which Mens Affections to that Work were every where meaſured, whether they uſed to ſing theſe, or not. But as the Poetry then was low, and not raiſed to that Juſtice to which it is ſince brought, ſo this Work, which then might paſs for a tolerable Compoſure, has not been ſince that Time ſo reviewed or changed as perhaps the Thing required: Hence it is that this Piece of Divine Worſhip, by the Meanneſs of the Verſe, has not maintained its due Eſteem. Another Thing that ſome thought deſerved to be conſidered in ſuch a Work, was, that many of the Pſalms, being ſuch as related more eſpecially to David's Victories, and contained Paſſages in them not eaſily underſtood, it ſeemed better to leave out theſe, which it was not ſo eaſy to ſing with Devotion, becauſe the Meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern Chriſtians.

THE Parliament was adjourned from the 22d of December to the 2d of January. On the 7th of January the Commons ſent an Addreſs to the Protector to reſtore Latimer to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter: But this took no Effect, for that good old Man did chooſe rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a Matter of Government, being now very antient. A Bill was put in by the Lords for appointing of Parks, and agreed to, the Earl of Arundal only diſſenting; but being ſent down to the Commons, it was upon the ſecond Reading thrown out; yet not ſo unanimouſly, but that the Houſe was divided about it.

On the 4th of February a Bill was put in againſt eating Fleſh in Lent, and on Faſting-Days; it was committed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Ely, Worceſter, and Chicheſter; and ſent to the Commons on the 16th, who ſent it up on the 7th of March, with a Proviſo to which the Lords agreed. In the Preamble it is ſaid, " That though it is clear by the Word " of GOD that there is no Day, nor " Kind of Meat, purer than another,

" but that all are in themſelves alike; " yet many, out of Senſuality, had " contemned ſuch Abſtinence, as had " been formerly uſed; and ſince due " Abſtinence was a Means to Virtue " and to ſubdue Mens Bodies to " their Soul and Spirit, and was alſo " neceſſary to encourage the Trade of " Fiſhing, and for ſaving of Fleſh; " therefore all former Laws about " Faſting and Abſtinence were to be " after the firſt of May repealed, and " it was enacted, That from the firſt " of May, none ſhould eat Fleſh on " Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-Days, " in Lent, or any other Days that " ſhould be declared Fiſh-Days, under " ſeveral Penalties. A Proviſo was " added for excepting ſuch as ſhould " obtain the King's Licence, or were " ſick, or weak, and that none ſhould " be indicted but within three Months " after the Offence.

CHRIST had told his Diſciples, that when he ſhould be taken from them, then they ſhould faſt. Accordingly the Primitive Chriſtians uſed to faſt oft, more particularly before the Anniverſary of the Paſſion of CHRIST, which ended in a high Feſtivity at Eaſter. Yet this was differently obſerved, as to the Number of Days. Some abſtained 40 Days in Imitation of CHRIST's Faſt, others only that Week, and others had only an entire Faſt from the Time of CHRIST's Death till his Reſurrection. On theſe Faſts they eat nothing till the Evening, and then they eat moſt commonly Herbs and Roots. Afterwards the Fridays were kept as Faſts, becauſe on that Day CHRIST ſuffered. Saturdays were alſo added in the Roman Church, but not without Contradiction. Ember-Weeks came in afterwards, being ſome Days before thoſe Sundays, in which Orders were given. And a general Rule being laid down, that every Chriſtian Feſtival ſhould be preceded by a Faſt, thereupon the Vigils of Holydays came, though not ſo ſoon, into the Number. But this, with the other good Inſtitutions of the Primitive Times, became degenerate; even in St. Auſtin's Time, Religion came to be placed in theſe Obſervances, and anxious Rules were made about them. Afterwards in the Church of Rome they were turned into a Mockery; for, as on Faſt-Days they dined, which the Antients did not, ſo the Uſe of the moſt delicious Fiſh, dreſs'd in the moſt exquiſite Manner, with the richeſt Wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they reſolved to take off the Severities of the former Laws, and yet to keep up ſuch Laws about Faſting and Abſtinence, as might be agreeable to its true End: Which is, to ſubdue the Fleſh to the Spirit, and not to gratify it by a Change of one Sort of Diet into another, which may be both more delicate, and more inflaming. So fond a Thing is Superſtition, that it will help Men to deceive themſelves by the ſlighteſt Pretences that can be imagined.

IT was much lamented then, and there is as much Cauſe for it ſtill, that carnal Men have taken Advantages from the Abuſes that were formerly practiſed, to throw off good and profitable Inſtitutions: Since the frequent Uſe of Faſting, with Prayer and true Devotion joyned to it, is, perhaps, one of the greateſt Helps that can be deviſed, to advance one to a ſpiritual Temper of Mind, and to promote a holy Courſe of Life: And the Mockery that is diſcernable in the Way of ſome Mens Faſting, is a very ſlight Excuſe for any to lay aſide the Uſe of that which the Scriptures have ſo much recommended.

THERE were other Bills put into both Houſes, but did not paſs. One was for declaring it Treaſon to marry the King's Siſters, without Conſent of the King and his Council: But it was thought that King Henry's Will, diſabling them from the Succeſſion in that Caſe, would be a ſtronger Reſtraint, and ſo it was laid aſide. Another Bill was put in for Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Great Complaints were made of the abounding of Vices and Immoralities, which the Clergy could neither reſtrain nor puniſh, and ſo they had nothing left but to preach againſt them, which was done by many with great Freedom. In ſome of theſe Sermons the Preachers expreſſed their Apprehenſions of ſignal and ſpeedy Judgments from Heaven, if the People did not repent; but their Sermons had no great Effect; for the Nation grew very corrupt, and this brought on them ſevere Puniſhments. The Temporal Lords were ſo jealous of putting Power into Churchmens Hands, eſpecially to correct thoſe Vices of which themſelves perhaps were moſt guilty, that the Bill was laid aſide. The Pretence of oppoſing it, was that the greateſt Part of the Biſhops and Clergy were ſtill Papiſts in their

Hearts; ſo that if Power were put into ſuch Mens Hands, it was reaſonable to expect, they would employ it chiefly againſt thoſe who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that Score, though with Pretences fetched from other Things.

A Deſign for digeſting the Common Law into a Body.

THERE was alſo put into the Houſe of Commons a Bill for reforming of Proceſſes at Common Law, which was ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, but it fell in that Houſe. Dr. Burnet ſaith, he hath ſeen a large Diſcourſe written then upon that Argument; in which it is ſet forth, that the Law of England was a barbarous Kind of Study, and did not lead Men into a finer Sort of Learning, which made the Common Lawyers to be generally ſo ignorant of Foreign Matters, and ſo unable to negotiate in them; therefore it was propoſed, that the Common and Statute Laws, ſhould be, in Imitation of the Roman Law, digeſted into a Body under Titles and Heads, and put in good Latin. But this was too great a Deſign to be ſet on, or finiſhed under an Infant King. If it was then neceſſary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more ſo now, the Volume of our Statutes being ſo much ſwell'd ſince that Time; beſides the vaſt Number of Reports, and Caſes, and the Pleadings growing much longer than formerly: Yet, whether this is a Thing to be much expected or deſired, is referred to the learned and wiſe Men of that Robe.

The Admiral's Attainder.

THE only Act that remains of this Seſſion of Parliament, is the Attainder of the Admiral. The Queen Dowager that had married him died in September laſt, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon. She was a good and virtuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unſeemly, but the marrying him ſo indecently, and ſo ſoon after the King's Death. There was found among her Papers a Diſcourſe written by her concerning herſelf; entituled The Lamentation of a Sinner, which was publiſhed by Cecil, who writ a Preface to it. In it ſhe with great Sincerity acknowledges the ſinful Courſe of her Life for many Years, in which ſhe relying on external Performances, ſuch as Faſts and Pilgrimages, was all that while a Stranger to the Internal and true Power of Religion: Which ſhe came afterwards to feel by the Study of the Scripture, and the Calling upon GOD for the Holy Spirit. She explains clearly the Notion ſhe had of Juſtification by Faith, ſo that Holineſs neceſſarily followed upon it; but lamented the great Scandal given by many Goſpellers: So were all theſe called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady Elizabeth.

SHE being thus dead, the Admiral renewed his Addreſſes to the Lady Elizabeth, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his Brother and the Council would conſent to it, ſo if he had married her without that, the Poſſibility of ſucceeding to the Crown was cut off by King Henry's Will. And this Attempt of his occaſioned that Act to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the King's Siſters, without Conſent of Council, to be Treaſon. Seeing he could not compaſs that Deſign, he reſolved to carry away the King to his Houſe of Holt in the Country; and ſo to diſplace his Brother, and to take the Government into his own Hands. For this End, he had laid Magazines of Arms, and liſted about 10,000 Men in ſeveral Places; and openly complained, that his Brother intended to enſlave the Nation, and make himſelf Maſter of all; and had therefore brought over thoſe German Soldiers. He had alſo entered into Treaty with ſeveral of the Nobility, that envied his Brother's Greatneſs, and were not diſpleaſed to ſee a Breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To theſe he promiſed, that they ſhould be of the Council, and that he would diſpoſe of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters: The Perſon is not named. The Protector had often told him of theſe Things, and warned him of the Danger into which he would throw himſelf by ſuch Ways; but he perſiſted ſtill in his Deſigns; though he denied and excuſed them as long as was poſſible. Now his reſtleſs Ambition ſeeming incurable, he was on the 19th of January ſent to the Tower. The original Warrant, ſigned by all the Privy Council, is in the Council-Book formerly mentioned; where the Earl of Southampton ſigns with the reſt; who was now, in outward Appearance, reconciled to the Protector. On the Day following the Admiral's Seal of his Office was ſent for, and put into Secretary Smith's Hands. And now many Things broke out againſt him; and particularly a Conſpiracy of his with Sir W. Sharington, Vice-Treaſurer of the Mint at Briſtol, who was to have furniſhed him with 10000l. and

The Admiral ſent to the Tower.

had

had already coined about 12,000 l. falſe Money, and had clipt a great deal more, to the Value of 40,000 l. in all; for which he was attainted by a Proceſs at Common Law, and that was confirmed in Parliament: Fowler alſo, that waited in the Privy Chamber, with ſome few others, were ſent to the Tower: Many Complaints being uſually brought againſt a Sinking Man, the Lord Ruſſel, the Earl of Southampton, and Secretary Petre, were ordered to receive their Examinations. And thus the Buſineſs was let alone till the 28th of February, in which Time his Brother did again try if it were poſſible to bring him to a better Temper: And as he had, ſince their firſt Breach, granted him 800 l. a Year in Land, to gain his Friendſhip; ſo Means were now uſed to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf, and to withdraw from Court, and from all Employment. But it appeared, that nothing could be done to him that could cure his Ambition, or the Hatred he carried to his Brother. And therefore on the 22d of February, a full Report was made to the Council of all the Things that were informed againſt him; conſiſting not only of the Particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul Miſdemeanours in the Diſcharge of the Admiralty: Several Pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a Share of their Robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithſtanding the Complaints made by other Princes, by which the King was in Danger of a War from the Princes ſo complaining. The whole Charge conſiſts of 33 Articles. The Particulars, as it is entered in the Council-Book, were ſo manifeſtly proved, not only by Witneſſes, but by Letters under his own Hand, that it did not ſeem poſſible to deny them. Yet he had been ſent to, and examined, by ſome of the Council, but refuſed to make a direct Anſwer to them, or to ſign thoſe Anſwers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next Day, all the Privy Council, except the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker, Speaker to the Houſe of Commons, who was engaged to tend in the Houſe, ſhould go to the Tower, and examine him. On the 23d, the Lord Chancellor, with the other Counſellors, went to him, and read the Articles of his Charge, and earneſtly deſired him to make plain Anſwers to them, excuſing himſelf where he could, and ſubmitting himſelf in other Things: And that he would ſhew no Obſtinacy of Mind. He anſwered them, That he expected an open Trial, and his Accuſers to be brought Face to Face. All the Counſellors endeavoured to perſwade him to be more tractable, but to no Purpoſe. At laſt the Lord Chancellor required him on his Allegiance to make his Anſwer. He deſired they would leave the Articles with him, and he would conſider of them, otherwiſe he would make no Anſwer to them. But the Counſellors reſolved not to leave them with him on thoſe Terms. On the 24th of February it was reſolved in Council, that the whole Board ſhould, after Dinner, acquaint the King with the State of that Affair, and deſire to know of him whether he would have the Law to take Place; and ſince the Thing had been before the Parliament, whether he would leave it to their Determination: So tender they were of the young King in a Caſe that concerned his Uncle's Life. But the King had begun to diſcern his ſeditious Temper, and was now much alienated from him.

WHEN the Counſellors waited on him, the Lord Chancellor opened the Matter to the King, and delivered his Opinion for leaving it to the Parliament. Then every Counſellor by himſelf ſpake his Mind, all to the ſame Purpoſe. Laſt of all the Protector ſpake; he proteſted this was a moſt ſorrowful Buſineſs to him, that he had uſed all the Means in his Power to keep it from coming to this Extremity; but were it Son or Brother he muſt prefer his Majeſty's Safety to them, for he weighed his Allegiance more than his Blood: And that therefore he was not againſt the Requeſt that the other Lords had made; and ſaid, if he himſelf were guilty of ſuch Offences, he ſhould not think he were worthy of Life; and the rather, becauſe he was of all Men the moſt bound to his Majeſty, and therefore he could not refuſe Juſtice. The King anſwered them in theſe words; "We perceive that there are great "Things objected and laid to my Lord "Admiral my Uncle, and they tend "to Treaſon, and we perceive that "you require but Juſtice to be done, "we think it reaſonable, and we will, "that you proceed according to your "Requeſt. Which Words, (as it is "marked in the Council-Book) coming "ſo ſuddenly from his Grace's Mouth, "of his own Motion, as the Lords "might

" might well perceive, they were " marvellouſly rejoyced, and gave the " King moſt hearty Praiſe and Thanks; " yet reſolved, that ſome of both " Houſes ſhould be ſent to the Admiral, " before the Bill ſhould be put in a- " gainſt him, to ſee what he could or " would ſay." All this was done to try if he could be brought to a Submiſſion. So the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Shrewſbury, Warwick, and Southampton, and Sir John Baker, Sir Tho. Cheyney, and Sir Anth. Denney, were ſent to him. He was long obſtinate, but after much Perſwaſion was brought to give an Anſwer to the firſt three Articles, and then on a ſudden he ſtopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: And no Entreaties would work on him, either to anſwer the reſt, or to ſet his Hand to the Anſwers he made.

ON the 25th of February the Bill was put in for Attainting him, and the Peers had been ſo accuſtomed to agree to ſuch Bills in King Henry's Time, that they did eaſily paſs it. All the Judges, and the King's Council, delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treaſon. The Evidence was brought, many Lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt with one Voice conſented to the Bill; only the Protector, for natural Pity's Sake, as is in the Council-Book, deſired Leave to withdraw. On the 27th the Bill was ſent down to the Commons, with a Meſſage, That if they deſired to proceed as the Lords had done, thoſe Lords that had given their Evidence in their own Houſe, ſhould come down and declare it to the Commons. But there was more Oppoſition made in the Houſe of Commons. Many argued againſt Attainders in Abſence, and thought it an odd Way that ſome Peers ſhould riſe up in their Places in their own Houſe, and relate ſomewhat to the Slander of another, and that he ſhould be thereupon attainted: Therefore it was preſſed, that it might be done by a Trial, and that the Admiral ſhould be brought to the Bar, and be heard plead for himſelf. But on the 4th of March, a Meſſage was ſent from the King, that he thought it was not neceſſary to ſend for the Admiral; and that the Lords ſhould come down and renew before them the Evidence they had given in their own Houſe. This was done; and ſo the Bill was agreed to by the Commons in a full Houſe, judged about 400, and there were not above Ten or Twelve that voted in the Negative. The Royal Aſſent was given on the 5th of March: On the 10th of March, the Council reſolved to preſs the King that Juſtice might be done on the Admiral; and ſince the Caſe was ſo heavy and lamentable to the Protector, (ſo it is in the Council-Book) though it was alſo ſorrowful to them all, they reſolved to proceed in it, ſo that neither the King, nor he, ſhould be further troubled with it. After Dinner they went to the King, the Protector being with them. The King ſaid, He had well obſerved their Proceedings, and thanked them for their great Care of his Safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further moleſting him or the Protector; and ended, I pray you, my Lords, do ſo. Upon this they ordered the Biſhop of Ely to go to the Admiral, and to inſtruct him in the Things that related to another Life; and to prepare him to take patiently his deſerved Execution. And on the 17th of March, he having made Report to them of his Attendance on the Admiral, the Council ſigned a Warrant for his Execution, to which both the Lord Protector and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſet their Hands. And on the 20th his Head was cut off; but what his Behaviour was on the Scaffold Dr. Burnet does not mention: Latymer, in a Sermon, ſays, He died very dangerouſly, irkſomely, horribly. The Admiral beheaded.

THUS fell Thomas Lord Seimour, Lord High Admiral of England, a Man of high Thoughts, of great Violence of Temper, and ambitious out of Meaſure. The Protector was much cenſured, for giving Way to his Execution, by thoſe who looked only at that Relation between them, which they thought ſhould have made him ſtill preſerve him. But others, who knew the whole Series of the Affair, ſaw it was ſcarce poſſible for him to do more for the gaining his Brother, than he had done. Yet the other being a Popular Notion, that it was againſt Nature for one Brother to deſtroy another, was more eaſily entertained by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Myſteries of State. But the way of Proceeding was much condemned; ſince to attaint a Man without bringing him to make his own Defence, or to object what he could ſay to the Witneſſes that were brought againſt him, was ſo illegal and unjuſt, that it could not be defended.

Only this was to be ſaid for it, that it was a little more regular than Parliamentary Attainders had been formerly; for here the Evidence upon which it was founded was given before both Houſes.

Cenſures paſt on Cranmer's ſigning the Warrant for his Execution.

ONE Particular ſeemed a little odd, that Cranmer ſigned the Warrant for his Execution; which being in a Cauſe of Blood, was contrary to the Canon Law. In the Primitive Times, Churchmen had only the Cure of Souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of ſuch Differences as might otherwiſe end in Suits of Law before the Civil Courts, which were made up of Infidels. When the Empire became Chriſtian, theſe Judgments, which they gave originally on ſo charitable an Account, were by the Imperial Laws made to have great Authority; but further than theſe, or the Care of Widows and Orphans they were forbid, both by the Council of Chalcedon, and other leſs Councils, to meddle in Secular Matters. Among the Endowments made to ſome Churches, there were Lands given, where the Slaves, according to the Roman Law, came within the Patrimony of theſe Churches, and by that Law Maſters had Power of Life and Death over their Slaves.

IN ſome Churches this Power had been ſeverely exerciſed, even to Maiming and Death, which ſeemed very indecent in a Churchman. Beſides, there was an Apprehenſion that ſome ſevere Churchmen, who were but Maſters for Life, might be more profuſe of the Lives of ſuch Slaves, than thoſe that were to tranſmit them to their Families. Therefore to prevent the Waſte that would be made in the Churches Patrimony, it was agreed on, that Churchmen ſhould not proceed capitally againſt any of their Vaſſals or Slaves. And in the Confuſions that were in Spain, the Princes that prevailed, had appointed Prieſts to be Judges, to give the greater Reputation to their Courts. This being found much to the Prejudice of the Church, it was decreed in the fourth Council of Toledo, that Prieſts who were choſen by CHRIST to the Miniſtry of Salvation, ſhould not judge in Capital Matters, unleſs the Prince ſhould ſwear to them, that he would remit the Puniſhment: And ſuch as did otherwiſe, were held guilty of Bloodſhedding, and were to loſe their Degree in the Church. This was ſoon received over all the Weſtern Church; and Arguments were found out afterwards by the Canoniſts to prove the Neceſſity of continuing it; from David's not being ſuffered to build the Temple, ſince he was a Man of Blood; and from the Qualifications required by St. Paul in a Biſhop, That he ſhould be no Striker, ſince he ſeemed to ſtrike, that did it either in Perſon, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards Charles the Great, and all the Chriſtian Princes in the Weſt, gave their Biſhops great Lands and Dominions; they obliged them to be in all their Councils, and to do them ſuch Services as they required of them by Virtue of their Tenures. The Pope's deſigning to ſet up a Spiritual Empire, and to bring all the Church Lands within it, required the Biſhops to ſeparate themſelves from a Dependance on their Princes, as much as it was poſſible: And theſe Laws formerly made about Caſes of Blood, were judged a Colour good enough why they ſhould not meddle in ſuch Trials; ſo they procured theſe Caſes to be excepted. But it ſeems Cranmer thought his Conſcience was under no Tie from thoſe Canons, and ſo judged it not contrary to his Function to ſign that Order.

Subſidies granted by the Clergy and Laity.

THE Parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued to the 4th of November. The Clergy having granted the King a Subſidy of 6 s. in the Pound to be paid in three Years. In the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy, they acknowledged the great Quietneſs they enjoyed under him, having no Let nor Impediment in the Service of GOD. But the Laity ſet out their Subſidy with a much fuller Preamble, of the great Happineſs they had by the true Religion of CHRIST; declaring that they were ready to forſake all Things rather than CHRIST; as alſo to aſſiſt the King in the Conqueſt of Scotland, which they call a Part of his Dominion; therefore they give 12 d. in the Pound of all Mens Perſonal Eſtates to be paid in three Years.

A New Viſitation.

BUT now to look into Matters of Religion, there was, immediately after the Act of Uniformity paſſed, a new Viſitation, which it is probable, went in the ſame Method that was obſerved in the former. There were two Things much complained of; the one was, that the Prieſts read the Prayers generally with the ſame Tone of Voice that they had uſed formerly in the Latin Service; ſo that, it was ſaid, the

People did not underſtand it much better than they had done the Latin formerly. This was very ſeriouſly laid before Cranmer by Martin Bucer: The Courſe taken in it, was, that in all Pariſh-Churches the Service ſhould be read in a plain audible Voice; but that the former Way ſhould remain in Cathedrals, where there were great Choirs, who were well acquainted with that Tone, and where it agreed better with the Muſick that was uſed in the Anthems. Yet even there, many thought it no proper way in the Litany, where the greateſt Gravity was more agreeable to ſuch humble Addreſſes, than ſuch a Modulation of the Voice, which to thoſe unacquainted with it ſeemed light, and for others that were more accuſtomed to it, it ſeemed to be rather Uſe that had reconciled them to it, than the natural Decency of the Thing, or any Fitneſs in it to advance the Devotion of their Prayers. But this was a Thing judged of leſs Importance: It was ſaid that thoſe who had been accuſtomed to read in that Voice, could not eaſily alter it; but as thoſe dropt off and died, others would officiate in a plainer Voice. Other Abuſes were more important. Some uſed in the Communion Service many of the old Rites, ſuch as kiſſing the Altar, croſſing themſelves, lifting the Book from one Place to another, breathing on the Bread, ſhewing it openly before the Diſtribution, with ſome other of the old Ceremonies. The People did alſo continue the Uſe of their Praying by Beads, which was called an Innovation of Peter the Hermit in the 12th Century. By it 10 Aves went for one Pater-Noſter, and reciting theſe ſo oft in Latin, had come to be almoſt all the Devotion of the Vulgar: And therefore the People were ordered to leave that unreaſonable Way of Praying, it ſeeming a moſt unaccountable Thing that the reciting the Angel's Salutation to the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhould be ſuch a high Piece of Divine Worſhip. And that this ſhould be done 10 Times, for one Prayer to GOD, looked ſo like preferring the Creature to the Creator, that it was not eaſy to defend it from an Appearance of Idolatry. The Prieſts were alſo ordered to exhort the People to give to the Poor. The Curates were requir'd to preach and declare the Catechiſm, at leaſt every ſixth Week: And ſome Prieſts continuing ſecretly the Uſe of Soul Maſſes, in which for avoiding the Cenſure of the Law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of theſe in one Day; it was ordered, that there ſhould be no Selling of the Communion, in Trentals, and that there ſhould be but one Communion in one Church, except on Eaſter-Day and Chriſtmas; in which the People coming to the Sacrament in greater Numbers, there ſhould be one Sacrament in the Morning, and another near Noon. And there being great Abuſes in Churches, and Church-Yards, in which, in the Times of Popery, Markets had been held, and Bargains made, that was forbid, chiefly in the Time of Divine Service or Sermon.

THESE Inſtructions, were given in Charge to the Viſitors. Cranmer had alſo a Viſitation about the ſame Time, in which the Articles he gave out are all drawn according to the King's Injunctions. By ſome Queſtions in them, they ſeem to have been ſent out before the Parliament, becauſe the Book of Service is not mentioned: But the laſt Queſtion ſave one, being of ſuch as contemned married Prieſts, and refuſed to receive the Sacrament at their Hands, theſe were perhaps compiled after the Act concerning their Marriage was paſt, but before the Feaſt of Whit-Sunday following, for till then the Common-Prayer-Book was not to be received. There were alſo Orders ſent by the Council to the Biſhop of London, to ſee that there ſhould be no ſpecial Maſſes in St. Paul's Church; which, being the Mother Church in the chief City of the Kingdom, would be an Example to all the reſt, and that therefore there ſhould be only one Communion at the great Altar, and that at the Time when the high Maſs was wont to be celebrated, unleſs ſome deſired a Sacrament in the Morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high Altar. Bonner, who reſolved to comply in every Thing, ſent the Council's Letter to the Dean and Reſidentiaries of St Paul's, to ſee it obeyed: And indeed, all England over, the Book was ſo univerſally received, that the Viſitors did return no Complaint from any Corner of the whole Kingdom: Only the Lady Mary continued to have Maſs ſaid in her Houſe, of which the Council being advertiſed, writ to her to conform herſelf to the Laws, and not to caſt Reproach on the King's Government; for the nearer ſhe was to him in Blood, ſhe was to give the better Examples

to

to others: And her Diſobedience might encourage others to follow her in that Contempt of the King's Authority. So they deſired her to ſend to them, her Comptroller, and Dr. Hopton her Chaplain, by whom ſhe would be more fully advertiſed of the King and Council's Pleaſure. Upon this ſhe ſent one to the Emperor to interpoſe for her, that ſhe might not be forced to any thing againſt her Conſcience.

AT this Time there was a Complaint made at the Emperor's Court, of the Engliſh Ambaſſador Sir Philip Hobby, for uſing the Common-Prayer-Book there: To which he anſwered, He was to be obedient to the Laws of his own Prince and Country; and as the Emperor's Ambaſſador had Maſs at his Chapel at London, without Diſturbance, tho' it was contrary to the Law of England, ſo he had the ſame Reaſon to expect the like Liberty. But the Emperor eſpouſing the Intereſt of the Lady Mary, both Paget, (who was ſent over Ambaſſador Extraordinary to him upon his coming into Flanders) and Hobby, promiſed in the King's Name, that he ſhould diſpence with her, for ſome Time, as they afterwards declared upon their Honours, when the Thing was further queſtioned: Tho' the Emperor and his Miniſters pretended, that without any Qualification it was promiſed that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free Exerciſe of her Religion. The Emperor was now grown ſo high with his Succeſs in Germany, and at a Time when a War was coming on with France, that it was not thought adviſable to give him any Offence. There was likewiſe a Propoſition ſent over by him to the Protector and Council, for the Lady Mary to be married to Alphonſo, Brother to the King of Portugal. The Council entertained it; and tho' the late King had left his Daughters but 10,000 l. a-piece, yet they offered 100,000 Crowns in Money, and 20,000 Crowns worth of Jewels. The Infant of Portugal was about her own Age, and offered 20,000 Crowns Jointure. But this Propoſition was let fall ſoon after. The Lady Mary wrote on the 22d of June to the Council, that ſhe could not obey their late Laws, and that ſhe did not eſteem them Laws, as made when the King was not of Age, and contrary to thoſe made by her Father, which they were all bound by Oath to maintain. She excuſed the not ſending her Comptroller, (Mr. Arundel) and her Prieſt: The one did all her Buſineſs, ſo that ſhe could not well be without him; the other was then ſo ill that he could not travel. Upon this the Council ſent a peremptory Command to theſe, requiring them to come up, and receive their Orders. The Lady Mary wrote a ſecond Letter to them on the 27th of June, in which ſhe expoſtulated the Matter with the Council. She ſaid, ſhe was ſubject to none of them, and would obey none of the Laws they made, but proteſted great Obedience and Subjection to the King. When her Officers came to Court, they were commanded to declare to the Lady Mary, that tho' the King was young in Perſon, yet his Authority was now as great as ever: That thoſe who have his Authority, and act in his Name, are to be obeyed; and tho' they, as ſingle Perſons, were her humble Servants; yet when they met in Council, they acted in the King's Name, and ſo were to be conſidered by all the King's Subjects as if they were the King himſelf: They had indeed ſworn to obey the late King's Laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in Force; and being now repealed, they were no more Laws; other Laws being made in their Room: There was no Exception in the Laws, all the King's Subjects were included in them; and for a Reformation in Religion made when a King was under Age, one of the moſt perfect that was recorded in Scripture was ſo carried on, when Joſiah was much younger than their King was: Therefore they gave them in Charge to perſwade her Grace, (for that was her Title) to be a good Example of Obedience, and not to encourage peeviſh and obſtinate Perſons, by her Stiffneſs. But this Buſineſs was for ſome Time laid aſide.

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady Mary.

AND now the Reformation was to be carried on to the eſtabliſhing of a Form of Doctrine, which ſhould contain the chief Points of Religion. In order to which, there was this Year great Enquiry made into many particular Opinions, and chiefly concerning the preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament. There was no Opinion, for which the Prieſts contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the People generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a ſtrong Belief were nothing elſe but winking very hard. The Prieſts, becauſe they accounted it the

The Manner of CHRIST's Preſence in the Sacrament examined.

the chief Support now left of their falling Dominion, which being kept up, might in Time retrieve all the reſt. For while it was believed, that their Character qualified them for ſo ſtrange and mighty a Performance, they muſt needs be held in great Reverence. The People, becauſe they thought they received the very Fleſh of CHRIST, and ſo (notwithſtanding our SAVIOUR's expreſs Declaration to the contrary, that the Fleſh profiteth nothing) looked on thoſe who went about to perſwade them otherwiſe, as Men that intended to rob them of the greateſt Privilege they had. And therefore it was thought neceſſary to open this fully, before there ſhould be any Change made in the Doctrine of the Church.

THE Lutherans ſeemed to agree with that which had been the Doctrine of the Greek Church, that in the Sacrament there was both the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, and CHRIST's Body likewiſe. Only many of them defended it by an Opinion that was thought a-kin to the Eutychian Hereſy, that his humane Nature by Virtue of the Union of the Godhead, was every where: Though even in this Way it did not appear, that there was any ſpecial Preſence in the Sacrament, more than in other Things. Thoſe of Switzerland had, on the other Hand, taught that the Sacrament was only an Inſtitution to commemorate the Sufferings of CHRIST. This, becauſe it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a Thing, and not equal to the high Expreſſions that are in the Scripture, of its being the Communion of the Body and Blood of CHRIST. The Princes of Germany ſaw what Miſchief was like to follow on the Diverſity of Opinions in explaining the Sacrament; and as Luther, being impatient in his Temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to ſee his Doctrine ſo rejected; ſo by the undecent Way of Writing in Matters of Controverſy, to which the Germans are too much inclined, this Difference turned to a direct Breach among them. The Landgrave of Heſſe had laboured much to have theſe Diverſities of Opinion laid aſleep, ſince nothing gave their common Enemies ſuch Advantage, as their quarrelling among themſelves. Martin Bucer was of a moderate Temper, and had found a middle Opinion in this Matter, tho' not ſo eaſy to be underſtood. He thought there was more than a Remembrance, to wit, a Communication of the Body and Blood of CHRIST in the Sacrament; that in general a Real Preſence ought to be aſſerted, and that the Way of explaining it ought not to be anxiouſly enquired into: And with him Calvin agreed, that it was truly the Body and Blood of CHRIST, not figuratively, but really preſent. The Advantage of theſe general Expreſſions was, that thereby they hoped to have ſilenced the Debates between the German and Helvetian Divines, whoſe Doctrine came likewiſe to be received by many of the Cities of the Empire, and by the Elector Palatine. Dr. Burnet ſays, among Martin Bucer's Papers, he met with an original Paper of Luther's, in which he was willing to have that Difference thus ſettled: "Thoſe of the Auſburg Confeſſion ſhould declare, that in the Sacrament there was truly Bread and Wine, and thoſe of the Helvetian Confeſſion ſhould declare, that CHRIST's Body was truly preſent, and ſo without any further Curioſities in the Way of explaining it, in which Divines might uſe their Liberty, the Difference ſhould end." But how this came to take no Effect, he ſaith he doth not underſtand. It was alſo thought that this Way of expreſſing the Doctrine would give leaſt Offence; for the People were ſcarce able to bear the Opinion of the Sacraments being only a Figure; but wherein this Real Preſence conſiſted, was not ſo eaſy to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a Sence of Law, that in the Sacrament there was a real Application of the Merit of CHRIST's Death, to thoſe who received it worthily: So that CHRIST, as crucified, was really preſent; and theſe had this to ſay for themſelves, that the Words of the Inſtitution do not call the Elements ſimply CHRIST's Body and Blood, but his Body broken, and his Blood ſhed, and that therefore CHRIST was really preſent, as he was crucified, ſo that the Importance of Really was Effectually. Others thought all Ways of explaining the Manner of the Preſence were needleſs Curioſities, and apt to beget Differences: That therefore the Doctrine was to be eſtabliſhed in general Words, and to ſave the Labour both of explaining and underſtanding it, it was to be eſteemed a Myſtery. This ſeems to have been

Bucer's Opinion; but Peter Martyr inclined more to the Helvetians.

Publick Disputations about it.

THERE were publick Disputations held this Year both at Oxford and Cambridge upon this Matter. At Oxford the Popish Party did so encourage themselves by the Gentleness of Cranmer's Temper, that they became upon this Head insolent out of Measure. Peter Martyr had read in the Chair concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which he explained according to the Doctrine of the Helvetian Churches: Dr. Smith did, upon this, resolve to contradict him openly in the Schools, and challenge him to dispute on these Points; and had brought many thither, who should by their Clamours and Applauses run him down: Yet this was not so secretly laid, but a Friend of Peter Martyr's brought him Word of it before he had come from his House, and persuaded him not to go to the Schools that Day, and so disapoint Smith. But he looked on that as so mean a Thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the Divinity Schools; on his Way one brought him a Challenge from Smith to dispute with him concerning the Eucharist. He went on and took his Place in the Chair, where he behaved himself with an equal Measure of Courage and Discretion: He gravely checked Smith's Presumption, and said, he did not decline a Dispute; but was resolved to have his Reading that Day, nor would he engage in a publick Dispute without Leave from the King's Council: Upon this a Tumult was like to rise, so the Vice-Chancellor sent for them before him: Peter Martyr said he was ready to defend every Thing that he had read in the Chair, in a Dispute; but he would manage it only in Scripture Terms, and not in the Terms of the Schools.

THIS was the beating the Popish Doctors out of that which was their chief Strength; for they had little other Learning, but a slight of tossing some Arguments from Hand to Hand, with a gibberish Kind of Language, that sounded like somewhat that was sublime; but had really nothing under it. By constant Practise they were very nimble at this Sort of Legerdemain, of which both Erasmus and Sir Tho. More, with the other learned Men of that Age, had made such Sport, that it was become sufficiently ridiculous; and the Protestants laid hold on that Advantage, which such great Authorities gave them to disparage it. They set up another Way of Disputing from the Original Text of the Scripture in Greek and Hebrew, which seemed a more proper Thing in Matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical Language of the Schoolmen.

THIS whole Matter being referred to the Privy Council, they appointed some Delegates to hear and preside in the Disputations: But Dr. Smith being brought in some Trouble, either for this Tumult, or upon some other Account, was forced to put in Sureties for his good Behaviour: He desiring that he might be discharged of any further Prosecution, made the most humble submission to Cranmer that was possible; and being thereupon set at Liberty, he fled out of the Kingdom; it is said he went first to Scotland, and from thence to Flanders. But not long after this Peter Martyr had a Disputation before the Commissioners sent by the King, who were the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Cox, then Chancellor of the University, and some others; in which Tresham, Chadsey, and Morgan, disputed against those three Propositions: *I.* in the Sacrament of Thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine in the Body and Blood of Christ. *II.* The Body or Blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor as others use to say, under the Bread and Wine. *III.* The Body and Blood of Christ are united to Bread and Wine Sacramentally. Ridley was sent also to Cambridge, with some others of the King's Commissioners, where, on the 20th, 24th, and 27th of June there were publick Disputations on these two Positions.

"Transubstantiation cannot be pro-
"ved by the plain and manifest Words
"of Scripture; nor can it be necessarily
"collected from it; nor yet confirmed
"by the Consent of the Antient
"Fathers.

"In the LORD's Supper there is
"none other Oblation and Sacrifice,
"than a Remembrance of Christ's
"Death, and of Thanksgiving.

Dr. Madew defended these, and Glyn, Langdale, Sedgewick, and Young, disputed against them the first Day; and the second Day Glyn defended the contrary Propositions, and Peru, Grindal, Gost, and Pilkington,

diſputed againſt them. On the third Day the Diſpute went on, and was ſummed up in a learned Determination by Ridley againſt the corporal Preſence. There had been alſo a long Diſputation in the Parliament on the ſame Subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what King Edward writ in his Journal. Ridley had, by reading Bertram's Book of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, been firſt ſet on to examin well the Old Opinion concerning the Preſence of Chriſt's very Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament; and wondering to find that in the 9th Century that Opinion was ſo much controverted, and ſo learnedly writ againſt by one of the moſt eſteemed Men of that Age, began to conclude, that it was none of the antient Doctrines of the Church, but lately brought in, and not fully received, till after Bertram's Age. He communicated the Matter with Cranmer, and they ſet themſelves to examin it with more than ordinary Care. Cranmer afterwards gathered all the Arguments about it into the Book which he writ on that Subject; to which Gardiner ſet out an Anſwer under the diſguiſed Name of Marcus Conſtantius; and Cranmer replied to it. Dr. Burnet gives his Readers the Subſtance of what was in thoſe Books, and of the Arguments uſed in the Diſputations, and in many other Books which were at that Time written on this Subject.

The Manner of the Preſence explained according to the Scripture.

CHRIST in the Inſtitution took Bread, and gave it. So that his Words, This is my Body, could only be meant of the Bread: Now the Bread could not be his Body literally. He himſelf alſo calls the Cup, The Fruit of the Vine. St. Paul calls it, The Bread that we brake, and the Cup that we bleſs; and ſpeaking of it after it was bleſſed, calls it, That Bread and that Cup. For the Reaſon of that Expreſſion, This is my Body; it was conſidered that the Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſpoke thus, were Jews; and that they being accuſtomed to the Moſaical Rites, muſt needs have underſtood his Words, in the ſame Senſe they did Moſes's Words, concerning the Paſchal Lamb, which is called the LORD's Paſſover. It was not that literally, for the LORD's Paſſover was the Angel's paſſing by the Iſraelites when he ſmote the Firſt-born of the Egyptians; ſo the Lamb was only the LORD's Paſſover, as it was the Memorial of it: And thus Chriſt ſubſtituting the Euchariſt to the Paſchal Lamb, uſed ſuch an Expreſſion, calling it his Body, in the ſame Manner of ſpeaking as the Lamb was called the LORD's Paſſover. This was plain enough, for his Diſciples could not well underſtand him in any other Senſe, than that to which they had been formerly accuſtomed. In the Scripture many ſuch Figurative Expreſſions occur frequently. In Baptiſm, the other Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, he is ſaid to Baptize with the HOLY GHOST and with Fire: And ſuch as are Baptized, are ſaid to put on Chriſt: Which were Figurative Expreſſions: As alſo in the Sacrament of the LORD's Supper, the Cup is called the New Teſtament in Chriſt's Blood, which is an Expreſſion full of Figure. Farther it is obſerved, that, that Sacrament was inſtituted for a Remembrance of Chriſt, and of his Death: Which implied, that he was to be remembred. Nor was it ſimply ſaid, that the Elements were his Body broken, and his Blood ſhed, that is, they were theſe as ſuffering on the Croſs; which as they could not be underſtood literally, for Chriſt did inſtitute this Sacrament before he had ſuffered on the Croſs; ſo now Chriſt muſt be preſent in the Sacrament, not as glorified in Heaven, but as ſuffering on the Croſs. From thoſe Places were it is ſaid, that Chriſt is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there, they argued, that he was not to be any more upon Earth. And thoſe Words in the 6th of St. John, of eating Chriſt's Fleſh, and drinking his Blood, they were ſaid to be underſtood not of the Sacrament; ſince many receive the Sacrament unworthyly, and of them it cannot be ſaid that they have eternal Life in them: but Chriſt there ſaid of them, that received him in the Senſe that was meant in that Chapter, that all that did ſo eat his Fleſh had Eternal Life in them; therefore theſe Words can only be underſtood Figuratively of receiving him by Faith, as himſelf there explains it: And ſo in the End of that Diſcourſe, finding ſome were ſtartled at that Way of expreſſing himſelf, he gave a Key to the whole, when he ſaid his Words were Spirit and Life, and that the Fleſh profited nothing; it was the Spirit that quickned. It was ordinary for him to teach in Parables; and the receiving of any Doctrine, being

ing oft expreſſed by the Prophets, by the Figure of eating and drinking, he, upon the Occaſion of the People's coming to him after he had fed them with a few Loaves, did diſcourſe of their believing, in theſe dark Expreſſions; which did not ſeem to relate to the Sacrament, ſince it was not then inſtituted. They alſo argued from Chriſt's appealing to the Senſes of his Hearers, in his Miracles, and eſpecially in his Diſcourſes upon his Reſurrection, that the Teſtimony of Senſe was to be received, where the Object was duly applied, and the Senſe not vitiated. They alſo alledged natural Reaſons againſt a Body's being in more Places than one, or being in a Place in the Manner of a Spirit, ſo that the Subſtance of a compleat Body, could not be in a Crumb of Bread, or Drop of Wine; and argued, that ſince the Elements after Conſecration, would nouriſh, might putrify, or could be poiſoned, theſe Things clearly evinced, That the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament.

And from the Fathers.

FROM this they went to examin the Antient Fathers. Some of them called it Bread and Wine; others ſaid it nouriſhed the Body, as Juſtin Martyr; others, that it was digeſted in the Stomach, and went into the Draught, as Origen. Some called it a Figure of Chriſt's Body, ſo Tertullian, and St. Auſtin; others called the Elements, Types and Signs, ſo almoſt all the Antient Liturgies, and the Greek Fathers generally. In the Creeds of the Church it was profeſſed, that Chriſt ſtill ſate on the Right Hand of GOD; the Fathers argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on Earth. And the Marcionites, and other Hereticks, denying that Chriſt had a true Body, or did really ſuffer; the Fathers appealed in that to the Teſtimony of Senſe, as Infallible. And St. Auſtin giving Rules concerning Figurative Speeches in Scripture; one is this, that they muſt be taken Figuratively, where in the Literal Senſe the Thing were a Crime; which he applies to theſe Words of eating Chriſt's Fleſh, and drinking his Blood. But that on which they put the Streſs of the whole Cauſe, as to the Doctrine of the Fathers, was the Reaſoning that they uſed againſt the Eutychians, who ſaid that Chriſt's Body and Humane Nature were ſwallowed up by his Divinity. The Eutychians, arguing from the Euchariſt being called Chriſt's Body and Blood, in which they ſaid Chriſt's Preſence did convert the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine into his own Fleſh and Blood; ſo in the like manner, ſaid they, his Godhead had converted the Manhood into itſelf: Againſt this, Gelaſius Biſhop of Rome, and Theodoret, one of the learnedeſt Fathers of his Age, argue in plain Words, That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained, as it was formerly; in its own Nature, and Form; and from their Opinion of the Preſence of Chriſt's Body in it, without converting the Elements, they turned the Argument to ſhew how the Divine and Humane Nature can be together in Chriſt, without the one's being changed by the other. Peter Martyr had brought over with him the Copy of a Letter of St. Chryſotome's, which he found in a M. S. at Florence, written to the ſame Purpoſe, and on the ſame Argument: Which was the more remarkable, becauſe that Chryſoſtome had ſaid higher Things in his Sermons and Commentaries concerning Chriſt's being preſent in the Sacrament, than any of all the Fathers; but it appeared by this Letter, that thoſe high Expreſſions were no other than Rhetorical Figures of Speech to beget a great Reverence to this Inſtitution; and from hence it was reaſonable to judge that ſuch were the like Expreſſions, in other Fathers, and that they were nevertheleſs of Chryſoſtome's Mind touching the Preſence of Chriſt in this Sacrament. That Epiſtle of his does lie ſtill unpubliſhed, tho' a very learned Man not long ago in France procured a Copy of it: But thoſe of that Church know the Conſequence that the Printing of it would have, and ſo it ſeems are reſolved to ſuppreſs it, if they can. From all theſe Things it was plain, that tho' the Fathers believed there was an extraordinary Virtue in the Sacrament, and an unaccountable Preſence of Chriſt in it, yet they thought not of Tranſubſtantiation, nor any Thing like it. But when Darkneſs and Ignorance crept into the Church, the People were apt to believe any Thing that was incredible: And were willing enough to ſupport ſuch Opinions as turned Religion into external Pageantry. The Prieſts alſo knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only, or chiefly, converſant in thoſe Writings of the Antients, that had highly

highly extolled the Sacrament, came generally to take up the Opinion of the corporal Preſence; and being ſoon apprehenſive of the great Eſteem it would bring to them, cheriſhed it much. In the 9th Century, Bertram, Rabanus, Maurus, Amalarius, and Joannes Scotus, all writ againſt it: Nor were any of them cenſured or condemned for their Opinions. It was plainly and ſtrongly contradicted by ſome Homilies that were in the Saxon Tongue, in which not a few of Bertram's Words occur; particularly in that which was to be read in the Churches on Eaſter-Day. But in the 11th or 12th Century it came to be univerſally received; as indeed any Thing would have been that much advanced the Dignity of Prieſthood. And it was farther advanced by Pope Innocent the IIId, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council of Lateran; That ſame Council, in which the rooting out of Hereticks, and the Pope's Power of depoſing Heretical Princes, and giving their Dominions to others, were alſo decreed.

BUT there was another curious Remark made of the Progreſs of this Opinion. When the Doctrine of the corporal Preſence was firſt received in the Weſtern Church, they believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body of JESUS Chriſt; ſo that in the Diſtribution one had an Eye, a Noſe, or an Ear, another a Tooth, a Finger, or a Toe, a Third a Collop, or a Piece of Tripe; and this was ſupported by pretended Miracles ſuited to that Opinion; for ſometimes the Hoſt was ſaid to bleed; Parts of it were alſo ſaid to be turned to Pieces of Fleſh. This continued to be the Doctrine of the Church of Rome for near 300 Years: It appears clearly in the Renunciation which they made Berengarius ſwear: But when the Schoolmen began to form the Tenets of that Church by more artificial and ſubtil Rules; as they thought it an ungentle Way of treating Chriſt to be thus mangling his Body, and eating it up in Gobbets, ſo the Maxims they ſet up about the Extenſion of Matter, and the Manner of Spirits filling a Space, made them think of a more decent Way of explaining this prodigious Myſtery. They taught, that Chriſt was ſo in the Hoſt and Chalice, that there was one intire Body in every Crumb and Drop; ſo that the Body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the Hoſt, a new whole Body flew off from the other Parts, which yet remained an intire Body, notwithſtanding that Diminution. And then the former Miracles being contrary to this Conceit, were laid aſide, and new ones invented, fitted for this Explanation, by which Chriſt's Body was believed preſent after the Manner of a Spirit. It was given out, that he ſometimes appeared as a Child all in Rays upon the Hoſt, ſometimes with Angels about him, or ſometimes in his Mother's Arms. And that the Senſes might give as little Contradiction as was poſſible, inſtead of a Loaf they bleſſed then only Wafers, which are ſuch a Shadow of Bread as might more eaſily agree with their Doctrine of the Accidents of Bread being only preſent: And leſt a larger Meaſure of Wine might have encouraged the People to have thought it was Wine ſtill, by the ſenſible Effects of it, that came alſo to be denied them.

THIS was the Subſtance of the Arguments that were in thoſe Writings: But an Opinion that had been ſo generally received, was not of a ſudden to be altered. Therefore they went on ſlowly in diſcuſſing it, and thereby did the better diſpoſe the People to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh concerning it. And this was the State of Religion for this Year.

Proceedings againſt Anabaptiſts.

AT this Time there were many Anabaptiſts in ſeveral Parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the Revolutions there had forced to change their Seats. Upon Luther's firſt preaching in Germany, there aroſe many, who building on ſome of his Principles, carried Things much further than he did. The chief Foundation he laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only Rule of Chriſtians. Upon this many argued, that the Myſteries of the Trinity, and Chriſt's Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the Aids of Grace, were indeed Philoſophical Subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almoſt all Opinions of Religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among theſe, the Baptiſm of Infants was one. They held that to be no Baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptized: But from this which was moſt taken Notice of, as being a viſible Thing, they carried all the general Name of Anabaptiſts. Of theſe

Two Sorts of them.

these there were two Sorts most remarkable. The one was of those who only thought that Baptism ought not to be given but to those who were of an Age capable of Instruction, and who did earnestly desire it. This Opinion they grounded on the Silence of the New Testament about the Baptism of Children; they observed, that our Saviour commanding the Apostles to baptize, did join Teaching with it; and they said, the great Decay of Christianity flowed from this Way of making Children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the Gentle or Moderate Anabaptists. But others who carried that Name, denied almost the Principals of the Christian Doctrine, and were Men of fierce and barbarous Tempers. They had broke out into a general Revolt over Germany, and raised the War called the Rustick War; and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their Teachers, John of Leyden, their King, under the Title of the King of the New Jerusalem. Some of them set up a Fantastical unintelligible Way of talking of Religion, which they turned all into Allegories: These being joined in the common Name of Anabaptists with the other, brought them also under an ill Character.

ON the 12th of April there was a Complaint brought to the Council, that with the Strangers that were come into England, some of that Persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their Errors, and making Proselites: So a Commission was ordered for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester, Sir William Petre, Sir Tho. Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and some others, three of them being a Quorum, to examine and search after all the Anabaptists, Hereticks, or Contemners of the Common-Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them Penance, and give them Absolution; or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power to be farther proceeded against. Some Tradesmen in London were brought before the Commissioners in May, and were persuaded to abjure their former Opinions; which were, "That a Man regenerate could "not sin; That though the outward "Man sinned, the inward Man sinned "not; That there was no Trinity of "Persons; That Christ was only a "Holy Prophet, and not at all GOD; "That all we had by Christ was, that "he taught us the Way to Heaven; "That he took no Flesh of the Vir-"gin; and that the Baptism of In-"fants was not profitable." One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a Faggot next Sunday at St. Paul's, where there should be a Sermon setting forth his Heresy: But there was another of these extream obstinate, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. "She denied that "Christ was truly incarnate of the "Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful, he "could take none of it: But the Word "by the Consent of the inward Man "in the Virgin, took Flesh of her:" these were her Words. They took much Pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that she rejected all they said with Scorn: Whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate Heretick, and so left to the Secular Power. This being returned to the Council, the good King was moved to sign a Warrant for Burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it. He thought it a Piece of Cruelty too, like that which they had condemned in Papists, to burn any for their Consciences. And in a long Discourse he had with Sir Jo. Cheek he seemed much confirmed in that Opinion. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to sign the Warrant. He argued from the Law of Moses, by which Blasphemers were to be stoned: He told the King, he made a Difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles Creed: That these were Impieties against GOD, which a Prince, as being GOD's Deputy, ought to punish; as the King's Deputies were obliged to punish Offenders, against the King's Person. These Reasons did rather silence than satisfy the young King, who still thought it a hard Thing (as in Truth it was) to proceed so severely in such Cases: So he set his Hand to the Warrant, with Tears in his Eyes, saying to Cranmer, That if he did Wrong, since it was in Submission to his Authority, he should answer for it to GOD. This struck the Archbishop with much Horror, so he was very unwilling to have the Sentence executed: And both he, and Ridley took the Woman then in Custody to

their Houſes, to ſee if they could perſuade her. But ſhe continued, by Jeers and other Inſolencies, to carry herſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the Sentence was executed on her, the 2d of May the next Year, Biſhop Scory preaching at her Burning: She carried herſelf then as ſhe had done in the former Parts of her Proceſs, very undecently, and in the End was burnt.

An Anabaptiſt burnt.

THIS Action was much cenſured, as being contrary to the Clemency of the Goſpel, and was made oft Uſe of by the Papiſts, who ſaid it was plain that the Reformers were only againſt Burning, when they were in Fear of it themſelves. The Woman's Carriage made her be look'd on as a frantick Perſon, fitter for Bedlam than a Stake. People had generally believed that all the Statutes for Burning Hereticks had been repealed; but now, when the Thing was better conſidered, it was found, that the Burning of Hereticks was done by the Common Law, ſo that the Statutes made about it were only for making the Conviction more eaſy, and the repealing the Statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a Writ at Common Law. To end all this Matter at once, two Years after this, one George Van-Pare, a Dutchman, being accuſed for ſaying that GOD the Father was only GOD, and that Chriſt was not very GOD; he was dealt with long to abjure, but would not: So on the 6th of April 1551, he was condemned in the ſame Manner that Joan of Kent was, and on the 25th of April was burnt in Smithfield: He ſuffered with great Conſtancy of Mind, and kiſſed the Stake and Faggots that were to burn him. Of this Pare, a Popiſh Writer ſaith, That he was a Man of moſt wonderful ſtrict Life, that he uſed not to eat above once in two Days, and before he did eat, would lie ſome Time in his Devotion proſtrate on the Ground. All this they made Uſe of to leſſen the Credit of thoſe who had ſuffered formerly; for it was ſaid, they ſay now, that Men of harmleſs Lives, might be put to Death for Hereſy, by the Confeſſion of the Reformers themſelves: And in all the Books publiſhed in Queen Mary's Days, juſtifying her Severity againſt the Proteſtants, theſe Inſtances were always made Uſe of; and no Part of Cranmer's Life expoſed him more than this did. It was ſaid he had conſented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's Death, in the former Reign, who both ſuffered for Opinions which he himſelf held now: And he had now procured the Death of theſe two Perſons, and when he was brought to ſuffer himſelf afterwards, it was called a juſt Retalliation on him. One Thing was certain, that what he did in this Matter, flowed from no Cruelty of Temper in him, no Man being further from that black Diſpoſition of Mind; but it was truly the Effect of thoſe Principles, by which he governed himſelf.

Another burnt.

FOR the other Sort of Anabaptiſts, who only denied Infant Baptiſm, there were no Severities uſed to them; but ſeveral Books were written againſt them, to which they wrote ſome Anſwers. It was ſaid that Chriſt allowed little Children to be brought to him, and ſaid, Of ſuch was the Kingdom of Heaven, and bleſſed be them: Now if they were capable of the Kingdom of Heaven, they muſt be regenerate, for Chriſt ſaid, none but ſuch as were born of Water, and of the Spirit, could enter into it. St. Paul had alſo called the Children of believing Parents Holy, which ſeemed to relate to ſuch a Conſecration of them as was made in Baptiſm. And Baptiſm being the Seal of Chriſtians, in the room of Circumciſion among the Jews, it was thought the one was as applicable to Children as the other. And one Thing was obſerved, that the whole World in that Age having been baptized in their Infancy, if that Baptiſm was Nothing, then there were none truly baptized in Being; but all were in the State of meer Nature: Now it did not ſeem reaſonable that Men who were not baptized themſelves, ſhould go and baptize others: And therefore the firſt Heads of that Sect, not being rightly baptized themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any Authority when they went to baptize others. The Practice of the Church, ſo early begun, and continued without Diſpute for ſo many Ages, was at leaſt a certain Confirmation of a Thing, which had (to ſpeak moderately) ſo good Foundations in Scripture for the Lawfulneſs, tho' not any Peremptory, but only probable Proof for the Practice of it.

Diſputes concerning Infant Baptiſm.

THESE are all the Errors in Opinion that were taken Notice of at this Time. There was alſo another Sort of People, of whom all the good Men of that Age made great Complaints. Some there were

The Doctrine of Predeſtination much abuſed.

were called Goſpellers, or Readers of the Goſpel, who were a Scandal to the Doctrine they profeſſed. In many Sermons there are ſevere Expoſtulations with theſe, and heavy Denunciations of Judgments againſt them. But not any Thing objected to them, as to their Belief; ſave only that the Doctrine of Predeſtination having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this Sect began to make ſtrange Inferences from it; reckoning, that ſince every Thing was decreed, and the Decrees of GOD could not be fruſtrated, therefore Men were to leave themſelves to be carried by theſe Decrees. This drew ſome into great Impiety of Life, and others into Deſparation. The Germans ſoon ſaw the ill Effects of this Doctrine. Luther changed his Mind about it, and Melancthon openly writ againſt it: And ſince that Time the whole Stream of the Lutheran Churches has run the other Way. But both Calvin and Bucer were ſtill for maintaining the Doctrine of theſe Decrees; only they warned the People not to think much of them, ſince they were Secrets which Men could not penetrate into; but they did not ſo clearly ſhew how theſe Conſequences did not flow from ſuch Opinions. Hooper, and many other good Writers, did often dehort People from entering into theſe Curioſities; and a Caveat to that ſame Purpoſe was put afterwards into the Article of the Church about Predeſtination.

Tumults in England.

ONE ill Effect of the Diſſoluteneſs of People's Manners broke out violently this Summer, occaſioned by the Incloſing of Lands. While the Monaſteries ſtood, there were great Numbers of People maintained about theſe Houſes; their Lands were eaſily let out, and many were relieved by them: But now, the Numbers of the People encreaſed much, Marriage being univerſally allowed; they alſo had more Time than formerly, by the Abrogation of many Holydays, and the puting down of Proceſſions and Pilgrimages; ſo that as the Numbers encreaſed, they had more Time than they knew how to beſtow. Thoſe who bought in the Church-Lands, as they every where raiſed their Rents, of which old Latimer made great Complaints in one of his Court Sermons, ſo they reſolved to encloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture: For Trade was then riſing faſt, and Corn brought not in ſo much Money as Wooll did. Their Flocks alſo being kept by few Perſons in Grounds ſo encloſed, the Landlords themſelves enjoyed the Profit which formerly the Tenants made out of their Eſtates; and ſo they intended to force them to ſerve about them at any ſuch Rates as they would allow. By this Means the Commons of England ſaw they were like to be reduced to great Miſery. This was much complained of, and ſeveral little Books were written about it. Some propoſed a Sort of Agrarian Law, that none might have Farms above a ſet Value, or Flocks above a ſet Number of 2000 Sheep; which Propoſal the young King was much taken with, as appears in one of the Diſcourſes he wrote with his own Hand. It was alſo repreſented, that there was no Care taken of the educating of Youth, except of thoſe who were bred for Learning; and many Things were propoſed to correct this; but in the mean time the Commons ſaw the Gentry were like to reduce them to a very low Condition.

THE Protector ſeemed much concerned for the Commons, and often ſpoke againſt the Oppreſſion of the Landlords. He was naturally juſt and compaſſionate, and ſo did heartily eſpouſe the Cauſe of the poor People, which made the Nobility and Gentry hate him much. The former Year, the Commons about Hampton-Court, petitioned the Protector and Council, complaining, that whereas the late King in his Sickneſs had encloſed a Park there, to divert himſelf with private eaſy Game, the Deer of that Park did overlay the Country, and it was a great Burden to them; and therefore they deſired that it might be diſparked. The Council conſidering that it was ſo near Windſor, and was not uſeful to the King, but a Charge rather, ordered it to be diſparked, and the Deer to be carried to Windſor; but with this Proviſo, that if the King, when he came of Age, deſired to have a Park there, what they did ſhould be no Prejudice to him. There was alſo a Commiſſion iſſued out to enquire about the Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who had purchaſed the Abbey Lands kept Hoſpitality, to which they were bound by the Grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged Husbandry. But Dr. Burnet ſaith, he finds no Effect of this. And indeed there ſeemed to have been a general De-

ſign among the Nobility and Gentry, to bring the inferior Sort to that low and ſervile State to which the Peaſants in many other Kingdoms are reduced. In the Parliament an Act was carried in the Houſe of Lords for imparking Grounds; but was caſt out by the Commons: Yet Gentlemen went on every where taking their Lands into their own Hands, and encloſing them.

Many are ſoon quieted.

IN May the Commons did riſe firſt in Wiltſhire, where Sir William Herbert gathered ſome reſolute Men about him, and diſperſed them, and ſlew ſome of them. Soon after that they roſe in Suſſex, Hampſhire, Kent, Gloceſterſhire, Suffolk, Warwickſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Rutlandſhire; but by fair Perſuaſions the Fury of the People was a little ſtopt, till the Matter ſhould be repreſented to the Council. The Protector ſaid, he did not wonder the Commons were in ſuch Diſtempers, they being ſo oppreſſed, that it was eaſier to die once than to periſh for Want; and therefore he ſet out a Proclamation, contrary to the Mind of the whole Council, againſt all new Incloſures; with another, indemnifying the People for what was paſt; ſo they carried themſelves obediently for the future. Commiſſions were alſo ſent every where, with an unlimited Power to the Commiſſioners to hear and determine all Cauſes about Incloſures, Highways, and Cottages. The vaſt Power theſe Commiſſioners aſſumed was much complained of; the Landlords ſaid it was an Invaſion of their Property, to ſubject them thus to the Pleaſure of thoſe who were ſent to examine the Matters without proceeding in the ordinary Courts according to Law. The Commons being encouraged by the Favour they heard the Protector bore them, and not able to govern their Heat, or ſtay for a more peaceable Iſſue, did riſe again, but were a-new quieted. Yet the Protector being oppoſed much by the Council, he was not able to redreſs this Grievance ſo fully as the People hoped. So in Oxfordſhire and Devonſhire they roſe again, and alſo in Norfolk and Yorkſhire. Thoſe in Oxfordſhire were diſſipated by a Force of 1500 Men, led againſt them by the Lord Gray. Some of them were taken and hanged by Martial Law, as being in a State of War; the greateſt Part ran Home to their Dwellings.

IN Devonſhire the Inſurrection grew to be better formed; for that County was not only far from the Court, but it was generally inclined to the former Superſtition, and many of the old Prieſts ran in among them. They came together on the 10th of June, being Whit-Monday, and in a ſhort Time they grew to be 1000 ſtrong. At Court it was hoped this might be as eaſily diſperſed as the other Riſings were; but the Protector was againſt running into Extremities, and ſo did not move ſo ſpeedily as the Thing required. He, after ſome Days, at laſt ſent the Lord Ruſſell with a ſmall Force to ſtop their Proceedings. And that Lord remembering well how the Duke of Norfolk had, with a very ſmall Army, broken a formidable Rebellion in the former Reign, hoped that Time would likewiſe weaken and diſ-unite theſe; and therefore he kept at ſome Diſtance, and offered to receive their Complaints, and ſend them to the Council: But theſe Delays gave Advantage and Strength to the Rebels; who were now led on by ſome Gentlemen. Arundel of Cornwall being in chief Command among them; and in Anſwer to the Lord Ruſſel, they agreed on 15 Articles, the Subſtance of which was as follows:

But in Devonſhire they grew formidable.

Their Demands.

I. "That all the General Councils, "and the Decrees of their Fore-fathers, "ſhould be obſerved.

II. "That the Act of the ſix Arti- "cles ſhould be again in Force.

III. "That the Maſs ſhould be in "Latin, and that the Prieſts alone "ſhould receive.

IV. "That the Sacrament ſhould be "hanged up, and worſhipped; and "thoſe who refuſed to do it ſhould ſuf- "fer as Hereticks.

V. "That the Sacrament ſhould on- "ly be given to the People at Eaſter, "in one Kind.

VI. "That Baptiſm ſhould be done "at all Times.

VII. "That Holy Bread, Holy Wa- "ter, and Pſalms, be again uſed; and "that Images be ſet up, with all the "other antient Ceremonies.

VIII. "That the new Service ſhould "be laid aſide, ſince it was like a "Chriſtmas Game; and the old Ser- "vice again ſhould be uſed with the "Proceſſion in Latin.

IX. "That all Preachers in their "Sermons, and Prieſts in their Maſs, "ſhould pray for the Souls in Purga- "tory.

X. "That

X. "That the Bible ſhould be call-
"ed in, ſince otherwiſe the Clergy
"could not eaſily confound the Here-
"ticks.

XI. "That Dr. Moreman, and
"Criſpin, ſhould be ſent to them, and
"put in their Livings.

XII. "That Cardinal Pool ſhould
"be reſtored and made of the King's
"Council.

XIII. "That every Gentleman might
"have only one Servant for every
"hundred Marks of yearly Rent that
"belonged to him.

XIV. "That the Half of the Abbey
"and Church-Lands ſhould be taken
"back, and reſtored to two of the
"chief Abbies in every County; and
"all the Church-Boxes for ſeven
"Years ſhould be given to ſuch
"Houſes, that ſo devout Perſons
"might live in them, who ſhould
"pray for the King and the Common-
"wealth.

XV. "And that for their particu-
"lar Grievances, they ſhould be re-
"dreſſed, as Humphrey Arundel and
"the Mayor of Bodmyn ſhould in-
"form the King, for whom they de-
"ſired a ſafe Conduct.

THESE Articles being ſent to the Council, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an Anſwer to them: The Subſtance of it was, That their Demands were inſolent, ſuch as were dictated to them by ſome ſeditious Prieſts: They did not know what general Councils had decreed; nor was there any thing in the Church of England contrary to them, tho' many Things had been formerly received which were ſo; and for the Decrees, they were framed by the Popes to enſlave the World, of which he gave ſeveral Inſtances.

For the ſix Articles, he ſays, They had not been carried in Parliament if the late King had not gone thither in Perſon, and procured that Act, and yet of his own Accord he ſlackened the Execution of it.

To the third, it was ſtrange that they did not deſire to know in what Terms they worſhipped GOD: And for the Maſs, the antient Canons required the People to communicate in it, and the Prayers in the Office of the Maſs did ſtill imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the Hoſt, it was but lately ſet up by Pope Innocent, and Honorius, and in ſome Places it had never been received.

For the fifth, the Antient Church received that Sacrament frequently, and in both Kinds.

To the ſixth, Baptiſm in Caſes of Neceſſity was to be adminiſtred at any Time: But out of theſe Caſes it was fit to do it ſolemnly; and in the antient Church it was chiefly done on the Eves of Eaſter and Whit-Sunday, of which Uſage ſome Footſteps remained ſtill in the old Offices.

To the ſeventh, theſe were late ſuperſtitious Devices: Images were contrary to the Scriptures, firſt ſet up for Remembrance, but ſoon after made Objects of Worſhip.

To the eighth, The Old Service had many ludicrous Things in it, the new was ſimple and grave: If it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the Goſpel was long ago, Fooliſhneſs to the Greeks.

To the ninth, The Scriptures ſay nothing of it: It was a ſuperſtitious Invention, derogatory to Chriſt's Death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the Word of GOD, and the readieſt Way to confound that which is Hereſy indeed.

To the elevenrh, Theſe were ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and deceitful Perſons.

To the twelfth, Pool had been attainted in Parliament for his ſpiteful Writings and Doings againſt the late King.

To the thirteenth, It was fooliſh and unreaſonable: One Servant could not do a Man's Buſineſs; and by this, many Servants would want Employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the King, and thoſe who had theſe Lands of him; and would be a Means to make ſo foul a Rebellion be remembred in their Prayers.

To the fifteenth, Theſe were notorious Traitors, to whom the King's Council was not to ſubmit themſelves.

AFTER this, they grew more moderate, and ſent eight Articles: 1. Concerning Baptiſm. 2. About Confirmation. 3. Of the Maſs. 4. For receiving the Hoſt. 5. For Holy Bread and Water. 6. For the old Service. 7. For the ſingle Lives of Prieſts. 8. For the Six Articles: And concluded, GOD ſave the King, for they were His, both Body and Goods. To this there was an Anſwer ſent in the King's Name,

on the 8th of July, (ſo long did the Treaty with them hold) in which, after Expreſſions of the King's Affection to his People, he taxes their riſing in Arms againſt him their King; as contrary to the Laws of GOD: He tells them, That they are abus'd by their Prieſts, as in the Inſtance of Baptiſm, which according to the Book, might, Neceſſity requiring it, be done at all Times: That the Changes that had been ſet out, were made after long and great Conſultation; and the Worſhip of this Church, by the Advice of many Biſhops and Learned Men, was reformed, as near to what Chriſt and his Apoſtles had taught and done, as could be; and all Things had been ſettled in Parliament. But the moſt ſpecious Thing miſled them being that of the King's Age, it was ſhewed them that his Blood, and not his Years, gave him the Crown: And the State of Government requires, that at all Times there ſhould be the ſame Authority in Princes, and the ſame Obedience in the People. It was all penned in a high threatening Style, and concluded with an earneſt Invitation of them to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, as others that had riſen had alſo done, to whom he had not only ſhewed Mercy, but granted Redreſs of their juſt Grievances; otherwiſe they might meet with the utmoſt Severity that Traitors deſerv'd.

The Rebellion in Norfolk headed by Ket, a Tanner.

BUT nothing prevailed on this enraged Multitude, whom the Prieſts inflamed with all the Artifices they could imagine; and among whom the Hoſt was carried about by a Prieſt on a Cart, that all might ſee it. But when this Commotion was thus grown to a Head, the Men of Norfolk roſe the 6th of July, being led by one Ket, a Tanner. Theſe pretended nothing of Religion, but only to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the Gentry, raiſe the Commons, and to put new Counſellors about the King. They encreaſed mightily, and became 20,000 ſtrong, but had no Order nor Diſcipline, and committed many horrid Outrages. The Sheriff of the County came boldly to them, and required them in the King's Name to diſperſe, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to Death. They came to Mouſhold-Hill above Norwich, and were much favoured by many in that City. Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbuty, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill Lives, their Rebellion againſt the King, and the Robberies they daily committed: By which he was in great Danger of his Life. Ket aſſumed to himſelf the Power of Judicature, and under an Old Oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation, did ſuch Juſtice as might be expected from ſuch a Judge, and in ſuch a Camp. The Marquis of Northampton was ſent againſt them, but with Orders to keep at a Diſtance from them, and to cut off their Proviſions; for ſo it was hoped that without the ſhedding much Blood, they might come to themſelves again. When the News of this Riſing came to Yorkſhire, the Commons there alſo, being further encouraged by a Prophecy, That there ſhould be no King nor Nobility in England, that the Kingdom ſhould be ruled by four Governors choſen by the Commons, who ſhould hold a Parliament, in Commotion, to begin at the South and North Seas. This they applied to the Devonſhire Men, on the South Seas, and themſelves on the North Seas. They at their firſt Riſing fired Beacons, and ſo gathered the Country, as if it had been for the Defence of the Coaſt; and meeting two Gentlemen, with two others with them, they, without any Provocation, murdered them, and left their naked Bodies unburied. At the ſame Time that England was in this Commotion, the News came that the French King had ſent a great Army into the Territory of Bulloigne, ſo the Government was put to moſt extraordinary Straits.

A Riſing in Yorkſhire.

THERE was a Faſt proclaimed in and about London. Cranmer preach'd on the Faſt-Day at Court. Dr. Burnet ſaith he has ſeen the greateſt Part of his Sermon under his own Hand, and that it was a very plain unartificial Diſcourſe, no Shews of Learning, or Conceits of Wit in it, but he ſeverely expoſtulated in the Name of GOD with his Hearers, for their ill Lives, their Blaſphemies, Adulteries, mutual Hatred, Oppreſſion, and Contempt of the Goſpel; and complained of the Slackneſs in puniſhing theſe Sins, by which the Government became in ſome Sort guilty of them. He ſet many Paſſages of the Jewiſh Story before them of the Judgments ſuch Sins drew on, and of GOD's Mercy in the unexpected Deliverances they met with upon their true Repentance. But he chiefly lamented the Scandal given by many who pretended a Zeal for Religion

gion; but uſed that for a Cloak to diſguiſe their Vices: He ſet before them the freſh Example of Germany, where People generally loved to hear the Goſpel, but had not amended their Lives upon it; for which GOD had now, after many Years Forbearance, brought them under a ſevere Scourge, and intimated his Apprehenſions of ſome ſignal Stroke from Heaven upon the Nation if they did not repent.

THE Rebels in Devonſhire went and beſieged Exeter, where the Citizens reſiſted them with great Courage: They ſet Fire to the Gates of the City, which thoſe within fed with much Fuel for hindering their Entry, till they had raiſed a Rampart within the Gates, and when the Rebels came to enter, the Fire being ſpent, they killed many of them. The Rebels alſo wrought a Mine, but the Citizens countermined, and pour'd in ſo much Water as ſpoiled their Powder: So finding they could do nothing by Force, they reſolved to lie about the Town, reckoning that the Want of Proviſion would make it ſoon yield. The Lord Ruſſel, having but a ſmall Force with him, ſtayed a while for ſome Supplies, which Sir William Herbert was to bring him from Briſtol: But being afraid that the Rebels ſhould incloſe him, he marched back from Honnington, where he lay; and finding they had taken a Bridge behind him, he beat them from it, killing 600 of them without any Loſs on his Side. By this he underſtood their Strength, and ſaw they could not ſtand a brisk Charge, nor rally when once in Diſorder. So the Lord Gray, and Spinola, that commanded ſome Germans, joining him, he returned to raiſe the Siege of Exeter, which was much ſtraitned for Want of Victuals. The Rebels had now ſhut up the City twelve Days; they had within eat their Horſes, and endured extream Famine but reſolved to periſh rather than fall into the Hands of thoſe Savages; for the Rebels were indeed no better. They had blocked up the Ways, and left 2000 Men to keep a Bridge which the King's Forces were to paſs; but the Lord Ruſſel broke thorough them, and killed about 1000 of them; upon that the Rebels raiſed the Siege, and retired to Lanceſton. The Lord Ruſſel gave the Citizens of Exeter great Thanks in the King's Name for their Fidelity and Courage: And purſued the Rebels, who were now going off in Parties, and were killed in great Numbers. Some of their Heads, as Arundel, and the Major of Bodmyne, Temſon, and Barret, two Prieſts, with ſix or ſeven more; were taken and hanged. And ſo this Rebellion was happily ſubdued in the Weſt, about the Beginning of Auguſt, to the great Honour of the Lord Ruſſel; who with a very ſmall Force had ſaved Exeter, and diſperſed the Rebels Army, with little or no Loſs at all.

BUT the Marquis of Northampton was not ſo ſucceſsful in Norfolk. He carried about 1100 Men with him, but did not obſerve the Orders given him, and ſo marched on to Norwich. The Rebels were glad of an Occaſion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next Day with great Fury, and the Town not being ſtrong, he was forced to quit it, but loſt 100 of his Men in that Action, among whom was the Lord Sheffield, who was much lamented. The Rebels took about 30 Priſoners, with which they were much liſted up. This being underſtood at Court, the Earl of Warwick was ſent againſt them, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe that were prepared for an Expedition to Scotland: He came to Norwich, but was ſcarce able to defend it; for the Rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well aſſured of the Town. But he cut off their Proviſions, ſo that the Rebels, having waſted all the Country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his Horſe: They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed 2000 of them, and took Ket, their Captain, with his Brother, and and a great many more. Ket, was hanged in Chains at Norwich next January.

THE Rebels in Yorkſhire had not become very numerous, not being above 3000 in all: But hearing of the defeating of thoſe in other Parts, they accepted of the Offer of Pardon that was ſent them: Only ſome few of the chief Ringleaders continued to make new Stirs, and were taken, and hanged, in York the September following.

WHEN theſe Commotions were thus over, the Protector preſſed that there might be a general and free Pardon ſpeedily proclaimed, for quieting the Country, and giving their Affairs a Reputation abroad. This was much oppoſed by many of the Council, who thought

thought it better to accompliſh their ſeveral Ends, by keeping the People under the Laſh, than by ſo profuſe a Mercy: But the Protector was reſolv'd on it, judging the State of Affairs required it. So he gave out a general Pardon of all that had been done before the 21ſt of Auguſt, excepting only thoſe few whom they had in their Hands, and reſolved to make publick Examples. Thus was England delivered from one of the moſt threatning Storms that at any Time had broke out in it: In which Deliverance the great Prudence and Temper of the Protector ſeems to have had no ſmall Share. Of this whole Matter Advertiſement was given to the Foreign Miniſters.

A general Pardon.

THERE was this Year a Viſitation of the Uiverſity of Cambridge. Ridley was appointed to be one of the Viſitors, and to preach at the Opening of it: He thereupon writ to May, Dean of St. Paul's, to let him know what was to be done at it, that ſo his Sermon might be adjuſted to their Buſineſs. He received anſwer, That it was only to remove ſome ſuperſtitious Practiſes and Rites, and to make ſuch Statutes as ſhould be found needful: But when he went to Cambridge, he ſaw the Inſtructions went further. They were required to procure a Reſignation of ſome Colleges, and ſo to unite them with others; and to convert ſome Fellowſhips appointed for encouraging the Study of Divinity, to the Study of the Civil Laws. In particular Clare-Hall was to be ſuppreſſed. But the Maſter and Fellows would not reſign, and after two Days labouring to perſuade them to it, they abſolutely refuſed to do it. Upon this Ridley ſaid, he could not with a good Conſcience go on any further in that Matter: The Church was already ſo robbed and ſtript, that it ſeemed there was a Deſign laid down by ſome, to drive out all Civility, Learning, and Religion out of the Nation: Therefore he declared he would not concur in ſuch Things, and deſired Leave to be gone. The other Viſitors complained of him to the Protector, that he had ſo troubled them with his Barking, (ſo indecently did they expreſs that Strictneſs of Conſcience in him) that they could not go on in the King's Service: And becauſe Clare-Hall was then full of Northern People, they imputed his Unwillingneſs to ſuppreſs that Houſe, to his partial Affection to his Countrymen, for he was born in the Biſhoprick of Dureſme. Upon this the Protector writ a chiding Letter to him. To it he writ an Anſwer ſutable to what became a Biſhop, who would put all Things to Hazard, rather than do any Thing againſt his Conſcience.

THERE was alſo a Settlement made of the Controverſy concerning the Greek Tongue. There had been in King Henry's Time a great Conteſt raiſed concerning the Pronunciation of the Greek Vowels. That Tongue was but lately come to any Perfection in England, and ſo no Wonder the Greek was pronounced like Engliſh, with the ſame Sound and Apertures of the Mouth: To this Mr. Cheek, then Reader of that Tongue in Cambridge, oppoſed himſelf, and taught other Rules of Pronunciation. Gardiner was, it ſeems, ſo afraid of every Innovation, thought ever ſo much in the right, that he contended ſtifly to have the old Pronunciation retained: And Cheek perſiſting in his Opinion, was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of ſo great and ſo ſpiteful a Man as Gardiner was, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity: Cheek wrote a Book in Vindication of his Way of pronuncing Greek; of which this muſt be ſaid, That it is very ſtrange to ſee how he could write with ſo much Learning and Judgment on ſo bare a Subject. Redmayn, Poinet, and other learned Men were of his Side yet more covertly; but Sir Tho. Smith, now Secretary of State, writ three Books on the ſame Argument, and did ſo evidently confirm Cheek's Opinion, that the Diſpute was now laid aſide, and the true Way of pronouncing the Greek took Place, the rather becauſe Gardiner was in Diſgrace, and Cheek and Smith were in ſuch Power and Authority: So great an Influence had the Intereſts of Men in ſupporting the moſt ſpeculative and indifferent Things.

A Conteſt about pronouncing the Greek.

SOON after this, Bonner fell into new Troubles, he continued to oppoſe every Thing, as long as it was ſafe for him to do it, while it was under Debate, and ſo kept his Intereſt with the Papiſts; but he complied ſo obediently with all the Laws and Orders of Council, that it was not eaſy to find any Matter againſt him, ſo readily, that there was not ſo much as ground for any Complaint; yet it was known he was in his Heart againſt every Thing they

Bonner falls into Trouble.

they did, and that he cheriſhed all that were of a contrary Mind. The Council being informed, that upon the Commotions that were in England, many in London withdrew from the Service and Communiion, and frequented Maſſes, which was laid to his Charge, as being negligent in the Execution of the King's Laws and Injunctions, they writ to him on the 23d of July, to ſee to the correcting of theſe Things, and that he ſhould give good Examples himſelf. Upon which, on the 26th following, he ſent about a Charge to execute the Order in this Letter, which he ſaid he was moſt willing and deſirous to do. Yet it was ſtill obſerved, that whatſoever Obedience he gave, it was againſt his Heart: And therefore he was called before the Council the 11th of Auguſt. There a Writing was delivered to him, complaining of his Remiſſneſs; and particularly, that whereas he was wont formerly on all high Feſtivals to officiate himſelf, yet he had ſeldom or never done it, ſince the New Service was ſet out: As alſo that Adultery was openly practiſed in his Dioceſe, which he took no Care, according to his Paſtoral Office, to reſtrain or puniſh: Therefore he was ſtrictly charged to ſee theſe Things reformed. He was alſo ordered to preach on Sunday come three Weeks at St. Paul's Croſs; and that he ſhould preach there once a Quarter for the future, and be preſent at every Sermon made there, except he were ſick; that he ſhould officiate at St. Paul's at every high Feſtival, ſuch as were formerly called Majus Duplex, and give the Communion; that he ſhould proceed againſt all who did not frequent the Common-Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a Year, or did go to Maſs; that he ſhould ſearch out and puniſh Adulterers; that he ſhould take Care of the Reparation of Churches, and paying Tythes, in his Dioceſe, and ſhould keep his Reſidence in his Houſe in London. As to his Sermon, he was required to preach againſt Rebellion, ſetting out the Heinouſneſs of it; he was alſo to ſhew what was true Religion, and that external Ceremonies were nothing in themſelves, but that in the Uſe of them Men ought to obey the Magiſtrate, and join true Devotion to them, and that the King was no leſs King, and the People no leſs bound to obey, when he was in his Minority, than when he was in his full Age.

ON the firſt of September, being the Day appointed for him to preach, there was a great Aſſembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the Points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the King's Age, of which he ſaid not one Word. But ſince the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament was a Thing which he might yet ſafely ſpeak of, he ſpent moſt of his Sermon on the aſſerting the corporal Preſence; which he did with many ſharp Reflections on thoſe who were of another Mind. There were preſent, among others, William Latimer, and John Hooper, ſoon after Biſhop of Gloceſter, who came and informed againſt him, that as he had wholly omitted that about the King's Age, ſo he had touched the other Points but ſlightly, and did ſay many other Things which tended to ſtir up Diſorder and Diſſention. Upon this there was a Commiſſion iſſued out to Cranmer, and Ridley, with the two Secretaries of State, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, to examine that Matter. They or any two of them had full Power by this Commiſſion to ſuſpend, impriſon or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe. They were to proceed in the Summary Way, called in their Courts De plano.

He is proceeded againſt.

ON the 10th of September Bonner was ſummoned to appear before them at Lambeth. As he came into the Place where they ſate, he carried himſelf as if he had not ſeen them, till one pulled him by the Sleeve to put off his Cap to the King's Commiſſioners; upon which he proteſted he had not ſeen them; which none of them could believe. He ſpoke ſlightingly to them of the whole Matter, and turned the Diſcourſe off to the Maſs, which he wiſhed were had in more Reverence. When the Witneſſes were brought againſt him, he jeered them very undecently, and ſaid the one talked like a Gooſe, and the other like a Woodcock, and denied all they ſaid. The Archbiſhop aſked him, whether he would refer the Matter in Proof to the People that heard him? and ſo aſked whether any there preſent had heard him ſpeak of the King's Authority when under Age? Many anſwered No, No. Bonner looked about and laughed, ſaying, Will you believe this fond People? Some he called

Behaves insolently.

Dunces, and others Fools, and behaved more like a Madman than a Biſhop. The next Day he was again brought before them. Then the Commiſſion was read. The Archbiſhop opened the Matter, and deſired Bonner to anſwer for himſelf: He read a Proteſtation which he had prepared, ſetting forth, that ſince he had not ſeen the Commiſſion, he reſerved himſelf Power to except, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the Commiſſion, as he ſhould afterwards ſee Cauſe. In this he called it a pretended Commiſſion, and them pretended Judges, which was taxed as irreverent: But he excuſed it, alledging that theſe were Terms of Law which he muſt uſe, and ſo not be precluded from any Objections he might afterwards make uſe of. The Bill of Complaint was next read, and the two Informers appeared with their Witneſſes to make it good. But Bonner objected againſt them, that they were notorious Hereticks, and that the Ill-Will they bore him, was becauſe he had aſſerted the true Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar: That Hooper in particular had in his Sermon, that very Day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and miſ-recited his Sayings, like an Aſs, as he was an Aſs indeed; ſo ill did he govern his Tongue: Upon this Cranmer aſked him, whether he thought Chriſt was in the Sacrament with Face, Mouth, Eyes, Noſe, and the other Lineaments of his Body? and there paſſed ſome Words between them on that Head: But Cranmer told him, that was not a Time nor a Place to diſpute, they were come to execute the King's Commiſſion. So Bonner deſired to ſee both it and the Denunciation; which were given him, and the Court adjourned till the 13th.

Secretary Smith ſate with him at their next Meeting, which he had not done the former Day, though his Name was not in the Commiſſion: Upon this Bonner proteſted, that according to the Canon Law none could act in a Commiſſion, but thoſe who were preſent the firſt Day in which it was read. But to this it was alledged, that the conſtant Practice of the Kingdom had been to the contrary: That all whoſe Names were in any Commiſſion, might ſit and judge, though they had not been preſent at the firſt Opening of it. This Proteſtation being rejected, he read his Anſwer in Writing to the Accuſation. He firſt objected to his Accuſers, that they were Hereticks in the Matter of the Sacrament; and ſo were, according to the Laws of the Catholick Church, under Excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Chriſtian Company. Then he denied that the Injunctions given to him had been ſigned, either with the King's Hand or Signet, or by any of his Council. But upon the whole Matter he ſaid he had in his Sermon condemned the late Rebellion in Cornwall, Devonſhire, and Norfolk, and had ſet forth the Sin of Rebellion according to ſeveral Texts of Scripture: He had alſo preached for Obedience to the King's Commands; and that no Ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be uſed; in particular, he had exhorted the People to come to Prayers, and to the Communion, as it was appointed by the King, and wondered to ſee them ſo ſlack in coming to it; which he believed flowed from a falſe Opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the Duty of a faithful Paſtor, the true Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which was the true Motive of his Accuſers in their proſecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to ſpeak of the King's Power under Age, yet he had ſaid that which neceſſarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late Rebels, for riſing againſt their lawful King, and had applied many Texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied, that the King's Power was then entire, otherwiſe they could not be Rebels.

BUT to all this it was anſwered, That it was of no great Conſequence who were the Informers, if the Witneſſes were ſuch that he could not except againſt them: Beſides, they were impowered by their Commiſſion to proceed ex Officio; ſo that it was not neceſſary for them to have any to accuſe. He was told that the Injunctions were read to him in Council by one of the Secretaries, and then were given to him by the Protector himſelf; that afterwards they were called for, and that Article concerning the King's Power before he came to be of Age being added, they were given him again by Secretary Smith; and he promiſed to execute them. He was alſo told, that it was no juſt Excuſe for him to ſay he had forgot that about the King's Power; ſince it was the chief Thing pre-

tended by the late Rebels, and was mainly intended by the Council in their Injunctions; ſo that it was a poor Shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had ſpoken of it by a Conſequence.

THE Court adjourned to the 16th Day: And then Latimer and Hooper offered to purge themſelves of the Charge of Hereſy, ſince they had never ſpoken nor written of the Sacrament, but according to the Scripture: And whereas Bonner had charged them, that on the 1ſt of September they had entred into Conſultation and Confederacy againſt him, they proteſted, they had not ſeen each other that Day, nor been known to one another till ſome Days after. Bonner upon this read ſome Paſſages of the Sacrament out of a Book of Hooper's, whom he called that Varlet. But Cranmer cut off the Diſcourſe, and ſaid, it was not their Buſineſs to determine that Point, and ſaid to the People, that the Biſhop of London was not accuſed for any thing he had ſaid about the Sacrament. Then Bonner, turning to ſpeak to the People, was interrupted by one of the Delegates, who told him, he was to ſpeak to them, and not to the People: At which ſome laughing, he turned about in great Fury, and ſaid, Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks! But to the chief Point, he ſaid he had prepared Notes of what he intended to ſay about the King's Power in his Minority; from the Inſtances in Scripture, of Achaz, and Oſias, who were Kings at ten; of Solomon, and Manaſſes, who reigned at twelve; and of Joſias, Joachim, and Joas, who began to reign when they were but eight Years old. He had alſo gathered out of the Engliſh Hiſtory, that Henry the IIId, Edward the IIId, Richard the IId, Henry the VIth, and Edward the Vth, were all under Age: And even their late King was but eighteen when he came to the Crown: And yet all theſe were obeyed as much before, as after they were of full Age. But theſe Things had eſcaped his Memory, he not having been much uſed to preach. There had been alſo a long Bill ſent him from the Council to be read, of the Defeat of the Rebels, which he ſaid, had diſordered him; and the Book in which he had laid his Notes, fell out of his Hands, when he was in the Pulpit: For this he appealed to his two Chaplains, Bourn and Harpsfield, whom he had deſired to gather for him the Names of thoſe Kings who reigned before they were of Age. For the other Injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had ſent Orders to his Archdeacons to ſee to them; and as far as he underſtood, there were no Maſſes nor Service in Latin within his Diocеſe, except at the Lady Mary's, or in the Chapels of the Ambaſſadors. But the Delegates required him poſitively to anſwer, Whether he had obeyed that Injunction about the King's Authority or not; otherwiſe they would hold him as guilty: And if he denied it, they would proceed to the Examination of the Witneſſes. He refuſing to anſwer otherwiſe than he had done, they called the Witneſſes, who were Sir John Cheek and four more, who had their Oaths given them: And Bonner deſiring a Time to prepare his Interrogatories it was granted. So he drew a long Paper of twenty Interrogations, every one of them containing many Branches in it; full of all the Niceties of the Canon Law: a Taſte of which may be had from the third in Number, which is indeed the moſt material of all. The Interrogatory was, "Whether they, or any of them, "were preſent at his Sermon, where "they ſtood, and near whom, when "they came to it, and at what Part of "his Sermon, how long they tarried, "at what Part they were offended, "what were the formal Words, or "Subſtance of it, who with them did "hear it, where the other Witneſſes "ſtood, and how long they tarried, or "when they departed?

THE Court adjourned to the 18th of September; and there was read a Declaration from the King, explaining the former Commiſſion, chiefly in the Point of the Denunciation, that might proceed either that Way, or ex Officio, as they ſaw Cauſe; giving them alſo Power finally to determine the Matter, cutting off all ſuperfluous Delays. Bonner gave in alſo ſome other Reaſons, why he ſhould not be obliged to make a more direct Anſwer to the Articles objected againſt him: The chief of which was, That the Article about the King's Age was not in the Paper given him by the Protector, but afterwards added by Secretary Smith, of his own Head. Cranmer admoniſhed him of his Irreverence, ſince he called them always his pretended Judges. Secretary Smith added, That though Proc-

tors

tors did ſo in common Matters, for their Clients, yet it was not to be endured in ſuch a Caſe, when he ſaw they acted by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King. New Articles were given him more explicit and plain than the former, but to the ſame Purpoſe: And five Witneſſes were ſworn upon theſe, who were all the Clerks of the Council, to prove that the Article about the King's Age was ordered by the whole Council, and only put in Writing by Secretary Smith, at their Command. He was appointed to come next Day, and make his Anſwer. But on the 19th two of his Servants came and told the Delegates, that he was ſick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, That the Knight-Marſhal ſhould go to him; and if he were ſick, let him alone; but if it were not ſo, ſhould bring him before them next Day. On the 20th Bonner appearing, anſwered as he had done formerly; only he proteſted, that it was his Opinion, that the King was as much a King, and the People as much bound to obey him, before he was of Age, as after it: And after that Secretary Smith having taken him up more ſharply than the other Delegates, he proteſted againſt him as no competent Judge, ſince he had expreſſed much Paſſion againſt him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compar'd him to Thieves and Traitors, and had threatned to ſend him to the Tower to ſit with Ket and Arundel; and that he added ſome Things to the Injunctions given him by the Protector, for which he was now accuſed, and did alſo proceed to judge him, notwithſtanding his Proteſtation, grounded on his not being preſent when the Commiſſion was firſt opened and received by the Court. But this Proteſtation alſo was rejected by the Delegates; and Smith told him, That whereas he took Exception at his ſaying that he acted as Thieves and Traitors do, it was plainly viſible in his Doings: Upon which, Bonner, being much inflamed, ſaid, to him, That as he was Secretary of State, and a Privy-Counſellor, he honoured him; but as he was Sir Tho. Smith, he told him, he lied, and that he defied him. At this the Archbiſhop chid him, and ſaid, he deſerved to be ſent to Priſon for ſuch irreverent Carriage. He anſwered, he did not care whither they ſent him, ſo they ſent him not to the Devil, for thither he would not go: He had a few Goods, a poor Carkaſs, and a Soul: The two former were in their Power, but the laſt was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an Appeal from them to the King, and read an Inſtrument of it, Which he had prepared at his own Houſe that Morning: And ſo would make no other Anſwer, unleſs the Secretary ſhould remove. For this Contempt he was ſent to the Priſon of the Marſhalſea; and as he was led away, he broke out in great Paſſion, both againſt Smith, and alſo at Cranmer, for ſuffering Hereticks to infect the People, which he required him to abſtain from, as he would anſwer for it to GOD and the King.

ON the 23d he was again brought before them; where, by a ſecond Inſtrument, he adhered to his former Appeal. But the Delegates ſaid, they would go on, and judge him, unleſs there came a Superſedeas from the King, and ſo required him to anſwer thoſe Articles which he had not yet anſwered, otherwiſe they would proceed againſt him as Contumax, and hold him as Confeſſing. But he adhered to his Appeal, and ſo would anſwer no more. New Matter was alſo brought, of his going out of St. Paul's in the Midſt of the Sermon on the 15th of the Month, and ſo giving a publick Diſturbance and Scandal; and of his writing next Day to the Lord Mayor, not to ſuffer ſuch Preachers to ſow their ill Doctrine. This was occaſioned by the Preachers ſpeaking againſt the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament: But he would give the Court no Account of that Matter; ſo they adjourned to the 27th, and from that to the 1ſt of October. In that Time great Endeavours were uſed to perſuade him to ſubmit, and to behave himſelf better for the future; and upon that Condition he was aſſured he ſhould be gently uſed: But he would yield to nothing. So on the 1ſt of October, when he was brought before them, the Archbiſhop told him, they had delayed ſo long, being unwilling to proceed to Extremities with him; and therefore wiſhed him to ſubmit. But he read another Writing, by which he proteſted, that he was brought before them by Force, and that otherwiſe he would not have come, ſince, that having appealed from them, he looked on them as his Judges no more. He ſaid, that he had alſo written a Petition to the Lord Chancellor,

lor, complaining of the Delegates, and desiring that this Appeal might be admitted; and said, by that Appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the King to be cloathed with his full Royal Power, now that he was under Age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the Archbishop, the Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's, gave Sentence against him; that since he had not declared the King's Power, while under Age, in his Sermon, as he was commanded by the Protector and Council; therefore the Archbishop, with the Consent and Assent of his Colleagues, did deprive him of the Bishoprick of London. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by Word of Mouth. The Court did also order him to be carried to Prison, till the King should consider further of it. This Account of his Trial is drawn from the Register of London, where all these Particulars are inserted. From thence it was that Fox printed them. For Bonner, tho' he was afterward commissioned by the Queen to deface any Records that made against the Catholick Cause, yet did not care to alter any Thing in this Register after his Re-admission in Queen Mary's Time. It seems he was not displeased with what he found recorded of himself in this Matter.

Censures passed upon the Deprivation of Bonner.

THUS was Bonner deprived of his Bishoprick of London. This Judgment, as all such Things are, was much censured: It was said, it was not Canonical, since it was by a Commission from the King, and since Secular Men were mixed with Clergymen in the Censure of a Bishop. To this it was answered, That the Sentence being only of Deprivation from the See of London, it was not so entirely an Ecclesiastical Censure, but was of a mixed Nature, so that Laymen might join in it, and since he had taken a Commission from the King for his Bishoprick, by which he held it only during the King's Pleasure, he could not complain of this Deprivation, which was done by the King's Authority. Others who looked further back, remembered that Constantine the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to enquire into some Things objected to Bishops, who were called Cognitores, or Triers: And such as had examined the Business of Cecilian Bishop of Carthage, even upon an Appeal, after it had been tried in several Synods, and given Judgment against Donatus and his Party. The same Constantine had also by his Authority put Eustathius out of Antioch, Athanasius out of Alexandria, and Paul out of Constantinople: And though the Orthodox Bishops complained of these Particulars, as done unjustly at the false Suggestion of the Arrians; yet they did not deny the Emperor's Authority in such Cases. Afterwards the Emperors used to have some Bishops attending on them in their Comitatus, or Court, to whose Judgment they left most Causes, who acted only by Commission from the Emperor. So Epiphanius was brought to condemn Chrysostome at Constantinople, who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons. Others objected, that it was too severe to deprive Bonner for a Defect in his Memory; and that therefore they should have given him a new Trial in that Point; and not have proceeded to censure him on such an Omission; since he protested it was not on Design, but a pure Forgetfulness: And all People perceived clearly it had been beforehand resolved to lay him aside, and that therefore they now took him on this Disadvantage; and so deprived him. But it was also well known, that all the Papists infused this Notion into the People, of the King's having no Power till he came to be of Age; and he being certainly one of them, there was Reason to conclude, that what he said for his Defence, was only a Pretence; and that it was of Design that he had omitted the mentioning the King's Power when under Age. The adding of Imprisonment to his Deprivation was thought by some to be an extream Accumulation of Punishments: But that was no more than what he drew upon himself by his rude and contemptuous Behaviour. However, it seems that some of these Objections wrought on Secretary Petre, for he never sate with the Delegates after the first Day, and he was now turning about to another Party.

ON the other hand, Bonner was little pitied by most that knew him: He was a cruel, and fierce Man: He understood little of Divinity, his Learning being chiefly in the Canon Law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the Obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the King's Injunctions, was thought a Compliance against his Conscience, extorted by Fear. And his indecent Car-

riage during his Proceſs had much expoſed him to the People: So that it was not thought to be hard Dealing, though the Proceedings againſt him were ſummary and ſevere. Nor did his Carriage afterward, during his Impriſonment, diſcover much of a Biſhop or a Chriſtian. For he was more concerned to have Puddings and Pears ſent him, than for any Thing elſe. This, Dr. Burnet ſays he gathers from ſome original Letters of his to Richard Leechmore, Eſq; in Worceſterſhire, which were communicated to him by his Heir, lineally deſcended from him, the Worſhipful Mr. Leechmore, at that Time the Senior Bencher of the Middle Temple. In one of them he deſires a large Quantity of Pears and Puddings to be ſent him: Otherwiſe he gives thoſe to whom he writes an odd Sort of Benediction, very unlike what became a Man of his Character, he gives them to the Devil, to the Devil, and all the Devils: Burnet ſays it may perhaps be thought indecent to print ſuch Things, which, being the Privacies of Friendſhip, ought not to be made publick; but confeſſes that Bonner was ſo brutiſh, and bloody a Man, that he was not ill pleaſed to meet with any Thing that might ſet him forth in his natural Colours to the World.

Foreign Affairs.

THUS did the Affairs of England go on this Summer within the Kingdom; but it will be now neceſſary to conſider the State of our Affairs in Foreign Parts. The King of France finding it was very chargeable to carry on the War wholly in Scotland, reſolved this Year to leſſen that Expence, and to make War directly with England, both at Sea and Land. So he came in Perſon with a great Army, and fell into the Country of Bulloigne, where he took many little Caſtles about the Town; as Sellaque, Blackneſs, Humbletue, Newhaven, and ſome leſs ones. The Engliſh Writers ſay, thoſe were ill provided, which made them be ſo eaſily loſt: But Thuanus ſays, they were all very well ſtored. In the Night they aſſaulted Bullingberg, but were beat off: Then they deſigned to burn the Ships that were in the Harbour, and had prepared Wildfire with other combuſtible Matter, but were driven away by the Engliſh. At the ſame Time the French Fleet met the Engliſh Fleet at Jerſey; but, as King Edward writes in his Diary, they were beat off with the Loſs of 1000 Men; though Thuanus puts the Loſs wholly on the Engliſh Side. The French King ſate down before Bulloigne in September, hoping that the Diſorders then in England, would make that Place be ill ſupplied, and eaſily yielded: The Engliſh finding Bullingberg was not tenable, raiſed it, and retired into the Town: But the Plague broke into the French Camp, ſo the King left it under the Command of Chaſtilion. He endeavoured chiefly to take the Pierre, and ſo to cut off the Town from the Sea and from all Communication with England: And after a long Battery he gave the Aſſault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many Skirmiſhes between him and the Garriſon, and he made many Attempts to cloſe up the Channel, and thought to have ſunk a Galley full of Stones and Gravel in it; but in all theſe he was ſtill unſucceſsful. And therefore Winter coming on, the Siege was raiſed; only the Forts about the Town, which the French had taken, were ſtrongly garriſoned: So that Bulloigne was in Danger of being loſt the next Year.

IN Scotland alſo the Engliſh Affairs declined much this Year. Thermes, before the Winter was ended, had taken Broughty-Caſtle, and deſtroyed almoſt the whole Garriſon. In the Southern Parts there was a Change made of the Lords Wardens of the Engliſh Marches. Sir Robert Bowes was complained of, as negligent in relieving Hadingtoun the former Year; ſo the Lord Dacres was put in his Room. And the Lord Gray, who loſt the great Advantage he had when the French raiſed the Siege of Hadingtoun, was removed, and the Earl of Rutland was ſent to Command. The Earl made an Inroad into Scotland, and ſupplied Hadingtoun plentifully with all Sorts of Proviſions, neceſſary for a Siege. He had ſome Germans, and Spaniards with him: But a Party of the Scotch Horſe ſurpriſed the Germans Baggage; and Romero with the Spaniſh Troop was alſo fallen on, and taken, and almoſt all his Men were cut off. The Earl of Warwick was to have marched with a more conſiderable Army this Summer into Scotland, had not the Diſorders in England diverted him, as it has been already ſhewn. Thermes did not much more this Year. He intended once to have renewed the Siege of Hadingtoun; but when he underſtood how well they

were

were furniſhed, he gave it over. But the Engliſh Council, finding how great a Charge the keeping of it was, and the Country all about it being deſtroyed, ſo that no Proviſions could be had, but what were brought from England, from which it was 28 Miles diſtant, reſolved to withdraw their Garriſon, and quit it, which was done on the 1ſt of October: So that the Engliſh having no Garriſon within Scotland but Lauder, Thermes ſate down before that, and preſſed it ſo that had not the Peace been made up with France, it had fallen into his Hands.

THINGS being in this Diſorder both at Home and Abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperor's Aid; and he was ſo ill ſatisfied with the Changes that had been made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. The Confuſions this Year occaſioned that Change to be made in the Office of the daily Prayers; where the Anſwer to the Petition, Give Peace in our Time O LORD, which was formerly, and is ſtill continued, was now made, Becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou, O GOD. For now the Emperor having reduced all the Princes, and moſt of the Cities of Germany to his Obedience, none but Magdeburg and Breame ſtanding out, did by a Miſtake, incident to great Conquerors, neglect thoſe Advantages which were then in his Hands, and did not proſecute his Victories; but leaving Germany, came this Summer into the Netherlands, whither he had ordered his Son Prince Philip to come from Spain to him, thorough Italy and Germany, that he might put him into Poſſeſſion of theſe Provinces, and make them ſwear Homage to him. Whether at this Time the Emperor was beginning to form the Deſign of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the Mutinies and Revolts that might fall out upon his Death, if his Son were not in actual Poſſeſſion of them, is not ſo certain. One Thing is memorable, in that Tranſaction, that was called the Lætus Introitus, or the Terms upon which he was received Prince of Brabant, to which the other Provinces had been formerly united into one Principality; after many Rules and Limitations of Government, in the Matter of Taxes, and publick Aſſemblies, the not keeping up of Forces, and governing them not by Strangers, but by Natives, it was added, "That if he broke theſe "Conditions, it ſhould be free for "them not to obey him or acknow-"ledge him any longer, till he re-"turned to govern according to their "Laws." This was afterwards the chief ground on which they juſtified their Shaking off the Spaniſh Yoke, all theſe Conditions being publickly violated.

The State of Germany.

AT this Time there were great Jealouſies in the Emperor's Family. For as he intended to have had his Brother reſign his Election to be King of the Romans, that it might be tranferred on his own Son; ſo there were Deſigns in Flanders, which the French cheriſhed much, to have Maximilian, Ferdinand's Son, the moſt accompliſh'd and virtuous Prince that had been for many Ages, to be made their Prince. The Flemings were much diſguſted with the Queen Regent's Government, who, when there was Need of Money, ſent to Bruges, and Antwerp, ordering Deputies to be ſent her from Flanders, and Brabant; and when they were come, ſhe told them what Money muſt be raiſed; and if they made any Objections, ſhe uſed to bid them give over Merchandizing with the Emperor, for he muſt and would have the Money he aſked: So that nothing remained to them, but to ſee how to raiſe what was thus demanded of them, rather than deſired from them. This, as the Engliſh Ambaſſador writ from Bruges, ſeemed to be the Reaſon that moved the Emperor to make his Son ſwear to ſuch Rules of Government; which, the Sequel of his Life ſhewed, he meant to obſerve in the ſame Manner that his Father had done before him. At the ſame Time, in May this Year, a ſecret Advertiſement was ſent over from France to the Engliſh Court, that there was a private Treaty ſet on foot between that King and the Princes of Germany, for reſtoring the Liberty of the Empire; but that the King of France was reſolved to have Bulloigne in his Hands before he entered on new Projects. Therefore it was propoſed to the Protector, to conſider whether it were not beſt to deliver it up by a Treaty, and ſo to leave the King of France free to the Defence of their Friends in the Empire; for the conſideration of the Proteſtant Religion was the chief Meaſure of our Councils all this Reign.

UPON

A great Faction againſt the Protector.

UPON this there was great Diſtraction in the Councils at Home. The Protector was inclined to deliver up Bulloigne for a Sum of Money, and to make Peace both with the French and the Scots. The King's Treaſure was exhauſted, Affairs at Home were in great Confuſion, the Defence of Bulloigne was a great Charge, and a War with France was a Thing of that Conſequence, that in that State of Affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other Hand, thoſe who hated the Protector and meaſured Councils more by the Bravery than the Solidity of them, ſaid, it would be a Reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that Conſequence, which their late King, in the Declining of his Days, had gained with ſo much Loſs of Men and Treaſure; and to ſell this for a little Money was accounted ſo ſordid, that the Protector durſt not adventure on it. Upon this Occaſion Sir William Paget (being made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, which was then thought an Advancement from the Office of a Secretary of State) made a long Diſcourſe, and put it in Writing. The Subſtance of it was, to ballance the Dangers in which England was at that Time. The Buſineſs of Scotland and Bulloigne drew France into a Quarrel againſt it. On the Account of Religion, it had no Reaſon to expect much from the Emperor. The Intereſt of England was then to preſerve the Proteſtants of Germany; and therefore to unite with France, which would be eaſily engaged in that Quarrel againſt the Emperor, he propoſed a firm Alliance with the Venetians, who were then jealous of the Emperor's Progreſs in Italy, and would be ready to join againſt him if he were thoroughly engaged in Germany; and by their Means, England was to make up an Agreement with France. On the other Hand, William Thomas, then a Clerk of the Council, writ a long Diſcourſe of other Expedients: He agreed with Paget as to the ill State of England, having many Enemies, and no Friends. The North of England was waſted by the Incurſion of the Scots. Ireland was alſo in an ill Condition; for the Natives there did generally join with the Scots, being addicted to the old Superſtition. The Emperor was ſo ſet on reducing all to one Religion, that they could expect no great Aid from him, unleſs they gave him ſome Hope of returning to the Roman Religion. But the Continuance of the War would undo the Nation: For if the War went on, the People would take Advantage from it to break out into new Diſorders: It would be alſo very diſhonourable to deliver up, or rather to ſell, the late Conqueſts in France: Therefore he propoſed, that to gain Time, they ſhould treat with the Emperor, and even give him Hopes of re-examining what had been done in Religion; though there was Danger even in that, of diſheart'ning thoſe of Magdeburg, and the few remaining Proteſtants in Germany; as alſo they might expect the Emperor would be highly enraged when he ſhould come to find that he had been deluded: But the gaining of Time was then ſo neceſſary, that the Preſervation of the Nation depended on it. For Scotland he propoſed, that the Governor of that Kingdom ſhould be preſſed to pretend to the Crown; ſince their Queen was gone into a ſtrange Country. By this Means Scotland would be for that whole Age ſeparated from the Intereſts of France, and obliged to depend on England; and the French were now ſo hated in Scotland, that any who would ſet up againſt them would have an eaſy Work, eſpecially being aſſiſted by the Nearneſs of England. And for Ireland, he propoſed, that the chief Heads of Families ſhould be drawn over, and kept at Court: And that England thus being reſpited from Foreign War, the Nation ſhould be armed, and exerciſed, the Coin reformed, Treaſure laid up, and Things in the Government at Home that were uneaſy ſhould be corrected.

THE Reſult of their Conſultation was to ſend over Sir William Paget to join with Sir Philip Hobby, then Reſident at the Emperor's Court. The Subſtance of his Inſtructions was, That the Treaty between the Emperor and the late King ſhould be renewed with this King, and confirmed by the Prince and the States of Flanders; That ſome ambiguous Paſſages in it ſhould be cleared; That the Emperor would comprehend Bulloigne within the League defenſive, and ſo protect it, England being ready to offer any thing reciprocal in the room of it. He was alſo to ſhew their Readineſs to agree with the Emperor concerning the Lady Mary's Marriage, to adjuſt ſome Differences occaſioned by the Complaints

plaint made of the Admiralty, and about the Trade; to ſhew the Reaſon of the Meſſages that paſſed between them and France; and to engage, That if the Emperor would heartily aſſiſt them they would never agree with France. Paget was alſo to propoſe, as of himſelf, That Bulloigne ſhould be put into the Emperor's Hands upon reaſonable Recompence. Thus was Paget inſtructed, and ſent over in June this Year. But the Emperor put him off with many Delays, and ſaid, The carrying of his Son about the Towns in Flanders and Brabant, with the many Ceremonies and Entertainments that followed it, made it not eaſy for him to conſider of Matters that required ſuch deep Conſultation. He put him off from Bruſſels to Ghent, and from Ghent to Bruges. But Paget growing impatient of ſuch Delays, ſince the French were marched into the Bulloigneſe, the Biſhop of Arras, (Son to Granvell that had been long the Emperor's Chief Miniſter) who was now like to ſucceed in his Father's Room, that was old and infirm, and the two Preſidents of the Emperor's Councils, St. Maurice and Viglius, came to Sir William Paget, and had a long Communication with him and Hobbey.

THE firſt treated of an Explanation of ſome ambiguous Words in the Treaty, to which the Emperor's Miniſters promiſed to bring them an Anſwer. Then they talked long of the Matters of the Admiralty. The Emperor's Miniſters ſaid, No Juſtice was done in England upon the Merchants Complaints: Paget ſaid every Mariner came to the Protector, and if he would not ſolicit their Buſineſs, they run away with a Complaint that there was no Juſtice; whereas he thought, that as they meddled with no private Matters, ſo the Protector ought to turn all theſe over upon the Courts that were the competent Judges. But the Biſhop of Arras ſaid, There was no Juſtice to be had in the Admiralty Courts, who were indeed Parties in all theſe Matters: Paget ſaid, There was as much Juſtice in the Engliſh Admiralty Courts as was in theirs; and the Biſhop confeſſed, there were great Corruptions in all theſe Courts. So Paget propoſed, that the Emperor ſhould appoint two of his Council to hear and determine all ſuch Complaints, in a Summary Way, and the King ſhould do the like in England. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, the Biſhop ſaid, the Emperor was willing his Son ſhould confirm it; but that he would never ſue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties; and he ſaid, when it was objected that the Treaty with France was confirmed by the three Eſtates, and that the Prerogative of the French Crown was ſo reſtrained, that the King could alienate nothing of his Patrimony without the Parliament of Paris and his three Eſtates; He believed the King of England had a greater Prerogative: He was ſure the Emperor was not ſo bound up: He had fifteen or ſixteen ſeveral Parliaments, and what Work muſt he be at, if all theſe muſt deſcant on his Tranſactions? When this general Diſcourſe was over, the two Preſidents went away, but the Biſhop of Arras ſtaid with him in private. Paget propoſed the Buſineſs of Bulloigne: But the Biſhop having given him many good Words in the general, excepted much to it, as diſhonourable to the Emperor; ſince Bulloigne was not taken when the League was concluded between the Emperor and England: So that if he ſhould now include it in the League, it would be a Breach of Faith and Treaties with France; and he ſtood much on the Honour and Conſcience of obſerving theſe Treaties inviolably. So this Converſation ended; in which the moſt remarkable Paſſage is, That concerning the Limitations on the French Crown, and the Freedoms of the Engliſh; for at that Time the King's Prerogative in England was judged of that Extent, that in a Letter written from Scotland, one of the main Objections made to the marrying their Queen to the King of England, was, That an Union with England would much alter the Conſtitution of their Government, the Prerogatives of the Kings of England being of a far larger Extent than thoſe in Scotland.

Two or three Days after the former Converſation, the Emperor's Miniſters returned to Paget's Lodging, with Anſwer to the Propoſitions which the Engliſh Ambaſſadors had made. The Emperor gave a good Anſwer to ſome of the Particulars, which were ambiguous in former Treaties. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, he offered that the Prince ſhould join in it; but ſince the King of England was under Age, he thought it more neceſſary that

the Parliament of England ſhould confirm it. To which Paget anſwered, That their Kings, as to the Regal Power, were the ſame in all the Conditions of Life: And therefore when the Great Seal was put to any Agreement, the King was abſolutely bound by it. If his Miniſters engaged him in ill Treaties, they were to anſwer for it at their Perils: But however the King was ty'd by it. They diſcourſed long about the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, but ended in nothing: And as for the main Buſineſs about Bulloigne, the Emperor ſtood on his Treaties with the French, which he could not break; upon which Faget ſaid to the Biſhop, that his Father had told him, they had ſo many Grounds to quarrel with France, that he had his Sleeve full of them, to produce when there ſhould be Occaſion to make uſe of them. But finding the Biſhop's Anſwers were cold, and that he only gave good Words, he told him that England would then ſee to their own Security: And ſo he took that for the Emperor's final Anſwer, and thereupon reſolved to take his Leave; which he did ſoon after, and came back into England. But at Home the Councils were much divided, of which the ſad Effects broke out ſoon afterward.

It was propoſed in Council, that the War with Scotland ſhould be ended: For it having been begun, and carried on, only on Deſign to obtain the Marriage, ſince the Hopes of that were now ſo far gone, that it was not in the Power of the Scots themſelves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needleſs Expence, both of Blood and Money, to keep it up; and ſince Bulloigne was by the Treaty, after a few more Years, to be delivered up to the French, it ſeemed a very unreaſonable Thing, in the low State to which the King's Affairs were driven, to enter on a War; in which they had little Reaſon to doubt but they ſhould loſe Bulloigne, after the new Expence of a Siege and another Year's War. The Protector had now many Enemies, who laid hold on this Conjuncture to throw him out of the Government. The Earl of Southampton was brought into the Council, but had not laid down his ſecret Hatred of the Protector; and did all he could to make a Party againſt him. The Earl of Warwick was the fitteſt Man to work on; him therefore he gained over to his Side, and having formed a Confidence in him, he ſhewed him, that he had really got all the Victories for which the Protector triumphed: He had won the Field of Pinkey near Muſſelburgh, and had ſubdued the Rebels of Norfolk: And as he had before defeated the French, ſo if he were ſent over thither, new Triumphs would follow him; but it was below him to be ſecond to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in every thing with the Protector, all whoſe wary Motions were aſcribed to Fear or Dullneſs. To others he ſaid, What friendſhip could any expect from a Man who had no Pity on his own Brother? But that which provoked the Nobility moſt, was the Partiality the Protector had for the Commons in the Inſurrections that had been this Summer. He had alſo given great Grounds of Jealouſy, by entertaining Foreign Troops in the King's Wars; which, tho' it was not objected to him, becauſe the Council had conſented to it, yet it was whiſpered about, that he had extorted that Conſent. But the noble Palace he was raiſing in the Strand, (which yet carries his Name) out of the Ruins of ſome Biſhops Houſes, and Churches, drew as publick an Envy on him as any thing he had done. It was ſaid, That when the King was engaged in ſuch Wars, and when London was much diſordered by the Plague, that had been in it for ſome Months, he was then bringing Architects from Italy, and deſigning ſuch a Palace as had not been ſeen in England. It was alſo ſaid, That many Biſhops and Cathedrals had reſigned many Manors to him, for obtaining his Favour. Tho' this was not done without Leave obtained from the King; for in a Grant of ſome Lands made to him by the King on the 11th of July, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, it is ſaid, That theſe Lands were given him as a Reward of his Services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater Rewards; but that he refuſing to accept of ſuch Grants as might too much impoveriſh the Crown, had taken a Licence to the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, for his alienating ſome of the Lands of that Biſhoprick to him: He is in that Patent called by the Grace of GOD Duke of Somerſet, which had not of late Years been aſcribed to any but Sovereign Princes. It was alſo ſaid, That many of the Chantry Lands had been ſold to his Friends at eaſy Rates; for which

Complaints againſt the Protector.

which they concluded he had great Preſents; and a Courſe of unuſual Greatneſs had raiſed him up too high; ſo that he did not carry himſelf towards the Nobility with that Equality that they expected from him.

ALL theſe Things concurred to beget him many Enemies, and he had very few Friends; for none ſtuck firmly to him but Paget, and Secretary Smith, and eſpecially Cranmer, who never forſook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superſtition were his Enemies: And ſeeing the Earl of Southhampton heading the Party againſt him, they all run in to it. And of the Biſhops, that were for the Reformation, Goodrich of Ely likewiſe joined to them: He had attended on the Admiral in his Preparations for Death, from whom, it ſeems, he drank in ill Impreſſions of the Protector. All his Enemies ſaw, and he likewiſe ſaw it himſelf, that the Continuance of the War muſt needs deſtroy him; and that a Peace would confirm him in his Power, and give him Time and Leiſure to break thorough the Faction, that was now ſo ſtrong againſt him, that it was not probable he could maſter it without the Help of ſome Time. So in the Council his Adverſaries delivered their Opinions againſt all Motions for Peace: And though upon Paget's Return from Flanders, it appeared to be very unreaſonable to carry on the War; yet they ſaid, Paget had ſecret Inſtructions to procure ſuch an Anſwer, that it might give a Colour to ſo baſe a Project. The Officers that came over from theſe Places that the French had taken, pretended, as is common for all Men in ſuch Circumſtances, that they wanted Things neceſſary for a Siege; and tho' in Truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in Thuanus) yet their Complaints were cheriſhed and ſpread about among the People. The Protector had alſo, againſt the Mind of the Council, ordered the Garriſon to be drawn out of Hadingtoun; and was going, notwithſtanding all their Oppoſition, to make Peace with France, and did in many Things act by his own Authority, without aſking their Advice, and often againſt it. This was the aſſuming a Regal Power, and ſeem'd not to be endured by thoſe who thought they were in all Points his Equals. It was alſo ſaid, That when, contrary to the late King's Will, he was choſen Protector, it was with that ſpecial Condition, that he ſhould do nothing without their Conſent: And tho' by the Patent he had for his Office, his Power was more enlarged, (which was of greater Force in Law, than a private Agreement at the Council Table) yet even that was objected to him, as an high Preſumption in him to pretend to ſuch a vaſt Power. Thus all the Month of September there were great Heats among them: Several Perſons interpoſed to mediate, but to no Effect: For the Faction againſt him was now ſo ſtrong, that they reſolved to ſtrip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an Equality with themſelves. The King was then at Hampton-Court, where alſo the Protector was, with ſome of his own Retainers and Servants about him; which encreaſed the Jealouſies: For it was given out, that he intended to carry away the King. So on the 6th of October ſome of the Council met at Ely-Houſe: The Lord St. John Preſident, the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Southampton, Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Pecham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, and Secretary Petre, being ſent to them in the King's Name, to aſk what they met for, joined himſelf likewiſe to them. They ſate as the King's Council, and entered their Proceedings in the Council-Book, from whence the Account of this Tranſaction is taken.

Moſt of the Council ſeparate from him.

THESE being met together, and conſidering the Diſorders that had been lately in England, the Loſſes in Scotland and France, laid the Blame of all on the Protector, who, they ſaid, was given up to other Councils, ſo obſtinately, that he would not hearken to the Advices they had given him, both at the Board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that Day to have gone to Hampton-Court, for a friendly Communication with him, he raiſed many of the Commons to have deſtroyed them, and had made the King ſet his Hand to the Letters he ſent for raiſing Men; and had alſo diſperſed ſeditious Bills againſt them; therefore they intended to ſee to the Safety of the King and the Kingdom. So they ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and required them to obey no Letters ſent them by the Protector, but only ſuch as came from themſelves. They alſo wrote many Letters to the Nobility and Gentry over England, giving them an Account

of

of their Deſigns and Motives, and requiring their Aſſiſtance. They alſo ſent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and he ſubmitted to their Orders. Next Day, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Tho. Cheyney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Montagu, joined with them. Then they wrote to the King a Letter, full of Expreſſions of their Duty and Care of his Perſon, complaining of the Duke of Somerſet's not liſtening to their Councils, and for his gathering a Force about him for maintaining his wilful Doings: They owned that they had caus'd Secretary Petre to ſtay with them, and in it they endeavoured to perſuade the King that they were careful of Nothing ſo much as of his Preſervation. They alſo wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to Sir William Paget, to ſee to the King's Perſon, and that his own Servants ſhould attend on him, and not thoſe that belonged to the Duke of Somerſet. But the Protector, hearing of this Diſorder, had removed the King to Windſor in all Haſte; and had taken down all the Armour that was either there, or at Hampton-Court, and had armed ſuch as he could gather about him for his Preſervation.

THE Council at London complained much of this, that the King ſhould be carried to a Place where there were no Proviſions fit for him. So they ordered all Things that he might need to be ſent to him from London. And on the 8th of October they went to Guild-hall, when they gave an Account of their Proceedings to the Common-Council of the City; and aſſured them they had no Thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the Safety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and for theſe Ends deſired their Aſſiſtance. The whole Common-Council, with one Voice, declared, they thank'd God for the good Intentions they had expreſſed, and aſſured them they would ſtand by them with their Lives and Goods. At Windſor, when the Protector underſtood that not only the City, but the Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himſelf aſſured, had forſaken him, he reſolved to ſtruggle no longer; and though it is not improbable, that he, who was chiefly accuſed for his Protecting the Commons, might have eaſily gathered a great Body of Men for his own Preſervation; yet he reſolved rather to give way to the Tide that was now againſt him. So he proteſted before the King and the few Counſellors then about him, that he had no Deſign againſt any of the Lords; and that the Force he had gathered was only to preſerve himſelf from any violent Attempt that might be made on his Perſon: He declared, that he was willing to ſubmit himſelf, and therefore propoſed, that two of thoſe Lords ſhould be ſent from London, and they, with two of thoſe that were yet about the King, ſhould conſider what might be done, in whoſe Determination he would acquieſce; and deſired, that whatſoever was agreed on, ſhould be confirmed in Parliament. Hereupon there was ſent to London a Warrant under the King's Hand, for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there, to come to Windſor with twenty Servants a-piece, who had the King's Faith for their Safety in coming and going: And Cranmer, Paget, and Smith wrote to them, to diſpoſe them to end the Matter peaceably, and not follow cruel Councils, nor to be miſled by them who meant otherwiſe than they profeſſed, of which they knew more than they they would then mention. This ſeemed to point at the Earl of Southampton.

ON the 9th of October the Council at London encreaſed by the Acceſſion of the Lord Ruſſel, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anth. Brown, Sir Anth. Wingfield, and Sir John Baker, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: For now thoſe who had ſtood off a-while, ſeeing the Protector was reſolved to yield, came and united themſelves with the prevailing Party; ſo that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the Protector had ſaid, that if they intended to put him to Death, the King ſhould die firſt; and if they would famiſh him, they ſhould famiſh the King firſt: And at that he armed his own Men, and ſet them next to the King's Perſon, and was deſigning to carry him out of Windſor, and as ſome reported, out of the Kingdom: Upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be Protector. But of thoſe Words no Proofs being mentioned in the Council-Books, they look like the Forgeries of his Enemies to make him odious to the People. The Council ordered a Proclamation of their Proceedings to be printed, and writ to the Lady Mary, and the

the Lady Elizabeth, acquainting them with what they had done. They alſo wrote to the King, acknowledging the many Bonds that lay on them in Gratitude both for his Father's Goodneſs to them, and his own, to take Care of him. They deſired he would conſider, they were his whole Council, except one or two; and were thoſe whom his Father had truſted with the Government: That the Protector was not raiſed to that Power by his Father's Will, but by their Choice, with that Condition, that he ſhould do all Things by their Advice, which he had not obſerved; ſo that they now judged him moſt unworthy of theſe Honours: Therefore they earneſtly deſired they might be admitted to the King's Preſence, to do their Duties about him, and that the Forces gathered about his Perſon might be ſent away, and the Duke of Somerſet might ſubmit himſelf to the Order of the Council. They alſo wrote to the Archbiſhop and Sir William Paget, charging them as they would anſwer it, that the King's Perſon might be well looked to, that he ſhould not be removed from Windſor, and that he ſhould be no longer guarded by the Duke of Somerſet's Men, (as they ſaid he had been, of which they complained ſeverely) but by his own ſworn Servants; and they requir'd them to concur in advancing the Deſire they had ſignified by their Letter to the King, proteſting that they would do with the Duke of Somerſet, as they would deſire to be done by, and with as much Moderation and Favour as in Honour they could: So that there was no Reaſon to apprehend from them ſuch Cruelty as they had mentioned in their Letters. Theſe were ſent by Sir Philip Hobby, who was returned from Flanders, and had been ſent by the King to London on the Day before. Upon this Cranmer, and Paget (as is entered in the Council-Book) perſuaded both the King and the Protector to grant their Deſire. The Protector's Servants were diſmiſſed, and the King's Guards were ſet about his Perſon. And Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, wrote to the Council at London, that all they had propoſed ſhould be granted: They deſired to know whether the King ſhould be brought to London, or ſtay at Windſor; and that three of the Lords might be ſent thither, who ſhould ſee all Things done according to their Minds: And for other Things they referred them to Hobby, who carried the Letter. Upon this the Council ſent Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Anthony St. Legier, and Sir J. Williams, to Windſor, with a Charge to ſee that the Duke of Somerſet ſhould not withdraw before they arrived, and that Sir Tho. Smith the Secretary, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynn, Edw. Wolfe, and William Cecil, ſhould be reſtrained to their Chambers, till they examined them. On the 12th of October the whole Council went to Windſor, and coming to the King, they proteſted that all they had done was out of the Zeal and Affection they had to his Perſon and Service. The King received them kindly, and thanked them for their Care of him, and aſſured them that he took all they had done in good Part. On the 13th Day they ſate in Council, and ſent for thoſe who were ordered to be kept in their Chambers; only Cecil was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief Inſtruments about the Duke of Somerſet in all his wilful Proceedings; therefore they turn'd Smith out of his Place of Secretary, and ſent him, with the reſt, to the Tower of London. On the Day following, the Protector was called before them, and Articles of Miſdemeanors and High Treaſon were laid to his Charge. The Subſtance of them was, That being made Protector, on Condition that he ſhould do nothing without the Conſent of the other Executors, he had not obſerved that Condition, but had treated with Ambaſſadors, made Biſhops and Lord-Lieutenants, by his own Authority; and that he had held a Court of Requeſts in his own Houſe; and had done many Things contrary to Law; had embaſed the Coin, had in the Matter of Incloſures ſet out Proclamations, and given Commiſſions againſt the Mind of the whole Council; that he had not taken Care to ſuppreſs the late Inſurrections, but had juſtified and encouraged them; that he had neglected the Places the King had in France, by which Means they were loſt; that he had perſuaded the King that the Lords who met at London intended to deſtroy him, and had deſired him never to forget it, but to revenge it; and had required ſome young Lords to keep it in his Remembrance, and had cauſed thoſe Lords to be proclaimed Traitors; that he had ſaid, If he ſhould die, the King ſhould die too; that he had carried

ried the King ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, that he was not only put in great Fear, but caſt into a dangerous Diſeaſe; that he had gathered the People, and arm'd them for War, and had arm'd his Friends and Servants, and left the King's Servants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jerſey, or Guernſey. So he was ſent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the Earls of Suſſex, and Huntington. That Day the King was carried back again to Hampton-Court; and an Order was made, that ſix Lords ſhould be Governors of his Perſon; who were the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick, and Arundel, the Lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth. Two of thoſe were in their Courſe to attend conſtantly on the King.

Cenſures on the Protector.

AND thus fell the Duke of Somerſet from his high Offices and great Truſt: The Articles objected to him ſeem to ſay as much for his Juſtification, as the Anſwers could do, if they were to be met with. He is not accuſed of Rapine, Cruelty or Bribery; but only of ſuch Things as are incident to all Men that are of a ſudden exalted to a high and diſproportioned Greatneſs. What he did about the Coin, was not for his own Advantage, but was done by a common Miſtake of many Governors, who, in the Neceſſity of their Affairs, fly to this as their laſt Shift, to draw out their Buſineſs as long as is poſſible; but it ever rebounds on the Government to its great Prejudice and Loſs. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Proſperity; and ſet himſelf in his Impriſonment to Study, and Reading; and falling on a Book that treated of Patience, both from the Principles of Moral Philoſophy, and of Chriſtianity, he was ſo much taken with it, that he ordered it to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and writ a Preface to it himſelf, mentioning the great Comfort he had found in Reading it, which had induced him to take Care that others might reap the like Benefit. Peter Martyr writ him alſo a long conſolatory Letter, which was printed, both in Latin, and in an Engliſh Tranſlation; and all the Reformed, both in England, and Abroad, looked on his Fall as a publick Loſs to that whole Intereſt which he had ſo ſteadily ſet forward.

The Papiſts much lifted up.

BUT on the other Hand, the Popiſh Party were much lifted up at his Fall; and the rather, becauſe they knew the Earl of Southampton, who they hoped ſhould have directed all Affairs, was entirely theirs. It was alſo believed, that the Earl of Warwick had given them ſecret Aſſurances: So it was underſtood at the Court of France, as Thuanus writes. They had alſo, among the firſt Things they did, gone about to diſcharge the Duke of Norfolk of his long Impriſonment, in Conſideration of his great Age, his former Services, and the Extremity of the Proceedings againſt him, which were ſaid to have flowed chiefly from the ill Offices the Duke of Somerſet had done him. But this was ſoon laid aſide. So now the Papiſts made their Addreſſes to the Earl of Warwick. The Biſhop of Wincheſter wrote to him a hearty Congratulation, rejoicing that the late Tyranny (ſo he called the Duke of Somerſet's Adminiſtration) was now at an End: He wiſhed him all Proſperity, and deſired, that when he had Leiſure from the great Affairs, that were in ſo unſettled a Condition, ſome Regard might be had of him. The Biſhop of London, being alſo in good Hopes, ſince the Protector, and Smith, whom he eſteemed his chief Enemies, were now in Diſgrace, and Cranmer was in cold, if not in ill Terms, with the Earl of Warwick, ſent a Petition that his Appeal might be received, and his Proceſs reviewed. Many alſo began to fall off from going to the Engliſh Service, or the Communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been ſettled by the Duke of Somerſet. But the Earl of Warwick, finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one ſo much to him, as the promoting it further would do, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and was ſeemingly the moſt earneſt on a further Reformation that was poſſible. He continued ſtill a Priſoner. And for Bonner's Matter, there was a new Court of Delegates appointed to review his Appeal, conſiſting of four Civilians, and four Common Lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the Proceſs had been legally carried on, and the Sentence juſtly given, and that there was no good Reaſon why the Appeal ſhould be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they ſent for Bonner in the Beginning of February, and declar'd to him, that his Appeal was rejected,

and

and that the Sentence againſt him was in full Force ſtill.

BUT the Buſineſs of Bulloigne was that which preſs'd them moſt: They miſdoubting, as was formerly ſhewn, that Paget had not managed that Matter dexterouſly and earneſtly with the Emperor, ſent on the 18th of October, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Philip Hobby to him, to entreat him to take Bulloigne into his Protection; they alſo ſent over the Earl of Huntington to command it, with the Addition of 1000 Men for the Garriſon. When the Amdaſſadors came to the Emperor, they deſired Leave to raiſe 2000 Horſe and 3000 Foot in his Dominions for the Preſervation of Bulloigne. The Emperor gave them very good Words, but inſiſted much on his League with France; and referred them to the Biſhop of Arras, who told them plainly the Thing could not be done. So Sir Tho. Cheyney took his Leave of the Emperor, who at parting deſired him to repreſent to the King's Council, how neceſſary it was to conſider Matters of Religion again, that ſo they might be all of one Mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not aſſiſt them ſo effectually as otherwiſe he deſired to do. And now the Council ſaw clearly, they had not been deceived by Paget in that Particular, and therefore reſolved to apply themſelves to France for a Peace. But now the Earl of Warwick falling off wholly from the Popiſh Party, the Earl of Southampton left the Court in great Diſcontent. He was neither reſtored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treaſurer, (that Place, which was vacant by the Duke of Somerſet's Fall, being now given to the Lord St. John, who ſoon after, was made Earl of Wiltſhire:) Nor was he made one of thoſe who had Charge of the King's Perſon. So he began to lay a Train againſt the Earl of Warwick; but he was too quick for him, and diſcovered it. Upon which he left the Court in the Night, and it was ſaid, he poiſon'd himſelf, or pined away with Diſcontent; for he dy'd in July after.

So now the Reformation was order'd to be carried on: And there being one Part of the Divine Offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving Orders, ſome Biſhops and Divines, brought now together by a Seſſion of Parliament, were appointed to prepare a Book of Ordination.

IN this Seſſion of Parliament a ſevere Law was made againſt unlawful Aſſemblies: That if any, to the Number of Twelve, ſhould meet together unlawfully, for any Matter of State, and being required by any lawful Magiſtrate, ſhould not diſperſe themſelves, it ſhould be Treaſon; and if any broke Hedges, or violently pulled up Pales, about Incloſures, without lawful Authority, it ſhould be Felony. It was alſo made Felony to gather the People together without Warrant, by Ringing of Bells, or Sound of Drums and Trumpets, or the Firing of Beacons. There was alſo a Law made againſt Prophecies concerning the King or his Council, ſince by theſe the People were diſpoſed to Sedition: For the firſt Offence it was to be puniſhed by Impriſonment for a Year, and 10 l. Fine: For the ſecond it was Impriſonment during Life, with the Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. All this was on the Account of the Tumults the former Year, and not with any Regard to the Duke of Somerſet's Security, as ſome have, without any Reaſon, fancied: For he had now no Intereſt in the Parliament, nor was he in a Condition any more to apprehend Tumults againſt himſelf, being ſtript of ſo much envy'd Greatneſs. Another Law was made againſt Vagabonds, relating, That the former Statute made in this Reign being too ſevere, was by that Means not executed: So it was repealed, and the Law made in King Henry the VIIIth's Reign put in Force. Proviſions were laid down for relieving the Sick and Impotent, and ſetting the Poor, that were able, to Work: That once a Month there ſhould be every where a Viſitation of the Poor, by thoſe in Office, who ſhould ſend away ſuch as did not belong to that Place, and thoſe were to be carried from Conſtable to Conſtable, till they were brought to ſuch Places as were bound to ſee to them. There was a Bill brought in for the Repealing of a Branch of the Act of Uniformity, but it went no further than one Reading.

ON the 14th of November the Biſhops made a heavy Complaint to the Lords, of the abounding of Vice and Diſorder, and that their Power was ſo abridged, that they could puniſh no Sin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to obſerve the Orders of the Church. This was heard by all the Lords with great Regret, and they ordered

dered a Bill to be drawn about it. On the 18th of November a Bill was brought in, but rejected at firſt Reading, becauſe it ſeemed to give the Biſhops too much Power: So a Second Bill was appointed to be drawn by a Committee of the Houſe. It was agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who laid it aſide after the ſecond Reading. They thought it better to renew the Deſign that was in the former Reign, of two and thirty Perſons being authorized to compile the Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and when that was prepared, it ſeem'd more proper, by confirming it, to eſtabliſh Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, than to give the Biſhops any Power, while the Rules of their Courts were ſo little determined or regulated: So an Act paſs'd, empow'ring the King to name ſixteen Perſons of the Spirituality, of whom four ſhould be Biſhops, and ſixteen of the Temporality, of whom four ſhould be common Lawyers, who within three Years ſhould compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and thoſe, being nothing contrary to the common and Statute Laws of the Land, ſhould be publiſh'd by the King's Warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the Force of Laws in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Thus they took Care that this ſhould not be turned over to an uncertain Period, as it had been done in the former Reign, but deſigned that it ſhould be quickly finiſhed. The Biſhops of that Time were generally ſo backward in every Step to a Reformation, that a ſmall Number of them was made neceſſary to be of this Commiſſion. The Effect that it had ſhall be afterwards open'd.

THERE was a Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons, That the Preaching and Holding of ſome Opinions ſhould be declared Felony: It paſſed with them, but was laid aſide by the Lords. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Miniſters was brought into the Houſe of Lords, and was agreed to, the Biſhops of Dureſme, Carliſle, Worcheſter, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter, proteſting againſt it. The Subſtance of it was, That ſuch Forms of Ordaining Miniſters as ſhould be ſet forth by the Advice of ſix Prelates and ſix Divines, to be named by the King, and authorized by a Warrant under the Great Seal, ſhould be uſed after April next, and no other. On the ſecond of January a Bill was put in againſt the Duke of Somerſet, of the Articles formerly mention'd, with a Confeſſion of them ſigned by his Hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon Aſſurances given that he ſhould be gently dealt with, if he would freely confeſs, and ſubmit himſelf to the King's Mercy. But it was ſaid by ſome of the Lords, that they did not know whether that Confeſſion was not drawn from him by Force; and that it might be an ill Preſident to paſs Acts upon ſuch Papers, without examining the Party, whether he had ſubſcribed them freely and uncompelled: So they ſent four Temporal Lords, and four Biſhops, to examine him concerning it. And the Day following, the Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, made the Report, that he thanked them for that kind Meſſage, but that he had freely ſubſcribed the Confeſſion that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and had ſigned it on the 13th of December. He proteſted his Offences had flowed from Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion, rather than Malice, and that he had no treaſonable Deſign againſt the King or his Realms. So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 l. a Year of Land, and he loſt all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their Favour, in bringing off his Matter by a Fine: He confeſſed, that he had fall'n into the Frailties that often attend on great Places, but what he had done amiſs was rather for want of true Judgement, than from any malicious Meaning: He humbly deſired they would interpoſe with the King for a Moderation of his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and reſtor'd to Favour; aſſuring them, that for the future he ſhould carry himſef ſo humbly and obediently, that he ſhould thereby make Amends for his former Follies: This was much cenſured by many, as a Sign of an abject Spirit: Others thought it was wiſely done in him, once to get out of Priſon on any Terms, ſince the Greatneſs of his former Condition gave ſuch Jealouſy to his Enemies, that unleſs he had his Pardon, he would be in continual Danger, as long as he was in their Hands. So on the 6th of February he was ſet at Liberty, giving Bond of 10000 l. for his good Behaviour; and being limited that he ſhould ſtay at the King's Houſe of Sheen, or in his own of Zion, and ſhould not go four Miles from them,

nor

ſhor come to the King or the Council, unleſs he were called: He had this Pardon on the 16th of February, and carried himſelf after that ſo humbly, that his Behaviour, with the King's great Kindneſs to him, did ſo far prevail, that on the 10th of April after, he was reſtor'd into Favour, and ſworn of the Privy Council. And ſo this Storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his Carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the Hero, that he was not much conſidered after this.

The Reformation is ſet on vigorouſly.

BUT to go on with the Buſineſs of the Parliament: Reports had been ſpread, that the old Service would be again ſet up: And theſe were much cheriſhed by thoſe who ſtill loved the former Superſtition; who gave out, that a Change was to be expected, ſince the new Service had been the Act of the Duke of Somerſet. Upon this the Council wrote on Chriſtmas-Day a Letter to all the Biſhops of England, to this Effect, "That whereas the Engliſh Service had been deviſed by "Learned Men, according to the "Scripture, and the Uſe of the Primitive Church; therefore, for putting away thoſe vain Expectations, "all Clergymen were required, to deliver to ſuch as ſhould be appointed "by the King to receive them, all Antiphonales, Miſſals, Grayles, Proceſſionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, "Portuaſſes, Journals, and Ordinals, "after the Uſe of Sarum, Lincoln, "York, or any other private Uſe: Requiring them alſo to ſee to the obſerving one uniform Order in the "Service ſet forth by the common "Conſent of the Realm: And particularly to take Care that there ſhould "be every where Proviſion made of "Bread and Wine for the Communion "on Sunday." But to give a more publick Declaration of their Zeal, an Act was brought into Parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the Lords; except the Earl of Derby, the Biſhops of Dureſme, Coventry, and Litchfield, Carliſle, Worceſter, Weſtminſter, and Chicheſter, and the Lords Stourton, Morley, Windſor, and Wharton. By it, not only all the Books formerly mentioned were to be deſtroyed, but all that had any Image that had belonged to any Church or Chapel, were required to deface it before the laſt of June: And in all the Primmers ſet out by the late King, the Prayers to the Saints were to be daſh'd out. There was alſo an Act for a Subſidy to be paid in one Year, for which there was a Releaſe granted of a Branch of the Subſidy formerly given. Laſt of all came the King's general Pardon, out of which thoſe in the Tower, or other Priſons, on the Account of the State, as alſo Anabaptiſts, were excepted.

THUS were all Matters ended, and on the 1ſt of February the Parliament was prorogued. Only in the Houſe of Commons there was a Debate that deſerves to be remembered. It ſeems that before this Time the Eldeſt Sons of Peers were not Members of the Houſe of Commons; and Sir Francis Ruſſel, becoming, by the Death of his elder Brother, Heir apparent to the Lord Ruſſel; it was on the 21ſt of January carried upon a Debate, That he ſhould abide in the Houſe as he was before; and ſo it is entered in the Original Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

Dr. Burnet proceeds next to give an Account of the Forms of Ordination at this Time agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the Council to prepare the Book; among whom, Heath, Biſhop of Worceſter, was one; but he would not conſent to the Reformations that were propoſed in it: So on the 8th of February he was called before the Council, and required to agree to that which all the reſt had conſented to: But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the 4th of March he was committed to the Fleet, becauſe (as it is entered in the Council-Books) that he obſtinately denied to ſubſcribe the Book for the making of Biſhops and Prieſts. He had hitherto oppoſed every Thing done towards the Reformation in Parliament, though he had given an entire Obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a Man of a gentle Temper, and great Prudence, that underſtood Affairs of State better than Matters of Religion. But now it was reſolved to rid the Church of thoſe Compliers, who ſubmitted out of Fear, or Intereſt, to ſave their Benefices; but were ſtill ready, upon any favourable Conjuncture, to return back to the old Superſtition.

AS for the Forms of Ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the Impoſition of Hand and Prayer. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, in the fourth Council of Carthage, and in the pretended Works of Dennis the Areopagite, there was no more uſed.

Therefore all thoſe Additions of Anointing, and Giving them Conſecrated Veſtments, were later Inventions. But moſt of all the Conceit, which from the Time of the Council of Florence was generally received, that the Rites by which a Prieſt was ordained, were the delivering him the Veſſels for conſecrating the Euchariſt, with a Power to offer Sacrifice to GOD for the Dead and the Living. This was a vain Novelty, only ſet up to ſupport the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation; and had no Ground in the Scriptures, nor the Primitive Practice. So they agreed on a Form of ordaining Deacons, Prieſts and Biſhops, which is the ſame we yet uſe, except in ſome few Words, that have been added ſince in the Ordination of a Prieſt, or Biſhop. For there was then no expreſs Mention made in the Words of Ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other Office: In both it was ſaid, Receive thou the HOLY GHOST, in the Name of the Father, &c. But that having been ſince made Uſe of to prove both Functions the ſame, it was of late Years altered, as it is now. Nor were theſe Words, being the ſame in giving both Orders, any Ground to infer that the Church eſteemed them one Order; the reſt of the Office ſhewing the contrary very plainly. Another Difference between the Ordination-Book ſet out at that Time, and that we now uſe, was, that the Biſhop was to lay his Hand on the Prieſt's Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, ſaying the Words now ſaid at the Delivery of the Bible. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop there was nothing more than what is yet in Uſe, ſave that a Staff was put into his Hand, with this Bleſſing, Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd. By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordained before he was 21, a Prieſt before he was 24, nor a Biſhop before he was 30 Years of Age.

The Additions brought into the Romiſh Church, in giving Orders.

IN this Ritual all thoſe ſuperadded Rites were cut off, which the latter Ages had brought in, to dreſs up theſe Performances with the more Pomp; whereof we have ſince a more perfect Account, than it was poſſible for them then to have. For in our Age Mozinus, a learned Prieſt of the Oratorian Order, has publiſhed the moſt antient Rituals he could find; by which it appears how theſe Offices ſwelled in every Age by ſome new Addition. About the Middle of the 6th Century, they anointed and bleſſed the Prieſt's Hands in ſome Parts of France: Though the Greek Church never uſed Anointing; nor was it in the Roman Church two Ages after that: For Pope Nicolaus the 1ſt plainly ſays, it was never uſed in the Church of Rome. In the 8th Century, the Prieſt's Garments were given with a ſpecial Benediction, for the Prieſt's offering expiatory Sacrifices: It was no antienter that that Phraſe was uſed in Ordinations; and in that ſame Age there was a ſpecial Benediction of the Prieſt's Hands, uſed before they were anointed; and then his Head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical Law, and partly becauſe the People believed that their Kings derived the Sacredneſs of their Perſons, from their being anointed: So the Prieſts having a Mind to have their Perſons ſecured and exempted from all Secular Power, were willing enough to uſe this Rite in their Ordinations: And in the 10th Century, when the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation was received, the delivering of the Veſſels for the Euchariſt, with the Power of offering Sacrifices, was brought in, beſides a great many other Rites. So that the Church did never tie itſelf to one certain Form of Ordinations; nor did it always make them with the ſame Prayers; for what was accounted antiently the Form of Ordination, was in the latter Ages but a preparatory Prayer to it.

THE moſt conſiderable Addition that was made in the Book of Ordinations, was the putting Queſtions to the Perſons to be ordained; who by anſwering theſe, make ſolemn Declarations, or Sponſions, and Vows to GOD. The firſt Queſtion when one is preſented to Orders, is, Do you truſt that you are inwardly moved by the HOLY GHOST, to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration, to ſerve GOD, for the Promoting his Glory, and for the Edifying of his People? To which he is to anſwer, He truſts he is. It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive Orders before ever they have ſeriouſly read over theſe Queſtions, and examined themſelves, whether they could with a good Conſcience make the Anſwers there preſcribed: Since it is ſcarce credible that Men of common Honeſty would lye in the Preſence of GOD, on ſo great an Occaſion: And yet it is too viſible, that many have not any ſuch inward Vocation, nor have

have ever conſidered ſeriouſly what it is. If they were well apprehended, that Heat that many have to get into Orders, would ſoon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their Eye, but ſome Place of Profit, or Benefice, to which Way muſt be made by that preceding Ceremony; and ſo enter into Orders, as others are aſſociated into Fraternities and Corporations, with little previous Senſe of that Holy Character, they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their Lives and Labours to the Service of GOD, in the Goſpel. In the Primitive Church the Apprehenſion of this made even good and holy Men afraid to enter under ſuch Bonds; and therefore they were often to be dragg'd almoſt by Force, or catched at unawares, and be ſo initiated; as appears in theſe two Greek Fathers Nazianzen and Chryſoſtome. If Men make their firſt Step to the Holy Altar, by ſuch a Lye, as in their pretending to a Motion of the HOLY GHOST, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no Reaſon to expect that Bleſſing which otherwiſe attends on ſuch Dedications. And it had been happy for the Church, if all thoſe that are authorized to confer Orders, had ſtood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting theſe Queſtions to thoſe who come to be ordained; but had uſed a due Strictneſs beforehand, ſuitable to that grave admonition of St. Paul's to Timothy, Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, and be not Partaker of other Mens Sins.

IN the Sponſions made by the Prieſts, they bind themſelves to teach the People committed to their Charge, to baniſh away all erroneus Doctrines, and to uſe both publick and private Monitions, and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as the Whole, within their Cures, as Need ſhall require, and as Occaſion ſhall be given. Such as remember that they have plighted their Faith for this to GOD, will feel the Paſtoral Care to be a Load indeed, and ſo be far enough from relinquiſhing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a looſe or ignorant Mercenary. Theſe are the Blemiſhes and Scandals that lie on our Church, brought on it partly by the Corruption of ſome Simonaical Patrons, but chiefly by the Negligence of ſome, and the Faultineſs of other Clergymen: Which could never have loſt ſo much Ground in the Nation, upon ſuch trifling Accounts, as are the Conteſts ſince raiſed about Ceremonies; if it were not that the People, by ſuch palpable Faults in the Perſons and Behaviour of ſome Churchmen, have been poſſeſſed with Prejudices, firſt againſt them, and then upon their Account againſt the whole Church; ſo that theſe corrupt Churchmen are not only to anſwer to GOD for all thoſe Souls within their Charge, that have periſhed through their Neglect, but in a great Degree for all the Miſchief of the Schiſm among us; to the nouriſhing whereof they have given ſo great and palpable Occaſion. But now to turn to other Affairs.

THE Buſineſs of Bulloigne lay heavy on the Council. The French had ſtopt all Communication between Calais and it; ſo that it was not eaſy to ſupply it from thence. The Council, to rid the Nation of the Foreigners, ſent them all to Calais with 3000 Engliſh, and reſolved to force a Way thro', if it came to Extremities: But at this Time both the French and Engliſh were well diſpoſed to a Peace. The King of France knew the Emperor intended to go into Germany next Summer; ſo he longed to be at Liberty to wait on his Motions. The Engliſh Council, that oppoſed the Delivery of Bulloigne, chiefly to throw off the Duke of Somerſet, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the Coſt and Danger of a War; only they ſtood on the Indecency of yielding it; eſpecially, they having raiſed ſuch Clamours againſt the Protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great Shews of Preparations to defend it; but at the ſame Time were not unwilling to liſten to Propoſitions of Peace. One Guidotti, a Florentine, that lived in England, was employed by the Conſtable of France, Mountmorancy, to ſet on a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any Orders from that King. He went often to and again between Paris and London, and at laſt it was reſolved on both Sides that there ſhould be a Treaty: But at this Time there was a great Change of Affairs in Italy. Pope Paul the IIId having held that See fifteen Years, died the 10th of November, in the 82d Year of his Age; much broken in Mind at the Calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loſs of Placentia, and the Ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his Death all the Cardinals, being gather'd

from

from Bollogna, Trent, and other neighbouring Places, entered the Conclave; where one that is to have ſuch a Share in the following Part of this Work, was ſo much concerned, that it will be no impertinent Digreſſion to give an Account of it. There were great Animoſities between the Imperialiſts and the French: Cardinal Farneſe had alſo many Votes that followed him: So that theſe three Factions, were either of them ſtrong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal Pool was ſet up by Farneſe, as a moderate Imperialiſt, who had carried it ſo well at Trent, that they ſaw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He had lived many Years at Viterbo, where he was made Legate, after he had given over his Practices againſt England. There he gave himſelf wholly to the Study of Divinity, not without ſome Imputations of favouring Hereſy. For one Antonio Flaminio, that was alſo ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, liv'd with him. Tremellius, that learned Jew, who had been Baptized in his Houſe, was alſo known to incline that Way: And many who left their Monaſteries, and went to Germany, uſed to ſtay ſome Time with him on their Way, and were well received by him; nor would he proceed againſt any ſuſpected of Hereſy. There were Cauſes enough to raiſe Suſpicion in a leſs jealous People than Italians. Yet the vaſt Zeal that he had ſhewn for the Exaltation of the Papacy, made all thoſe Things be overlooked. He was ſent one of the Pope's Legates to Trent, where he aſſerted the German Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith: But upon the Emperor's ſetting out the Interim he wrote freely againſt it. He was indeed a Man of an eaſy and generous Temper, but much in the Power of thoſe whom he loved and truſted. Farneſe therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the Imperialiſts, and not much hated by the French, the Cardinal of Guiſe being his Friend, reſolved to promote him; and by the Scrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the Number that was requiſite. But he ſeemed ſo little concerned at it himſelf, that he deſired them not to make too much Haſte in a Thing of that Nature; for that Dignity was rather to be undertaken with Fear, than to be ambitiouſly deſired. The Cardinals, who had heard of ſuch Things among the antient Romans, but had ſeen few ſuch modern Inſtances, and who valued Men by nothing more than their ambitious Aſpiring, imputed this either to Dullneſs or Hypocriſy: He himſelf ſeemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his Behaviour, and carried it with an Equality of Mind, that became one who had divided his Time between Philoſophy and Divinity. Caraffa, who hated him, did all he could to alienate the Conclave from him: He objected to him, not only Hereſy, but alſo the Suſpicion of Incontinence, ſince he bred up a Nun who was believed to be his Daughter. Of theſe Things he coldly purged himſelf; he ſhewed that he had ſuffered ſo much on the Account of Religion in his own Country, that he was beyond the Suſpicion of Hereſy: And he proved that the Girl whom he maintained among the Nuns, was an Engliſhman's Daughter, to whom he had aſſigned an Allowance: Caraffa prevailed little, and the next Night the Number was compleat; ſo that the Cardinals came to adore him, and make him Pope; but he receiving that, with his uſual Coldneſs ſaid, it was Night, and GOD loved Light better than Darkneſs, therefore he deſired to delay it till Day came. The Italians who, whatever Judges they may be about the Qualifications of ſuch a Pope as is neceſſary for their Affairs, underſtood not this Temper of Mind, which in better Times would have recommended one with the higheſt Advantages, ſhrunk all from him; and after ſome Intrigues uſual on ſuch Occaſions, choſe the Cardinal de Monte, afterwards Pope Julius the IIId, who gave a ſtrange Omen of what Advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the Cuſtom of the Popes who beſtow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean Servant of his, who had the Charge of a Monkey that he kept; and being asked what he obſerved in him to make him a Cardinal, he anſwered, as much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him to make him a Pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the Secret of this Promotion was an unnatural Affection to him.

Cardinal Pool elected Pope.

But another choſen ſoon after.

AND now to return to England; it was reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors to France: Who were, the Lord Ruſſel, Paget now made a Lord, Secretary Petre, and Sir John Maſon: The Subſtance

ſtance of their Inſtructions was, they were not to ſtick about the Place of Treaty, but to have it at Calais, or Bulloigne, if it might be: They were to agree to the Delivery up of Bulloigne, but to demand that the Scotch Queen ſhould be ſent back, for perfecting the Marriage formerly agreed on: That the Fortifications of Newhaven, and Blackneſs, ſhould be ruinated: That the perpetual Penſion agreed to King Henry ſhould ſtill be paid, together with all the Arrears that were due before the Wars: They were only to inſiſt on the laſt, if they ſaw the former could not be obtained: They were to agree the Time and Manner of the Delivery of Bulloigne to be as honourable as might be. For Scotland, they being alſo in War with the Emperor, the King of England could not make Peace with them, unleſs the Emperor, his Ally, who made War on them upon his Account, were alſo ſatisfied: All Places there were to be offered up, except Roxburgh, and Aymouth. If the French ſpoke any thing of the King's marrying their King's Daughter Elizabeth, they were to put it off; ſince the King was yet ſo young. They were alſo at firſt to agree to no more but a Ceſſation. So they went over on the 21ſt of January; the French Commiſſioners appointed to treat with them at Rochpot, Chaſtilion, Mortier, and de Sany, who deſired the Meeting might be near Bulloigne, tho' the Engliſh endeavoured to have brought it to Guiſnes. Upon the Engliſh laying out their Demands, the French anſwered them roundly, that for delivering up the Queen of Scots, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual Penſion; ſince, as the King was reſolved to marry the Scotch Queen to the Dauphin, ſo he would give no perpetual Penſion, which was in Effect to become a tributary Prince: But for a Sum of Money they were ready to treat about it. As to Scotland, they demanded, that all the Places that had been taken ſhould be reſtored, as well Roxburgh, and Aymouth, as Lauder, and Dunglaſſe. The latter two were ſoon yielded to, but the Commiſſioners were limited as to the former. There was alſo ſome Diſcourſe of razing the Fortifications of Alderney, and Sark, two ſmall Iſlands in the Channel, that belonged to England: The latter was in the Hands of the French, who were willing to yield it up, ſo the Fortifications both in it and Alderney were razed. Upon this there were ſecond Inſtructions ſent over from the Council, that they ſhould ſo far inſiſt on the keeping of Roxburgh, and Aymouth, as to break up their Conference upon it; but if that did not work on the French, they ſhould yield it, rather than give over the Treaty. They were alſo inſtructed to require Hoſtages from the French till the Money were all paid, and to offer Hoſtages on the Part of England till Bulloigne was delivered; and to ſtruggle in the Matter of the Iſles all they could, but not to break up about it. Between the giving the firſt and ſecond Inſtructions, the Lord St. John was created Earl of Wiltſhire, as appears by his Subſcriptions. The Commiſſioners finiſhed their Treaty, about the End of February, on theſe Articles, on Condition that all Claims of either Side ſhould be reſerved as they were at the Beginning of the War. This was a Temper between the Engliſh Demand, of all the Arrears of King Henry's Penſion; and the French Denial of it: For thus the King reſerved all the Right he had before the War. Bulloigne was to be delivered within ſix Months, with all the Places about it, and the Ordnance, except what the Engliſh had caſt ſince they had it: For which Surrender the French were to pay 400,000 Crowns, (then of equal Value with the Engliſh Noble) the one half three Days after the Town was in their Hands, and the other in the Auguſt after. There was to be a Peace with Scotland, and Roxburgh, and Aymouth, Lauder, and Dunglaſſe, were to be razed: And there was to be a free Trade between England, France, and Scotland. Six Hoſtages were to be given on either Side: All the Engliſh were to be ſent back upon the Delivery of the Town: And three of the French on the firſt, and the reſt on the ſecond Payment. The French Hoſtages were the Duke of Eughien, the Marquis de Mean Son to the Duke of Guiſe, Monmorancy Son to the Conſtable, the Duke of Tremoville, the Vicedom of Churtres, and Henandy Son to Annebault the Admiral. On the Engliſh Side were, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, the Earl of Shrewſbury, the Earl of Arundel's Son, the Lord Strange, and the Lord Matravers. So was the Peace concluded: All the Articles in it were duly perform'd, and the Hoſtages de-

livered back. It was proclaimed in London on the 29th of March, being confirmed by both the Kings. Only it was much obſerved, that when it was to be confirmed in England, the Earl of Warwick, on Pretence of Sickneſs, was abſent: Thoſe who began to conceive great Jealouſies of him, thought this was to make a Shew to the People that he abhorred ſo diſhonourable a Thing, as himſelf had oft called it during the Duke of Somerſet's Adminiſtration, and that therefore he would not by his Preſence ſeem to conſent to it, tho' he had ſigned all the Orders for it.

AND now was the King entering in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto much diſtracted his Government. So the Council was now at Leiſure to ſettle the Affairs at Home. But the Earl of Warwick, beginning to form great Deſigns, reſolved firſt to make himſelf popular, by calling all that had meddled in the King's Affairs to a ſtrict Account; and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which the King's Debts ſhould be paid, or to keep them under the Laſh till he made them ſubſervient to his Ends. He began with the Earl of Arundel, to whoſe Charge many Things being laid, he ſubmitted himſelf to a Fine of 12000 l. to be paid in twelve Years. This was the more taken Notice of, becauſe Southampton, Arundel, and he, with Sir Richard Southwell, Maſter of the Rolls, had been the chief Contrivers of the Duke of Somerſet's Fall: Southhampton was driven away, Arundel fined, and Southwell was ſoon after put in the Fleet, for diſperſing ſome Seditious Bills. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a ſecret Curſe on thoſe who had conſpir'd againſt the Duke of Somerſet: And the Delivery of Bulloigne made it yet more plain, that the Charge againſt him was chiefly grounded on Malice. After Arundel's Diſgrace, all the Duke of Somerſet's Friends made their Compoſitions, and were diſcharged. Sir Tho. Smith, Sir Michael Stanhop, Tho. Fiſher, and William Gray, each of them acknowledged they owed the King 3000 l. And Sir Jo. Thynn ſubmitted to 6000 l. Fine.

IT was now reſolved to fill the See of London: Ridley being eſteemed both the moſt learned, and moſt throughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the Man. So on the 21ſt of Febr. he was writ for, and on the 24th declared Biſhop of London and Weſtminſter, and was to have 1000 l. a Year of the Rents of the Biſhoprick; and for his further Supply, was diſpenſed with to hold a Prebendary of Canterbury and Weſtminſter. It was thought needleſs to have two Biſhopricks ſo near one another; and ſome gaping after the Lands of both, procured this Union. But there is no Reaſon to think, that at any Time in this Reign, the Suppreſſion of the Deanaries and Prebends in Cathedrals was deſigned. For neither in the Suppreſſion of the Biſhopricks of Weſtminſter, Gloceſter, or Dureſme, was there any Attempt made to put down the Deanaries or Prebendaries in theſe Places: So that this was a groundleſs Conceit, among others that paſs, concerning this Reign. For Thirleby of Weſtminſter, there was no Cauſe given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the Laws and Injunctions when they came out, though he generally oppoſed them when they were making. So to make Way for him, William Reps, the Biſhop of Norwich, was prevailed with to reſign, and he was promoted to that See, vacant (as his Patent has it) by the free Reſignation of William the former Biſhop: And the ſame Day, being the 1ſt of April, Ridley was made Biſhop of London and Weſtminſter. Both were, according to the common Form, to be Biſhops, durante vita naturali, during Life.

THE See of Wincheſter had been two Years as good as vacant, by the long Impriſonment of Gardiner, who had been now above two Years in the Tower. When the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out, the Lord St. John, and Secretary Petre, were ſent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himſelf to it or not; and they gave him great Hopes, that if he would ſubmit, the Protector would ſue to the King for Mercy to him. He anſwered, That he did not know himſelf Guilty of any Thing that needed Mercy; ſo he deſired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to Law. For the Book, he did not think that while he was a Priſoner he was bound to give his Opinion about ſuch Things, it might be thought he did it, againſt his Conſcience, to obtain his Liberty; but if he were out of Priſon, he ſhould either

obey

obey it, or be liable to Puniſhment according to Law. Upon the Duke of Somerſet's Fall, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Secretary Petre, were ſent to him: (Fox ſays, this was on the 9th of July; but there muſt be an Error in that, for Gardiner in his Anſwer ſays, That upon the Duke of Somerſet's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two Days, and had made his Farewel Feaſt, but when theſe were with him a Month or thereabout had paſſed; ſo it muſt have been in November the former Year) They brought him a Paper, to which they deſired he would ſet his Hand. It contained, firſt a Preface, which was an Acknowledgment of former Faults, for which he had been juſtly puniſhed: There were alſo divers Articles contained in it, which were, touching the King's Supremacy; his Power of appointing or diſpenſing with Holidays and Faſts; that the Book of Common-Prayer ſet out by the King and Parliament was a moſt Chriſtian and Godly Book, to be allowed of by all Biſhops and Paſtors in England; and that he ſhould, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, commend it to be obſerved; that the King's Power was compleat now when under Age, and that all owed Obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty Years old; that the ſix Articles were juſtly abrogated; and that the King had full Authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in the Church, both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the Preface; and offered to ſign all the Articles, but would have had the Preface left out. They bid him rather write on the Margin his Exceptions to it; ſo he writ, that he could not, with a good Conſcience, agree to the Preface, and with that Exception he ſet his Hand to the whole Paper. The Lords uſed him with great Kindneſs, and gave him Hope that his Troubles ſhould be quickly ended. Herbert, and Petre, came to him ſome Time after that, but how ſoon is not ſo clear, and preſſed him to make the Acknowledgment without Exception; he refuſed it, and ſaid, he would never defame himſelf; for when he had done it, he was not ſure but it might be made Uſe of againſt him as a Confeſſion. Two or three Days after that, Ridley was ſent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new Articles. In this Paper the Acknowledgment was more general than in the former: It was ſaid here in the Preface, that he had been ſuſpected of not approving the King's Proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and ſo deſerved the King's Diſpleaſure, for which he was ſorry: The Articles related to the Pope's Supremacy, the Suppreſſion of Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Maſſes, Images, the adoring the Sacrament, the Communion in both Kinds, the aboliſhing the old Books, and bringing in the new Book of Service, and that for ordaining of Prieſts and Biſhops, the Compleatneſs of the Scripture, and the Uſe of it in the vulgar Tongue, the Lawfulneſs of Clergymens Marriage, and to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe that it had been on good Conſiderations ordered to be ſet up in Churches. He read all theſe, and ſaid, he deſired firſt to be diſcharged of his Impriſonment, and then he would freely anſwer them all, ſo as to ſtand by it, and ſuffer if he did amiſs: But he would trouble himſelf with no more Articles, while he remained in Priſon; ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his Troubles in the Way of Mercy, but of Juſtice. After that, he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him they ſate by a ſpecial Commiſſion to judge him, and ſo required him to ſubſcribe the Articles that had been ſent to him: He prayed them earneſtly to put him to a Trial for the Grounds of his Impriſonment, and when that was over he would clearly anſwer them in all other Things; but he did not think he could ſubſcribe all the Articles after one Sort; ſome of them being about Laws already made, which he could not qualify; others of them being Matters of Learning, in which he might uſe more Freedom: In Concluſion, he deſired Leave to take them with him, and he would conſider how to anſwer them. But they required him to ſubſcribe them all, without any Qualification; which he refuſed to do. Upon this the Fruits of his Biſhoprick were ſequeſtered; and he was required to conform himſelf to their Orders within three Months, upon Pain of Deprivation; and the Liberty he had, of Walking in ſome open Galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him; and he was again ſhut up in his Chamber.

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ALL this was much cenſured, as being contrary to the Liberties of Engliſhmen, and the Forms of all legal Proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a Man in Priſon upon Complaint againgſt him; and without any further Enquiry into it, after two Years Durance to put Articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely, ſaid it ſavoured too much of the Inquiſition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were ſome Things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of Proceeding ex Officio, which rather excuſed than juſtified this hard Meaſure he met with. The Sequel of this Buſineſs ſhall be related in its proper Place.

Latimer's Advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

THIS Lent old Latimer preached before the King. The Diſcourſe of the King's marrying a Daughter of France had alarmed all the Reformers, who rather enclined to a Daughter of Ferdinand's King of the Roman's. (To a Marriage with her it is no Wonder they all wiſhed well: For both Ferdinand and his Son Maximilian were looked upon as Princes that in their Hearts loved the Reformation, and the Son was not only the beſt Prince, but accounted one of the beſt Men of the Age.) But Latimer in his Sermon adviſed the King to marry in the LORD; and to take Care that Marriages might not be made only as Bargains, which was a Thing too frequently done, and occaſioned ſo much Whoredom and Divorcing in the Nation. He run out in a ſad Lamentation of the Vices of the Time, the Vanity of Women, the Luxury and Irregularity of Men; he complained, that many were Goſpellers for Love of the Abbey and Chantry Lands: he preſſed, that the Diſcipline of the Church, and the Excommunicating of ſcandalous Perſons, might be again ſet up: He adviſed the King to beware of ſeeking his Pleaſure too much, and to keep none about him who would ſerve him in it: He ſaid he was ſo old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he diſcharg'd his Conſcience freely: He complained the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers lived high, made great Purchaſes, and built Palaces: He prayed them all to be good to the King, and not to defraud the poor Trades-men that wrought for his Stores, who were ill paid. Dr. Burnet ſaith he does not ſet this down ſo much to give an Account of that Sermon, as of the State of the Court and Nation, which he ſo freely diſcourſed of.

Hooper is made Biſhop of Gloceſter.

WAKEMAN, that had been Abbot of Tewkſbury, and was after made Biſhop of Gloceſter, dy'd in December laſt Year: And on the 3d of July, this Year, Hooper was by Letters Patents appointed to be his Succeſſor. Upon which there followed a Conteſt that has ſince had ſuch fatal Conſequences, that if we may ſay with St. James, How great a Matter hath a little Fire kindled? It has been already ſhewn, that the Veſtments uſed in Divine Service, were appointed to be retained in this Church; but Hooper refuſed to be conſecreated in the Epiſcopal Veſtments. The Grounds he went on were, That they were humane Inventions, brought in by Tradition, or Cuſtom, not ſuitable to the Simplicity of the Chriſtian Religion: That all ſuch Ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul, as beggarly Elements: That theſe Veſtments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the Maſs, with much Pomp, and had been conſecrated for that Effect: Therefore he deſired to be excuſed from the Uſe of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other Hand, alledged, that Traditions in Matters of Faith were juſtly rejected, but in Matters of Rites and Ceremonies, Cuſtom was oft a good Argument for the Continuance of that which had been long uſed. Thoſe Places of St. Paul did only relate to the Obſervance of the Jewiſh Ceremonies, which ſome in the Apoſtles Times pleaded ſtill to be retained, upon the Authority of their firſt Inſtitution by Moſes: So this implying, that the Meſſias was not yet come, in whom all theſe had there Accompliſhment, the Apoſtles did condemn the Uſe of them on any ſuch Account; tho' when the bare obſerving them, without the Opinion of any ſuch Neceſſity in them, was likely to gain the Jews, they both uſed Circumciſion, and purified themſelves in the Temple: If then they who had ſuch abſolute Authority in thoſe Matters, did condeſcend ſo far to the Weakneſs of the Jews; it was much more becoming Subjects to give Obedience to Laws in Things indifferent. And the Abuſe that had been formerly, was no better Reaſon to take away the Uſe of the Veſtments, than it was to throw down Churches, and take away the Bells, becauſe the one had been conſecrated, and the other baptized, with many

But refuſes to wear the Epiſcopal Veſtments.

Upon which aroſe great Diſputes.

ſuperſtitious

ſuperſtitious Ceremonies: Therefore they required Hooper to conform himſelf to the Law. Cranmer, who, to his other excellent Qualities, had join'd a ſingular Modeſty and Diſtruſt of himſelf, writ about this Difference to Bucer, reducing it to theſe two plain Queſtions: Whether it was lawful and free from any Sin againſt GOD, for the Miniſters of the Church of England to uſe thoſe Garments in which they did then officiate; ſince they were requir'd to do it by the Magiſtrates Command? and, Whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that Account refuſed to uſe thoſe Veſtments, did not ſin againſt GOD; calling that unclean, which GOD had ſanctified, and the Magiſtrates required; ſince he thereby diſturbed the publick Order of the Kingdom? To this Bucer writ a large Anſwer on the 8th of December this Year. He thought that thoſe who uſed theſe Garments ought to declare they did not retain them as Parts of Moſes's Law, but as Things commanded by the Law of the Land: He thought every Creature of GOD was good, and no former Abuſe could make it ſo ill, that it might not be retained; and ſince theſe Garments had been uſed by the Antient Fathers before Popery, and might ſtill be of good Uſe to the weak, when well underſtood, and help to maintain the Miniſterial Dignity, and to ſhew that the Church did not of any Lightneſs change old Cuſtoms, he thought the retaining them was expedient; that ſo the People might by ſeeing theſe Veſtments, conſider of the Candor and Purity that became them: And in this Senſe he thought to the Pure all things were Pure; and ſo the Apoſtles complied in many Things with the Jews. Upon the whole Matter, he thought they ſinned who refuſed to obey the Laws in that Particular. But he added, That ſince theſe Garments were abuſed by ſome to Superſtition, and by others to be Matter of Contention, he wiſhed they were taken away, and a more complete Reformation eſtabliſhed: He alſo prayed that a Stop might be put to the ſpoiling of Churches, and that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline againſt Offenders might be ſet up: For, ſaid he, Unleſs theſe manifeſt and horrid Sacrileges be put down, and the complete Kingdom of Chriſt be received, ſo that we all ſubmit to his Yoke, How intolerably ſhall the Wrath of GOD break out on this Kingdom? The Scripture ſets many ſuch Examples before our Eyes, and Germany offers a moſt dreadful Proſpect of what England might look for.

Bucer's Opinion concerning them.

HE writ alſo to Hooper upon the ſame Argument. He wiſhed the Garments were removed by Law; but argued fully for the Uſe of them till then: He lamented the great Corruptions that were among the Clergy, and wiſhed that all good Men would unite their Strength againſt theſe, and then leſs Abuſes would be more eaſily redreſſed. He alſo anſwered Hooper's Objections on the Principles formerly laid down. Peter Martyr was alſo writ to; and, as he writ to Bucer, he was fully of his Mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added theſe Words, What you wrote to me about Hooper could not but ſeem wonderful to me: When I heard it I was ſtruck with it. It was well that the Biſhops ſaw my Letters, by which I am freed from their Diſpleaſure. His Buſineſs is now at that Paſs, that the beſt and moſt pious diſprove of it. I am griev'd, and ſadly griev'd, that ſuch Things ſhould fall out among the Profeſſors of the Goſpel. All this while in which he is ſuſpended from Preaching, he cannot be at Reſt: He has ſet out a Profeſion of his Faith, by which he has provoked many: He complains of the Privy-Counſellors, and perhaps of us too, of which he ſays nothing to me. GOD give an happy Iſſue to theſe uncomfortable Beginnings. This Dr. Burnet ſets down more fully, that it may appear how far either of theſe Divines were from cheriſhing ſuch Stiffneſs in Hooper. He had been Chaplain to the Duke of Somerſet, as appeared by his Defence of himſelf in Bonner's Proceſs; yet he obtained ſo much Favour of the Earl of Warwick, that he writ earneſtly in his Behalf to the Archbiſhop to diſpence with the Uſe of the Garments, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Conſecreation. Cranmer wrote back, That he could not do it without incurring a Præmunice: So the King was moved to write to him; warranting him to do it, without any Danger which the Law could bring on him for ſuch an Omiſſion. But tho' this was done on the 4th of Auguſt, yet he was not conſecrated till March next Year; and in the mean while it appears by Peter Martyr's Letters, that he was ſuſpended from Preaching.

A Congregation of Germans in London

THIS Summer John a Laſco, with a Congregation of Germans that fled from their Country upon the Perſecution raiſed there, for not receiving the Interim, was allowed to hold his Aſſembly at St. Auſtin's in London. The Congregation was erected into a Corporation. John a Laſco was to be Superintendant, and there were four other Miniſters aſſociated with him. There were alſo 380 of the Congregation made Denizens of England, as appears by the Records of their Patents. But a Laſco did not carry himſelf with that Decency that became a Stranger who was ſo kindly received: For he wrote againſt the Orders of this Church, both in the Matter of the Habits, and about the Poſture in the Sacrament, being for Sitting rather than Kneeling.

Polydore Virgil leaves England, A.D. 1550.

THIS Year Polydore Virgil, who had been now almoſt forty Years in England, growing old, deſired Leave to go nearer the Sun. It was granted him on the 2d of June: And in Conſideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his Hiſtory, he was permitted to hold his Archdeaconry of Wells, and his Prebend of Nonnington, notwithſtanding his Abſence out of the Kingdom. On the 26th of June Pionet was declared Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Coverdale was made Coadjutor to Veyſy, Biſhop of Exeter.

A Review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

ABOUT the End of this Year, or the Beginning of the next, there was a Review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. Several Things had been continued in it, either to draw in ſome of the Biſhops, who by ſuch Yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it; or in Compliance with the People who were fond of their old Superſtitions. So now a Review of it was ſet about. Martin Bucer was conſulted in it; and Aleſſe, the Scotch Divine, mentioned in the former Part, tranſlated it into Latin for his Uſe. Upon which Bucer writ his Opinion, which he finiſhed the 5th of January in the Year following. The Subſtance of it was, That he found all things in the Common Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He adviſed, that in Cathedrals the Choir might not be too far ſeparated from the Congregation, ſince in ſome Places the People could not hear them read Prayers. He wiſhed there were a ſtrict Diſcipline to exclude ſcandalous Livers from the Sacrament. He wiſhed the old Habits might be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſuperſtitiouſly, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half Office of the Communion, or ſecond Service, to be ſaid at the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the People to receive at leaſt once a Year, and would have them preſſed to it much more frequently. He diſliked that the Prieſts generally read Prayers with no Devotion, and in ſuch a Voice, that the People underſtood not what they ſaid. He would have the Sacrament delivered into the Hands, and not put into the Mouths of the People. He cenſured praying for the Dead, of which no Mention is made in the Scripture, nor by Juſtin Martyr, an Age after. He thought that the Prayer, that the Elements might be to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt; favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much. A ſmall Variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture Form. He complained that Baptiſm was generally in Houſes, which being the receiving Infants into the Church, ought to be done more publickly. The Hallowing of the Water, the Chriſme, and the White Garment he cenſured, as being too ſcenical. He excepted to the exorciſing the Devil, and would have it turned to a Prayer to GOD. That authoritative Way of ſaying I adjure, not being ſo decent. He thought the Godfathers anſwering in the Child's Name, not ſo well as to anſwer to their own, that they ſhould take Care in theſe Things, all they could. He would not have Confirmation given upon a bare Recital of the Catechiſm; but would have it delayed 'till the Perſons did really deſire to renew the Baptiſmal Vow. He would have catechizing every Holiday, and not every ſixth Sunday; and that People ſhould be ſtill catechized, after they were confirmed, to preſerve them from Ignorance. He would have all Marriages to be made in the full Congregation. He would have the giving Unction to the Sick and praying for the Dead, to be quite laid aſide; as alſo the Offering the Chriſomes at the Churching of Women. He adviſed, that the Communion ſhould be celebrated four Times a Year. He ſadly lamented the Want of faithful Teachers; and intreated the Archbiſhop to ſee to the mending of this, and to think on ſome ſtricter Ways of examining thoſe who were to be ordained, than barely

barely the putting off ſome Queſtions to them.

AT the ſame Time, the King having taken ſo much Care of him, that hearing he had ſuffered in his Health laſt Winter, by the Want of a Stove, ſuch as is uſed in Germany, he had ſent him 20 l. to have one made for him; he was told that the King would expect a New-Years-Gift from him, of a Book made for his own Uſe: So upon that Occaſion he writ a Book intituled, Concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt. He ſets out in it the Miſeries of Germany, which he ſays were brought on them by their Sins; for they would bear no Diſcipline; nor were the Miniſters ſo earneſt in it as was fitting; tho' in Hungary it was otherwiſe. He writes largely of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; which was intended chiefly for ſeparating ill Men from the Sacrament; and to make good Men avoid the Company, whereby they might be aſhamed. He preſſes much the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, and of the other Holidays, and that there might be many Days of Faſting: But he thought Lent had been ſo abuſed, that other Times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of Pluralities, and Non-reſidence, as a Remainder of Popery; ſo hurtful to the Church, that in many Places there were but one or two, or few more Sermons in a whole Year: But he thought that much was not to be expected from the greateſt Part of the Clergy, unleſs the King would ſet himſelf vigorouſly to reform theſe Things. Laſtly, he would have a compleat Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church digeſted and ſet out: And he propoſed divers Laws to the King's Conſideration; as,

Bucer wrote a Book for the King's Uſe.

I. For catechizing Children.

II. For ſanctifying Holidays.

III. For preſerving Churches for GOD's Service, not to be made Places for Walking, or for Commerce.

IV. To have the Paſtoral Function entirely reſtored to what it ought to be, that Biſhops throwing off all Secular Cares, ſhould give themſelves to their ſpiritual Employments: He adviſes that Coadjutors might be given to ſome, and a Council of Presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the Laws againſt their Minds; theſe he would have deprived. He adviſes Rural Biſhops to be ſet over twenty or thirty Pariſhes, who ſhould gather their Clergy often together, and inſpect them cloſely: And that a Provincial Synod ſhould meet twice a Year, where a ſecular Man, in the King's Name, ſhould be appointed to obſerve their Proceedings.

V. For reſtoring Church Lands, that all who ſerved the Church might be well provided: If any lived in Luxury, upon their high Revenues, it was reaſonable to make them uſe them better; but not to blame or rob the Church for their Fault.

VI. For the Maintenance of the Poor, for whom antiently a fourth Part of the Churches Goods was aſſigned.

The VIIth was about Marriage. That the prohibited Degrees might be well ſettled; Marriage without Conſent of Parents annulled; and that a ſecond Marriage might be lawful after a Divorce, which he thought might be made for Adultery, and ſome other Reaſons.

VIII. For the Education of Youth.

IX. For reſtraining the Exceſs of ſome People's living.

X. For reforming and explaining the Laws of the Land, which his Father had begun.

XI. To place good Magiſtrates; that no Office ſhould be ſold, and that Inferior Magiſtrates ſhould often give an Account to the Superior, of the Adminiſtration of their Offices.

XII. To conſider well who were made Judges.

XIII. To give Order that none ſhould be put in Priſon upon ſlight Offences.

The XIVth was for moderating of ſome Puniſhments; chiefly, the putting Thieves to Death, which was too ſevere, whereas Adultery was too ſlightly paſſed over; tho' Adultry be a greater Wrong to the ſuffering Party, than any Theft, and ſo was puniſhed with Death by Moſes's Law.

THIS Book was ſent to the young King, and he having received it, ſet himſelf to write a general Diſcourſe about a Reformation of the Nation, which is the ſecond among the Diſcourſes written by him, that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes Notice of the Corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under Conſideration; as alſo that is was neceſſary there ſhould be a Rule of Church Diſcipline, for the Cenſures of ill Livers; but he thought that Power was not to be put into the Hands of all the

the Biſhops at that Time. From thence he goes on to diſcourſe of the ill State of the Nation, and of the Remedies that ſeemed proper for it. The firſt he propoſes was the Education of Youth, next the Correction of ſome Laws, and there either broke it off, or the reſt of it is loſt; in which, as there is a great Diſcovery of a marvellous Probity of Mind, ſo there are ſtrange Hints, to come from one not yet fourteen Years of Age. And yet it is all written with his own Hand, and in ſuch a Manner, that any who ſhall look on the Original, will clearly ſee it was his own Work: The Stile is ſimple, and ſuitable to a Child: Few Men can make ſuch Compoſures, but ſomewhat above a Child will appear in their Stile, which makes me conclude it was all a Device of his own.

The King writes a Journal of all Proceedings during his Reign.

THIS Year the King began to write his Journal himſelf. The firſt three Years of his Reign are ſet down in a ſhort Way of recapitulating Matters: But this Year he ſet down what was done every Day, that was of any Moment, together with the Foreign News that were ſent over. And oftentimes he called to Mind Paſſages ſome Days after they were done; and ſometime after the Middle of a Month he tells what was done in the Beginning of it. Which ſhews clearly it was his own Work; for if it had been drawn for him, by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his Memory, it would have been more exact; ſo that there is no doubt but that it was his own originally; and all who have writ of that Time have drawn their Informations from it.

Ridley viſits his Dioceſe.

THERE was nothing elſe done of Moment this Year, in relation to the Church, ſave the Viſitation made of the Dioceſe of London, by Ridley, their new Biſhop: But the exact Time of it is not ſet down in the Regiſter. It was according to King Edward's Journal ſome Time before the 26th of June; for he writes, that on that Day Sir Jo. Yates, the High Sheriff of Eſſex, was ſent down with Letters to ſee the Biſhop of London's Injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and ſuch like Ceremonies and Abuſes; ſo that the Viſitation muſt have been about the Beginning of June. The Articles of it are in Biſhop Sparrow's Collection. They are concerning the Doctrines and Lives, and Labours and Charities, of the Clergy, viz. Whether they ſpeak in Favour of the Biſhop of Rome, or againſt the Uſe of the Scripture, or againſt the Book of Common-Prayer? Whether they ſtirred up Sedition or ſold the Communion or Trentals, or uſed private Maſſes any where? Whether any Anabaptiſts, or others uſed private Conventicles, with different Opinions and Forms from theſe eſtabliſhed? Whether there were any that ſaid the Wickedneſs of the Miniſter took away the Effect of the Sacraments, or denied Repentance to ſuch as ſinned after Baptiſm? Other Queſtions were about Baptiſms, and Marriages. Whether the Curates did viſit the Sick, and bury the Dead, and expound the Catechiſm, at leaſt ſome Part of it, once in ſix Weeks? Whether any obſerved abrogated Holidays, or the Rites that were now put down?

To theſe he added ſome Injunctions: Moſt of which relate to the old Superſtitions, which ſome of the Prieſts were ſtill inclinable to practiſe, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reproved by Bonner. Such were waſhing their Hands at the Altar, holding up the Bread, licking the Chalice, bleſſing their Eyes with the Patten or Sudary, and many other Relicks of the Maſs. The Miniſters were alſo required to charge the People oft to give Alms, and to come oft to the Communion, and to carry themſelves reverently at Church: But that which was moſt new, was, that there having been great Conteſts about the Form of the LORD's Board, whether it ſhould be made as an Altar, or as a Table: Therefore, ſince the Form of a Table was more like to turn the People from the Superſtition of the Popiſh Maſs, and to the right Uſe of the LORD's Supper, he exhorted the Curates and Churchwardens to have it in the Faſhion of a Table, decently covered: And to place it in ſuch Part of the Choir, or Chancel, as ſhould be moſt meet, ſo that the Miniſters and Communicants ſhould be ſeparated from the reſt of the People; and that they ſhould put down all by Altars.

He orders all Altars to be turned to Tables for the Communion.

THERE are many Paſſages among Antient Writers, that ſhew their Communion-Tables were of Wood; and that they were ſo made as Tables, that thoſe who fled into Churches for Sanctuary, did hide themſelves under them. The Name Altar came to be given to theſe generally, becauſe they accounted the

the Euchariſt a Sacrifice of Praiſe, as alſo a commemorative Sacrifice of the Oblation which Chriſt made of himſelf on the Croſs. From hence it was, that the Communion-Table was called alſo an Altar. But now it came to be conſidered, whether, as theſe Terms had been on good Reaſon brought into the Church, when there was no Thought of the Corruptions that followed; ſo if it was not fit, ſince they did ſtill ſupport the Belief of an expiatory Sacrifice in the Maſs, and the Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, and were always but Figurative Forms of Speech, to change them: And to do that more effectually, to change the Form and Place of them. Some have fondly thought, that Ridley gave this Injunction after the Letter which the Council writ to him, in the End of November following. But as there was no fit Time to begin a Viſitation after that Time, this Year, ſo the Stile of the Injunctions ſhews they were given before the Letter. The Injunction only exhorts the Curates to do it, which Ridley could not have done in ſuch ſoft Words, after the Council had required and commanded him to do it: So it appears that the Injunctions were given only by his Epiſcopal Power; and that afterwards the ſame Matter being brought before the Council, who were informed, that in many Places there had been Conteſts about it, ſome being for keeping to their old Cuſtom, and others being ſet on a Change, the Council thought fit to ſend their Letter concerning it to Ridley in the Beginning of November following. The Letter ſets out, that Altars were taken away in divers Places, upon good and godly Conſiderations, but ſtill continued in other Places; by which there aroſe much Contention among the King's Subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give ſubſtantial Order through all his Dioceſe for removing all Altars, and ſetting up Tables every where for the Communion to be adminiſtered in ſome convenient Part of the Chancel: And that theſe Orders might be the better received, there were Reaſons ſent with the Letters, which he was to cauſe diſcreet Preachers to declare, in ſuch Places as he thought fit, and that himſelf ſhould ſet them out in his own Cathedral, if conveniently he could.

THE Reaſons were to remove the People from the Superſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs; and becauſe a Table was a more proper Name than an Altar, for that on which the Sacrament was laid. And whereas in the Book of Common-Prayer theſe Terms are promiſcuouſly uſed, it is done without preſcribing any thing about the Form of them, ſo that the changing the one into the other did not alter any Part of the Liturgy. It was obſerved, that Altars were erected for the Sacrifices under the Law, which ceaſing they were alſo to ceaſe; and that Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament, not at an Altar, but at a Table. And it had been ordered by the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer, that if any Doubt aroſe about any Part of it, the determining of it ſhould be referred to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Upon theſe Reaſons therefore was this Change ordered to be made all over England, which was univerſally executed this Year.

Sermons on Working-Days forbidden.

THERE began this Year a Practice which might ſeem in itſelf not only innocent, but good, of preaching Sermons and Lectures on the Week-Days, to which there was great running from neighbouring Pariſhes. This, as it begat Emulation in the Clergy, ſo it was made Uſe of as a Pretence for many to leave their Labour, and gad idly about. Upon Complaint therefore made of it, Ridley had a Letter ſent to him from the Council, againſt all preaching on Working-Days, on which there ſhould only be Prayers. How this was ſubmitted to then, is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been ſince that Time Exceſſes on all Hands in this Matter; while ſome have, with great Sincerity and Devotion, kept up theſe in Market-Towns; but others have carried them on with too much Faction, and a Deſign to detract from ſuch as were not ſo eminent in their Way of Preaching. Upon theſe Abuſes, while ſome Rulers have ſtudied to put all ſuch Performances down, rather than to correct the Abuſes in them, great Contradiction has followed on it; and the People have been poſſeſſed with unjuſt Prejudices againſt them, as Hinderers of the Word of GOD; and that Oppoſition has kept up the Zeal for theſe Lectures: Which nevertheleſs, ſince they have been more freely preached, have of late Years produced none of the ill Effects that did follow them

them formerly, when they were endeavoured to be ſuppreſs'd.

THE reſt of the Affairs at Home were chiefly for the regulating of many Abuſes, that had been grown up and been nouriſh'd by a long Continuance of War. All the Foreign Soldiers were diſmiſs'd. And though the Duke of Lunenburg had offered the King 10000 Men to his Aſſiſtance, and deſired to enter into a Treaty of Marriage for the Lady Mary, they only thanked him for this Offer of his Soldiers, of which they, being now at Peace with all their Neighbours, had no Need; and ſince the Propoſition for Marrying the Lady Mary to the Infant of Portugal was yet in Dependance, they could not treat in that Kind with any other Prince till that Overture was ſome Way ended. There were Endeavours alſo for encouraging Trade, and reforming the Coin, and at the Court Things began to put on a new Viſage; for there was no more any Faction; the Duke of Somerſet, and the Earl of Warwick, being now joined into a near Alliance; the Earl's eldeſt Son, the Lord Liſle, marrying the Duke's Daughter; ſo that there was a good Proſpect of happy Times.

IN Scotland, the Peace being proclaimed, the Government was now more entirely in the Hands of the Duke of Caſtelherault, who gave himſelf up wholly to the Counſels of his baſe Brother, who was Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. And he was ſo abandoned to his Pleaſures, that there was nothing ſo bad that he was aſhamed of. He kept another Man's Wife openly for his Concubine. There were alſo many Exceſſes in the Government. Which Things, as they alienated all Peoples Minds from the Clergy, ſo they diſpoſed them to receive the new Doctrines, which many Teachers were bringing from England, and prepared them for the Changes that followed afterwards. The Queen Mother went over into France in September, pretending it was to ſee her Daughter, and the reſt of her Kindred there; where ſhe laid down the Method for the wreſting of the Government of Scotland out of the Governor's Hands, and taking it into her own.

THE Emperor appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet in the End of July, and required all to appear perſonally at it, except ſuch as were hindered by Sickneſs, of which they were to make Faith upon Oath. And at the ſame Time he proſcribed the Town of Magdeburg. But the Magiſtrates of that Town ſet out a large Manifeſto for their own Vindication, as they had done the former Year. They ſaid, "They "were ready to give him all the Obe-"dience, that they were bound to by "the Laws of the Empire: They "were very apprehenſive of the Mi-"chiefs of a Civil War: They were "not ſo blind as to think they were "able to reſiſt the Emperor's great Ar-"mies, lifted up with ſo many Victo-"ries, if they truſted only to their "own Strength: They had hitherto "done no Act of Hoſtility to any, but "what they were forced to for their "own Defence. It was viſible, the "true Ground of the War of Germany "was Religion, to extinguiſh the "Light of the Goſpel, and to ſubdue "them again to the Papal Tyranny. "For the Artifices that were formerly "uſed to diſguiſe it, did now appear "too manifeſtly; ſo that it was not "any more denied. But it would be "too late to ſee it, when Germany "was quite oppreſſed. In Civil Mat-"ters, they ſaid, they would yield to "the Miſeries of the Time. But St. "Peter had taught them that it was "better to obey GOD than Man; and "therefore they were reſolved to put "all Things to Hazard, rather than to "make Shipwrack of Faith and a good "Conſcience." There were Tumults raiſed in Strasburg, and divers other Towns, againſt thoſe who ſet up the Maſs among them; and generally all Germany was diſpoſed to a Revolt, if they had had but a Head to lead them.

THE Emperor had alſo ſet out a very ſevere Edict in Flanders, when he left it, againſt all that favoured the new Doctrines, as they were called. But the Execution of this was ſtopt at the Interceſſion of the Town of Antwerp, when they perceived the Engliſh were reſolved to remove from thence, and carry their Trade to ſome other Place. When the Diet was opened, the Emperor preſſed them to ſubmit to the Council which the new Pope had removed back to Trent. Maurice of Saxe anſwered, He could not ſubmit to it, unleſs all that had been done formerly in it ſhould be reviewed, and the Divines of the Ausburg Confeſſion were both heard and admitted to a Suffrage, and

and the Pope ſhould ſubject himſelf to their Decrees, and diſpenſe with the Oath which the Biſhops had ſworn to him. On theſe Terms he would ſubmit to it, and not otherwiſe. This was refuſed to be entered into the Regiſters of the Diet by the Elector of Mentz; but there was no Haſte, for the Council was not to ſit till the next Year. The Emperor complained much, that the Interim was not generally received: To which it was anſwered by the Princes, That it was neceſſary to give the People Time to overcome their former Prejudices. All ſeemed to comply with him: And Maurice did ſo inſinuate himſelf into him, that the Siege of Magdeburg being now form'd, and a great many Princes having gathered Forces againſt it, among whom the Duke of Brunſwick, and the Duke of Mecklenburg were the moſt forward; yet he got himſelf declared by the Diet General of the Empire, for the Reduction of that Place, and he had 100,000 Crowns for undertaking it, and 60,000 Crowns a Month were appointed for the Expence of the War. He ſaw well, that if Magdeburg were cloſely preſſed, it would ſoon be taken, and then all Germany would be brought to the Emperor's Devotion; and ſo the War would end in a Slavery. But he hoped ſo to manage this ſmall Remainder of the War, as to draw great Effects from it. This was a fatal Step to the Emperor, thus to truſt a Prince who was of a different Religion, and had a deep Reſentment of the Injury he had done him, in detaining his Father-in-law the Landgrave of Heſſe Priſoner, againſt the Faith he had given him. But the Emperor reckoned, that as long as he had John Duke of Saxe in his Hands, Maurice durſt not depart from his Intereſts; ſince it ſeemed an eaſy Thing for him to re-poſſeſs the other of his Dominions and Dignity. Thus was the crafty Emperor deluded; and now put that, upon which the compleating of his great Deſigns depended, into the Hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was ſuch a Maſter, Cunning and Diſſimulation.

IN Theſe Conſultations did this Year end. In the Beginning of the next Year, there was a great Complaint brought againſt Dr. Oglethorp, afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle under Queen Mary, and now Preſident of Magdalen College in Oxford. But he, to ſecure himſelf from that Part of the Complaint that related to Religion, being accuſed as one that was againſt the new Book of Service, and the King's other Proceedings, ſigned a Paper, in which he declared, "That he had never taught "any thing openly againſt thoſe, but "that he thought them good, if well "uſed: And that he thought the Or-"der of Religion now ſet forth, to be "better and much nearer the Uſe "of the Apoſtolical and Primitive "Church than that which was for-"merly; and that in particular, he "did approve of the Communion in "both Kinds, the Peoples communica-"ting always with the Prieſt, the Ser-"vice in Engliſh, and the Homilies "that had been ſet forth; and that he "did reject the lately received Doc-"trine of Tranſubſtantiation, as being "not agreeable to the Scriptures, or to "the Antient Writers: But he thought "there was an inconceivable Preſence "of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, "and that therefore it ſhould be re-"ceived not without great Examina-"tion before-hand." So compliant was he now, tho' he became of another Mind in Queen Mary's Time; yet then he was more moderate, than the greateſt Part of thoſe who did now comply moſt ſervilely. In particular, Dr. Smith had written a Book for the Cælibate of Prieſts, and had oppoſed all the Changes that had been made: He was brought to London upon the Complaints that were ſent up againſt him from Oxford; but after a whiles Impriſonment, he was ſet at Liberty, giving Surety for his good Behaviour, and carried himſelf ſo obediently after it, that Cranmer got his Sureties to be diſcharged, upon which he writ him a Letter as full of Acknowledgement as was poſſible. "He proteſted he ſhould "retain the Senſe of it as long as he "liv'd; he wiſhed that he had never "written his Book of the Cælibate of "Prieſts, which had been printed "againſt his Will; he found he was "miſtaken in that which was the "Foundation of it all, that the Prieſts "of England had taken a Vow againſt "Marriage; he deſired to ſee ſome of "the Collections Cranmer had made "againſt it; (it ſeems Cranmer was enquiring after a M. S. of Ignatius's Epiſtles; for he tells him, They were in Magdalen College Library) "He "acknowledged the Archbiſhop's great "Gentleneſs toward all thoſe who had

"been

" been complained of for Religion in " that Univerſity: And proteſted, that " for his own Part, if ever he could " ſerve his baſeſt Servant, he would " do it; wiſhing that he might periſh " if he thought otherwiſe than he " ſaid: And wiſhed him long Life " for the Propagation and Advance- " ment of the Chriſtian Doctrine." Soon after he writ another Letter to Cranmer, in which he cited ſome Paſſages out of Auſtin concerning his Retractations; and profeſſes he would not be aſhamed to make the like, and to ſet forth Chriſt's true Religion; and called, in St. Paul's Words, GOD to be a Witneſs againſt his Soul if he ly'd. He had alſo in the Beginning of this Reign made a Recantation Sermon of ſome Opinions he had held concerning the Maſs, but what theſe were King Edward's Journal does not inform us. Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, did alſo now ſo far comply, as to preach a Sermon at Court againſt Tranſubſtantiation; though he had refuſed to ſet his Hand to the Book of Common-Prayer, before it was enacted by Law. For the Principle that generally run among the Popiſh Party, was, That though they would not conſent to the making of ſuch Alterations in Religion, yet being made, they would give Obedience to them, which Gardiner plainly profeſs'd: And it appeared in the Practice of all the reſt. This was certainly a groſs Sort of Compliance, in thoſe who retained the old Opinions, and yet did now declare againſt them; and in the Worſhip they offered up to GOD, acted contrary to them; which was the higheſt Degree of Prevarication, both with GOD and Man, that was poſſible. But Cranmer was always gentle and moderate. He left their private Conſciences to GOD; but thought, that if they gave an external Obedience, the People would be brought to receive the Changes more eaſily; whereas the Proceeding ſeverely againſt them might have raiſed more Oppoſition. He was alſo naturally a Man of Bowels and Compaſſion, and did not Love to drive Things to Extremities: He conſidered that Men who had grown old in ſome Errors, could not eaſily lay them down, and ſo were by Degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the Proceedings againſt Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried beyond his ordinary Temper. But Gardiner he knew to be ſo inveterate a Papiſt, and ſo deep a Diſſembler, that he was for throwing him out, not ſo much for the Particulars objected to him, as upon the ill Character he had of him. Bonner had alſo deceived him ſo formerly, and had been ſo cruel a Proſecutor upon the Statute of the ſix Articles, and was become ſo brutal and luxurious, that he judged it neceſſary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of London and Wincheſter, were of ſuch Conſequence, that he was induced, for having theſe well ſupplied, to ſtretch a little in theſe Proceedings againſt thoſe diſſembling Biſhops.

IN the End of February he loſt his Friend Martin Bucer, on whoſe Aſſiſtance he had depended much in what remained yet to be done. Bucer died of the Stone, and Griping of the Guts, on the 28th of February. He lay ill almoſt all that Month, and expreſſed great Deſire to die. Bradford, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much Honour, waited moſt on him in his Sickneſs. He lamented much the deſolate State of Germany, and expreſs'd his Apprehenſions of ſome ſuch Stroke coming upon England, by Reaſon of the great Diſſoluteneſs of the Peoples Manners, of the Want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the general Neglect of the Paſtoral Charge. He was very patient in all his Pain, which grew violent on him; he lay often ſilent, only after long Intervals cried out, Chaſtiſe me LORD, but throw me not off in mine Old Age. He was by Order from Cranmer, and Sir John Cheek, bury'd with the higheſt Solemnities that could be deviſed, to expreſs the Value the Univerſity had for him. The Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates, and the Mayor, with all the Town, accompanied his Funeral, to St. Mary's; where, after Prayers, Haddon, the Univerſity Orator, made ſuch a Speech concerning him, and pronounc'd it with that Affection, that almoſt the whole Aſſembly ſhed Tears. Next, Dr. Parker, that had been his moſt intimate Friend, made an Engliſh Sermon, in his Praiſe, and concerning the Sorrowing for our departed Friends. And the Day following, Dr. Redmayn, then Maſter of Trinity College, made another Sermon concerning Death; and in it gave a full Account of Bucer's Life and Death. He particularly commended the great Sweetneſs of his Temper, to all, but remarkably to thoſe who differed from him. Redmayn and he had

Bucer's Death.

differed

differed in many Things, both concerning Juſtification, and the Influences of the Divine Grace. But he ſaid, as Bucer had ſatisfied him in ſome Things, ſo he believed if he had lived he had ſatisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn ſo much. This Character, given him by ſo grave and learned a Man, who was in many Points of a different Perſwaſion from him, was a great Commendation to them both: And Redmayn was indeed an extraordinary Perſon. All in the Univerſity, that were eminent either in Greek or Latin Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with Epitaphs; in which they expreſſed a very extraordinary Senſe of their Loſs: About which one Carr writ a copious and paſſionate Letter to Sir John Cheek: But Peter Martyr, bore his Death with the moſt ſenſible Sorrow that could be imagined; having in him loſt a Father and the only intimate Friend he had in England. He was a very learned judicious, pious, and moderate Perſon; perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for Learning: But for Zeal, for true Piety, and a moſt tender Care for preſerving Unity among the Foreign Churches, Melancthon and he, without any Injury done the reſt, may be ranked apart by themſelves. He was much oppoſed by the Popiſh Party at Cambridge; who, tho', they complied with the Law, and ſo kept their Places, yet either in the Way of Argument, as it had been for Diſputes Sake, or in ſuch Points as were not determined, ſet themſelves much to leſſen his Eſteem: Nor was he furniſhed naturally with the Quickneſs that is neceſſary for a Diſpute, from which they ſtudied to draw Advantages: And therefore Peter Martyr writ to him to avoid all publick Diſputes with them: For they did not deal candidly on theſe Occaſions. They often kept up their Queſtions till the Hour of the Diſpute, that ſo the extemporary Faculty of him who was to preſide might be the more expoſed; and right or wrong they uſed to make Exclamations, and run away with a Triumph: In one of his Letters to Bucer, he particulary mentions Dr. Smith for an Inſtance of this. It was that Smith, he ſaid, who writ againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, and yet was believed to live in Adultery with his Man's Wife. This Letter was occaſioned by the Diſputes that were in Auguſt the former Year, between Bucer and Sedgwick, Young and Pern, about the Authority of the Scripture, and the Church. Which Diſputes Bucer intending to publiſh, cauſed them to be writ out, and ſent the Copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if any thing was omitted that they had ſaid, or if they had any thing elſe to ſay which was forgot in the Diſpute, they might add it: But they ſent back the Papers to him without vouchſafing to read them. At Ratiſbon he had a Conference with Gardiner, who was then King Henry's Ambaſſador; in which Gardiner broke out into ſuch a violent Paſſion, that as he ſpared no reproachful Words, ſo the Company thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him: He was in ſuch Diſorder, that the little Vein between his Thumb and Fore-finger did ſwell and palpitate, which Bucer ſaid he had never before that obſerved in any Perſon in his Life.

His Character.

BUT as Bucer was taken away by Death, ſo Gardiner was ſoon after put out, which was a Kind of Death; tho' he had afterwards a Reſurrection fatal to very many. There was a Commiſſion iſſued out, to the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, Griffith, and Leyſon, two Civilians, and Goodrick, and Goſnoſd, two Maſters of Chancery, to proceed againſt Gardiner for his Contempt in the Matters formerly objected to him. He put in a Compurgation, by which he endeavoured to ſhew there was Malice born to him, and Conſpiracies againſt him, as appear'd by the Buſineſs of Sir H. Knevet, mentioned in the former Part of this Hiſtory, and the leaving him out of the late King's Will, which he ſaid was procured by his Enemies. He complained of his long Impriſonment without any Trial, and that Articles of one Sort after another were brought to him; ſo that it was plain he was not detained for any Crime, but to try if ſuch Uſage could force him to do any Thing, that ſhould be impoſed on him. He declared, that what Order ſoever were ſet out by the King's Council, he ſhould never ſpeak againſt it, but to the Council themſelves; and that tho' he could not give Conſent to the Changes before they were made, he was now well ſatisfied to obey them; but he would never make Acknowledgment of any Fault. The Things chiefly laid againſt him,

him, were, that being required, he refuſed, to preach concerning the King's Power when he was under Age; and that he had affronted Preachers ſent by the King into his Dioceſe; and had been negligent in obeying the King's Injunctions; and continued, after all, ſo obſtinate, that he would not confeſs his Fault, nor aſk the King Mercy. His Crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely Aſſerting the King's Power under Age, might have been a great Means for preventing the Rebellion and Effuſion of Blood; which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that Pretence, to which his Obſtinacy had given no ſmall Occaſion. Upon this, many Witneſſes were examined; chiefly the Duke of Somerſet, the Earls of Wiltſhire, and Bedford, who depoſed againſt him. But to this he anſwered, That he was not required to do it by an Order of Council, but only in a private Diſcourſe, to which he did not think himſelf bound to give Obedience. Other Witneſſes were alſo examined on the other Particulars: But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in Perſon. Yet his Judges, on the 18th of April, gave Sentence againſt him; by which, for his Diſobedience and Contempt, they deprived him of his Biſhoprick. Upon that he renewed his Proteſtation and Appeal: And ſo his Proceſs ended, and he was ſent back to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary diſcharged him.

THE ſame Cenſures, with the ſame Juſtifications, belong both to this, and Bonner's Buſineſs. He had taken a Commiſſion, as well as Bonner, to hold his Biſhoprick only during the King's Pleaſure; ſo they both had the leſs Reaſon to complain, which Way ſoever the Royal Pleaſure was ſignified to them. Eight Days after, on the 26th of April, Pionet was tranſlated from Rocheſter to Wincheſter; and had 2000 Marks a Year in Lands aſſigned him out of that wealthy Biſhoprick for his Subſiſtance. Dr. Story was made Biſhop of Rocheſter. Veyſey Biſhop of Exeter did alſo reſign, pretending extream old Age; but he had reſerved 485 l. a Year in Penſion for himſelf, during Life, out of the Lands of the Biſhoprick; and almoſt all the reſt he had baſely alienated, taking Care only of himſelf, and ruining his Succeſſors. Miles Coverdale was Biſhop of Exeter. So that now the Biſhopricks were generally filled with Men well affected to the Reformation. The Buſineſs of Hooper was now alſo ſettled. He was to be attired in the Veſtments that were preſcribed, when he was conſecrated, and when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was diſpenced with upon other Occaſions. On theſe Conditions he was conſecrated in March: For the Writ for doing it bears Date the 7th of that Month. So now the Biſhops being generally addicted to the Purity of Religion, moſt of this Year was ſpent in preparing Articles, which ſhould contain the Doctrine of the Church of England.

MANY thought they ſhould have begun firſt of all with thoſe: But Cranmer, upon good Reaſons, was of another Mind, tho' much preſſed by Bucer about it. Till the Order of Biſhops was brought to ſuch a Model, that the far greater Part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that Deſign go on ſlowly, than to ſet out a Profeſſion of their Belief, to which ſo great a Part of the chief Pactors might be obſtinately averſe. The Corruptions that were moſt important were thoſe in the Worſhip, by which Men in their immediate Addreſſes to GOD, were neceſſarily involved in unlawful Compliances, and there ſeemed to require a more ſpeedy Reformation. But for ſpeculative Points, there was not ſo preſſing a Neceſſity to have them all explained, ſince in theſe, Men might, with leſs Prejudice, be left to a Freedom in their Opinions. It ſeem'd alſo adviſeable to open and ventilate Matters in publick Diſputations and Books, written about them for ſome Years, before they ſhould go too haſtily to determine them; leſt if they went too faſt in that Affair, it would not be ſo decent to make Alterations afterwards; nor could the Clergy be of a ſudden brought to change their old Opinions. Therefore, upon all theſe Conſiderations, that Work was delayed till this Year; in which they ſet about it, and finiſhed it, before the Convocation met in the next February. In what Method they proceeded for the compiling of theſe Articles; whether they were given out to ſeveral Biſhops and Divines to deliver their Opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, is not certain. It is more probable, that they were framed by Cranmer

Cranmer and Ridley, and ſent about to others to correct or add to them, as they ſaw Cauſe.

THEY began with the Aſſertion of the Bleſſed Trinity; The Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell; grounding this laſt on theſe Words of St. Peter, of his preaching to the Spirits that were in Priſon. The next Article was about Chriſt's Reſurrection.

The 5th, About the Scriptures containing all Things neceſſary to Salvation: So that nothing was to be held an Article of Faith that could not be proved from thence.

The 6th, That the Old Teſtament was to be kept ſtill.

The 7th, For the receiving the three Creeds, the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and Athanaſius's Creed: In which they went according to the received Opinion, that Athanaſius was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three Ages after him.

The 8th, Makes Original Sin to be the Corruption of the Nature of all Men deſcending from Adam; by which they had fallen from Original Righteouſneſs, and were by Nature given to Evil: But they defined nothing about the Derivation of Guilt from Adam's Sin.

The 9th, For the Neceſſity of prevailing Grace, without which we have no Free-Will to do Things acceptable to GOD.

The 10th, About Divine Grace, which changeth a Man, and yet puts no Force on his Will.

The 11th, That Men are juſtified by Faith only, as was declared in the Homily.

The 12th, That Works done before Grace are not without Sin.

The 13th, Againſt all Works of Supererrogation.

The 14th, That all Men, Chriſt only excepted, are guilty of Sin.

The 15th, That Men who have received Grace, may ſin afterwards, and riſe again by Repentance.

The 16th, That the blaſpheming againſt the HOLY GHOST is, when Men out of Malice and Obſtinacy rail againſt GOD's Word, tho' they are convinced of it, yet perſecuting it; which is unpardonable.

The 17th, That Predeſtination is GOD's Free Election of thoſe, whom he afterwards juſtifies: Which tho' it be Matter of great Comfort to ſuch as conſider it aright, yet it is a dangerous Thing for curious and carnal Men to prie into; and it being a Secret, Men are to be governed by GOD's revealed Will. They added not a Word of Reprobation.

The 18th, That only the Name of Chriſt, and not the Law or Light of Nature, can ſave Men.

The 19th, That all Men are bound to keep the Moral Law.

The 20th, That the Church is a Congregation of faithful Men, who have the Word of GOD preached, and the Sacraments rightly adminiſtered; and that the Church of Rome, as well as other particular Churches, have erred in Matters of Faith.

The 21ſt, That the Church is only the Witneſs and Keeper of the Word of GOD; but cannot appoint any thing contrary to it, nor decare any Articles of Faith without Warrant from it.

The 22d, That General Councils may not be gathered without the Conſent of Princes: That they may err and have erred in Matters of Faith: And that their Decrees in Matters of Salvation have Strength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23d, That the Doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping of Images, and Relicks, and the Invocation of Saints, are without any Warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24th, That none may preach or miniſter the Sacraments, without he be lawfully called by Men who have lawful Authority.

The 25th, That all Things ſhould be ſpoken in the Church in a Vulgar Tongue.

The 26th, That there are two Sacraments, which are not bare Tokens of our Profeſſion, but effectual Signs of GOD's good Will to us: Which ſtrengthen our Faith, yet not by Virtue only of the Work wrought, but in thoſe who receive them worthily.

The 27th, That the Virtue of theſe do not depend on the Miniſter of them.

The 28th, That by Baptiſm we are the adopted Sons of GOD; and that Infant Baptiſm is to be commended, and in any Ways to be retained.

The 29th, That the LORD's Supper is not a bare Token of Love among Chriſtians; but it is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: That the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given Occaſion

Occaſion to much Superſtition: That a Body being only in one Place, and Chriſt's Body being in Heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily Preſence of his Fleſh and Blood in it: That this Sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worſhipped.

The 30th, That there is no other propitiatory Sacrifice, but that which Chriſt offered on the Croſs.

The 31ſt, That the Clergy are not by GOD's Command obliged to abſtain from Marriage.

The 32d, That Perſons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as Heathens, till they are by Penance reconciled, and received by a Judge Competent.

The 33d, It is not neceſſary that Ceremonies ſhould be the ſame at all Times: But ſuch as refuſe to obey Ceremonies, ought to be openly reproved as offending againſt Law and Order, giving Scandal to the Weak.

The 34th, That the Homilies are godly and wholeſome, and ought to be read.

The 35th, That the Book of Common-Prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the Goſpel; and ought to be received by all.

The 36th, That the King is Supream Head under Chriſt. That the Biſhop of Rome hath no Juriſdiction in England: That the Civil Magiſtrate is to be obeyed for Conſcience-ſake: That Men may be put to Death for great Offences; and, That it is lawful for Chriſtians to make War.

The 37th, That there is not to be a Community of all Mens Goods; but yet every Man ought to give to the Poor according to his Ability.

The 38th, That tho' raſh Swearing is condemned; yet ſuch as are requir'd by the Magiſtrate may take an Oath.

The 39th, That the Reſurrection is not already paſt, but at the laſt Day Men ſhall riſe with the ſame Bodies they now have.

The 40th, That departed Souls do not die, nor ſleep with their Bodies, and continue without Senſe, till the laſt Day.

The 41ſt, That the Fable of the Millenaries, is contrary to Scripture, and a Jewiſh Dotage.

The laſt condemned thoſe who believe that the Damned, after ſome Time of Suffering, ſhall be ſaved.

THUS was the Doctrine of the Church caſt into a ſhort and plain Form; in which they took Care both to eſtabliſh the poſitive Articles of Religion, and to cut off the Errors formerly introduced in the Time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptiſts and Enthuſiaſts of Germany: Avoiding the Niceties of Schoolmen, or the Peremptorineſs of the Writers of Controverſy: Leaving, in Matters that are more juſtly controvertible, a Liberty to Divines to follow their private Opinions, without thereby diſturbing the Peace of the Church.

THERE was in the antient Church a great Simplicity in their Creeds, and the Expoſition of the Doctrine. But afterwards, upon the Breaking out of the Arrian, and other Hereſies, concerning the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt; as the Orthodox Fathers were put to find out new Terms to drive the Hereticks out of the equivocal Uſe of theſe formerly received; ſo they too ſoon grew to love Niceties, and to explain Myſteries, with Similies, and other Subtilties which they invented: And Councils afterwards were very liberal in their Anathematiſms againſt any who did not agree in all Points to their Terms, or Ways of Explanation. And though the Council of Epheſus decreed, That there ſhould be no Additions made to the Creed, they underſtood that not of the whole Belief of Chriſtians, but only of the Creed itſelf: And did alſo load the Chriſtians Doctrine with many Curioſities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the Schoolmen getting the Management of the Doctrine, ſpun their Thread much finer; and did eaſily procure Condemnations, either by Papal Bulls, or the Decrees of ſuch Councils as met in theſe Times, of all that differed from them in the leaſt Matter. Upon the Progreſs of the Reformation, the German Writers, particulary Oſiander, Illiricus, and Amſtorfius, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the Helvetian Churches, for differing from them in the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, but were ſevere to one another for leſs Punctilio's, and were at this Time exerciſing the Patience of the great and learned Melancthon, becauſe he thought that in Things of their own Nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the Emperor. This made thoſe in England reſolve on compoſing theſe Articles with great Temper, in many ſuch Points. Only one Notion that has been ſince taken

taken up by ſome, ſeems to have been then thought of; which is, That theſe were rather Articles of Peace than of Belief: So that the Subſcribing was rather a Compromiſe not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than a Declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no Reaſon for this Conceit, no ſuch Thing being then declared; ſo that thoſe who ſubſcribed, did either believe them to be true, or elſe they did groſly prevaricate.

THE next Buſineſs in which the Reformers were employed this Year was the Correcting the Common-Prayer-Book, and the Making ſome Additions, with the Changing of ſuch Particulars as had been retained only for a Time. The moſt conſiderable Additions were, That in the daily Service they prepar'd a ſhort, but moſt ſimple and grave Form of a general Confeſſion of Sins; in the Uſe of which they intended that thoſe who made this Confeſſion ſhould not content themſelves with a bare Recital of the Words, but ſhould join with them in their Hearts, a particular Confeſſion of their private Sins to GOD. To this was added, a general Abſolution, or Pronouncing in the Name of GOD, the Pardon of Sin to all thoſe who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Goſpel. For they judged that if the People did ſeriouſly practiſe this, it would keep up in their Thoughts frequent Reflections on their Sins; and it was thought that the pronouncing a Pardon, upon theſe Conditions, might have a better Effect on the People, than that abſolute and unqualified Pardon which their Prieſts were wont to give in Confeſſion. By which Abſolution in Times of Popery the People were made to believe, that their Sins were thereupon certainly forgiven, than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal Security; when they thought a full Pardon could be ſo readily purchaſed.: But now they heard the Terms, on which they could only expect it, every Day promulgated to them. The other Addition was alſo made upon good Conſideration, in the Office of the Communion; to which the People were obſerved to come without due Serioufneſs or Preparation: Therefore for awakening their Conſciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the Office of the Communion ſhould begin with a Solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: All the Congregation being on their Knees, as if they were hearing that Law a-new; and a Stop to be made at every Commandment, for the Peoples Devotion, of imploring Mercy for their paſt Offences, and Grace to obſerve it for the Time to come. This ſeemed as effectual a Mean as they could deviſe, till the Church Penitance was again ſet up, to beget in Men deep Reflections on their Sins, and to prepare them thereby to receive that Holy Sacrament worthily. The other Changes were, the Removing of ſome Rites which had been retained in the former Book; ſuch as the Oil in Confirmation, and Extream Unction, the Prayers for Souls departed, both in the Communion Service, and in the Office of Burial, the Leaving out ſome Paſſages in the Conſecration of the Euchariſt, that ſeemed to favour the Belief of the corporal Preſence, with the Uſe of the Croſs in it, and in Confirmation, with ſome ſmaller Variations. And indeed they brought the whole Liturgy to the ſame Form in which it is now, except ſome inconſiderable Variations that have been ſince made for the declaring of ſome Ambiguities.

IN the Office of the Communion they added a Rubrick concerning the Poſture of Kneeling, which was appointed to be ſtill the Geſture of Communicants. It was hereby declared, That that Geſture was kept up as a moſt reverent and humble Way of expreſſing our great Senſe of the Mercies of GOD in the Death of Chriſt there communicated to us; but that thereby there was no Adoration intended to the Bread and Wine, which were groſs Idolatry: Nor did they think the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt were there preſent; ſince his Body, according to the Nature of all other Bodies, could be only in one Place at once; and ſo the Being now in Heaven, could not be corporally in the Sacrament. This was by Queen Elizabeth ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-Book; ſince it might have given Offence to ſome, otherwiſe inclinable to the Communion of the Church, who yet retained the Belief of the corporal Preſence. But Reſtoration, many excepting to the Poſture, as apprehending ſomething like Idolatry or Superſtition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained, that Explication that was

given in King Edward's Time, was again inſerted in theCommon-Prayer-Book.

FOR the Poſture, it is moſt likely that the firſt Inſtitution was in the Table Geſture, which was, lying along on one Side. But it was apparent in our Saviour's Practice, that the Jewiſh Church had changed the Poſture of that Inſtitution of the Paſſover, in whoſe Room the Euchariſt came. For though Moſes had appointed the Jews to eat their Paſchal Lamb, ſtanding, with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shoes on their Feet; yet the Jews did afterwards change this into the Common Table Poſture; of which Change, tho' there is no Mention in the Old Teſtament, yet we ſee it was ſo in our Saviour's Time; and ſince he complied with the common Cuſtom, we are ſure that Change was not Criminal. It ſeemed reaſonable to allow the Chriſtian Church the like Power in ſuch Things with the Jewiſh: And as the Jews thought their coming into the Promiſed Land, might be a Warrant to lay aſide the Poſture appointed by Moſes, which became Travellers beſt; ſo Chriſt being now exalted, it ſeemed fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward Reſpect, than had been proper in the firſt Inſtitution, when he was in the State of Humiliation, and his Divine Glory not yet ſo fully revealed. Therefore in the Primitive Church they received ſtanding, and bending their Body, in a Poſture of Adoration: But how ſoon that Geſture of Kneeling came in, is not ſo exactly obſerved, nor is it needful to know. But ſurely there is a great Want of Ingenuity in them that are pleaſed to apply theſe Orders of ſome latter Popes for Kneeling at the Elevation, to our Kneeling; when ours is not at one ſuch Part, which might be more liable to Exception, but during the whole Office; by which it is one continued Act of Worſhip, and the Communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be ſaid, than is expreſſed in the Rubrick, which occaſioned this Digreſſion.

THUS were the Reformations both of Doctrine and Worſhip prepared: To which it may be added, that this Year there were ſix eminent Preachers choſen out to be the King's Chaplains in Ordinary; two of thoſe were always to attend at Court, and four to be ſent over England to preach and inſtruct the People. In the firſt Year, two of theſe were to go into Wales, and the other two into Lancaſhire; the next Year two into the Marches of Scotland, and two into Yorkſhire; the third Year, two into Devonſhire, and two into Hampſhire; and the fourth Year, two into Norfolk, and two into Kent, and Suſſex. Theſe were Bill, Harle, Pern, Grindal, Bradford; the Name of the ſixth is ſo daſhed in the King's Journal, that it cannot be read. Theſe, it ſeems, were accounted the moſt zealous and readieſt Preachers of that Time; who were thus ſent about, as Itinerants to ſupply the Defects of the greateſt Part of the Clergy, who were generally very faulty.

THE Buſineſs of the Lady Mary was now taken up with more Heat than formerly. The Emperor's earneſt Suit, that ſhe might have Maſs in her Houſe, was long rejected: For it was ſaid, That as the King did not interpoſe in the Matters of the Emperor's Government, ſo there was no Reaſon for the Emperor to meddle in his Affairs. Yet the State of England making his Friendſhip at that Time neceſſary to the King, and he refuſing to continue in his League, unleſs his Kinſwoman obtained that Favour, it was promiſed, that for ſome Time, in Hopes ſhe would reform, there ſhould be a Forbearance granted. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors preſſed to have a Licence for it under the Great Seal. It was anſwered, That being againſt Law, it could not be done: Then they deſired to have it certified under the King's Hand, in a Letter to the Emperor; but even that was refuſed: So that they only gave a Promiſe for ſome Time by Word of Mouth; and Paget, and Hobby, who had been the Ambaſſadors with the Emperor, declared they had ſpoke of it to him with the ſame Limitations. But the Emperor, who was accuſtomed to take for Abſolute what was promiſed only under Conditions, writ to the Lady Mary, that he had an abſolute Promiſe for the free Exerciſe of her Religion; and ſo ſhe pretended this, when ſhe was at any Time queſtioned about it. The two Grounds ſhe went on, were, that ſhe would follow the antient and univerſal Way of Worſhip, and not a new Invention, that lay within the four Seas: And that ſhe would continue in that Religion, in which her Father

Father had inſtructed her. To this, the King ſent an Anſwer, telling her, That ſhe was a Part of this Church and Nation, and ſo muſt conform herſelf to the Laws of it; that the Way of Worſhip now ſet up, was no other than what was clearly conſonant to the pure Word of GOD; and the King's being young, was not to be pretended by her, leſt ſhe might ſeem to agree with the late Rebels. After this, ſhe was ſent for to Court, and Pains was taken to inſtruct her better: But ſhe refuſed to hear any Thing, or to enter into any Reaſonings, but ſaid, ſhe would ſtill do as ſhe had done: And ſhe claimed the Promiſe that was ſaid to be made to the Emperor. But it was told her, that it was but a Temporary and Conditional Promiſe. Whereupon the laſt Summer ſhe was deſigning to fly out of England; and the King of France gave Sir John Maſon, the Engliſh Reſident, Notice, that the Regent of Flanders had hired one Scipperus, who ſhould land on the Coaſt of Eſſex, as if he had been to victual his Ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this Information, Order was given to ſee well to the Coaſt; ſo the Deſign being diſcovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a ſtrange Advice to carry her away, and no leſs ſtrange in the King's Miniſters to hinder it, if there was at that Time any Deſign formed to put her by her Succeſſion. For if ſhe had been beyond Sea at the King's Death, it is not probable that ſhe could have eaſily come to the Crown. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſolicited for her violently, and ſaid he would preſently take Leave, and proteſt, that they had broken their Faith to his Maſter, who would reſent the Uſage of the Lady Mary, as highly as if it were done immediately to himſelf. The Counſellors having no Mind to draw a new War on their Heads, eſpecially from ſo victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the Matter fall. There was alſo a Year's Cloth lately ſent over to Antwerp; and 1500 Quintals of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the King's Uſe, was not come over. So it was thought by no Means adviſeable to provoke the Emperor, while they had ſuch Effects in his Ports; nor were they very willing to give higher Provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all adviſed the King not to do more in that Matter at preſent, but to leave the Lady Mary to her Diſcretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what ſhe had met with, and would give as little Scandal as was poſſible by her Maſs. But the King could not be induced to give Way to it, for he thought the Maſs was impious and idolatrous; ſo he would not conſent to the Continuance of ſuch a Sin. Upon this the Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, to diſcourſe about it with him. They told him, That it was always a Sin in a Prince to permit any Sin; but to give a Connivance, that is, not to puniſh, was not always a Sin; ſince ſometimes a leſs Evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not ſo eaſily, but that he burſt forth into Tears, lamenting his Siſter's Obſtinacy, and that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſo abominable a Way of Worſhip as he eſteemed the Maſs. So he anſwered the Emperor's Agents, that he ſhould ſend over an Ambaſſador to clear the Matter. And Dr. Wotton was diſpatched about it, who carried over Atteſtations from all the Council, concerning the Qualifications of the Promiſe that had been made; and was inſtructed to preſs the Emperor, not to trouble the King in his Affairs at Home in his own Kingdom. If the Lady Mary was his Kinſwoman, ſhe was the King's Siſter, and Subject: He was alſo to offer, that the King would grant as much Liberty for the Maſs in his Dominions, as the Emperor would grant for the Engliſh Service in his Dominions. But the Emperor pretended, that when her Mother died, ſhe left her to his Protection, which he granted her, and ſo muſt take Care of her. And the Emperor was ſo exalted with his Succeſſes, that he did not eaſily bear any Contradiction: But the Council being further offended with her for the Project of going beyond Sea, and being now leſs in Fear of the Emperor, ſince they had made Peace with France, reſolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. Mallet, and Berkley, her Chaplains, had ſaid Maſs in one of her Houſes, when ſhe was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded againſt. Upon which, in December laſt Year, ſhe writ earneſtly to the Council to let it fall. By her Letter it appears, that Mallet uſed to be ſometimes at his Benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other

Way but in that preſcribed by Law: So it ſeems his Conſcience was not very ſcrupulous. The Council writ her a long Anſwer, which being in the Stile of a Churchman, ſeems to have been penned either by Cranmer, or Ridley. In which Letter they fully cleared the Matter of the Promiſe: Then they ſhewed how expreſs the Law was, with which they could not diſpenſe; and how ill grounded her Faith, as ſhe called it, was. They asked her what Warrant there was in Scripture, that the Prayers ſhould be in an unknown Tongue, that Images ſhould be in the Church, or that the Sacrament ſhould be offered up for the Dead. They told her, that in all Queſtions about Religion, St. Auſtin and the other antient Doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if ſhe would look into theſe, ſhe would ſoon ſee the Errors of the old Superſtition, which were ſupported by falſe Miracles and lying Stories, and not by Scripture of good Authority. They expreſs'd themſelves in Terms full of Submiſſion to her, but ſaid they were truſted with the Execution of the King's Laws, in which they muſt proceed equally. So they required her, if the Chaplains were in her Houſe, to ſend them to the Sheriff of Eſſex. But it ſeems they kept out of the Way, and ſo the Matter ſlept till the Beginning of May this Year, that Mallet was found, and put in the Tower, and convicted of his Offence. Upon this there paſſed many Letters between the Council and her; ſhe earneſtly deſired to have him ſet at Liberty, and they as poſitively refuſing to do it.

In July the Council ſent for Rocheſter, Inglefield, and Walgrave, three of her Chief Officers, and gave them Inſtructions to ſignify the King's expreſs Pleaſure to her, to have the new Service in her Family, and to give the like Charge to her Chaplains and all her Servants, and to return with an Anſwer. In Auguſt they came back, and ſaid, ſhe was much indiſpoſed, and received the Meſſage very grievouſly. She ſaid, ſhe would obey the King in all Things, except where her Conſcience was touched; but ſhe charg'd them to deliver none of their Meſſage to the reſt of her Family; in which they, being her Servants, could not diſobey her, eſpecially when they thought it might prejudice her Health. Upon this they were ſent to the Tower. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Ant. Wingfield, and Sir William Petre, were next ſent to her, with a Letter from the King, and Inſtructions from the Council, for the Charge they were to give to her and her Servants. They came to her Houſe at Copthall in Eſſex. The Lord Chancellor gave her the King's Letter, which ſhe received on her Knees; and ſaid, She paid that Reſpect to the King's Hand, and not to the Matter of the Letter, which ſhe knew proceeded from the Council: And when ſhe read it, ſhe ſaid, Ah! Mr. Cecil took much Pains here (he was then Secretary of State in Dr. Wotton's Room). So ſhe turned to the Counſellors, and bid them deliver their Meſſage to her. She wiſhed them to be ſhort, for ſhe was not well at Eaſe, and would give them a ſhort Anſwer, having writ her Mind plainly to the King with her own Hand. The Lord Chancellor told her, That all the Council were of one Mind, that ſhe muſt be no longer ſuffered to have private Maſs, or a Form of Religion different from what was eſtabliſhed by Law. He went to read the Names of thoſe who were of that Mind; but ſhe deſired him to ſpare his Pains; ſhe knew they were all of a Sort. The next told her, they had Order to require her Chaplains to uſe no other Service, and her Servants to be preſent at no other, than what was according to Law. She anſwered, She was the King's moſt obedient Subject, and Siſter; and would obey him in every Thing, but where her Conſcience held her, and would willingly ſuffer Death to do him Service: But ſhe would lay her Head on a Block, rather than uſe any other Form of Service, than what had been at her Father's Death: Only ſhe thought ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer Death on ſo good an Account. When the King came to be of Age, ſo that he could order theſe Things himſelf, ſhe would obey his Commands in Religion; for altho' he, Good ſweet King, (theſe were her Words) had more Knowledge than any of his Years, yet he was not a fit Judge in theſe Matters; for if Ships were to be ſet to Sea, or any Matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much leſs could he be able to reſolve Points of Divinity. As for her Chaplains, if they would ſay no Maſs, ſhe could hear none; and for her Servants, ſhe knew they all deſired to hear Maſs; her Chaplains might do what they would,

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it was but a while's Impriſonment: But for the new Service, it ſhould never be ſaid in her Houſe; and if any were forced to ſay it, ſhe would ſtay no longer in the Houſe. When the Counſellors ſpake of Rocheſter, Inglefield, and Walgrave, who had not fully executed their Charge, ſhe ſaid, It was not the wiſeſt Council, to order her Servants to controul her in her own Houſe; and they were the honeſter Men not to do ſuch a Thing againſt their Conſciences. She inſiſted on the Promiſe made to the Emperor, which ſhe had under his Hand, whom ſhe believed better than them all: They ought to uſe her better for her Father's Sake, who had raiſed them all out of Nothing. But tho' the Emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them; ſhe would not change her Mind, and ſhe would let his Ambaſſador know how they uſed her. To this they anſwer'd, clearing the Miſtake about the Promiſe, to which ſhe gave little Heed. They told her, they had brought one down to ſerve as her Comptroller in Rocheſter's Room: She ſaid ſhe would chooſe her own Servants; and if they went to impoſe any on her, ſhe would leave the Houſe. She was ſick, but would do all ſhe could to live; but if ſhe dy'd, ſhe would proteſt they were the Cauſes of it: They gave her good Words, but their Deeds were evil. Then ſhe took a Ring from her Finger, and on her Knees gave it to the Lord Chancellor, to give to the King, as a Token from her, with her humble Commendations; and proteſted much of her Duty to him; but ſhe ſaid, This will never be told him. The Counſellors went from her to her Chaplains, and delivered their Meſſage to them, who promiſed they would obey. Then they charged the reſt of the Servants in like Manner; and alſo commanded them to give Notice if thoſe Orders were broken: And ſo they went to go away. But as they were in the Court, the Lady Mary called to them from her Window, to ſend her Comptroller to her; for ſhe ſaid, that now ſhe herſelf received the Accounts of her Houſe, and knew how many Loaves were made of a Buſhel of Meal, to which ſhe had never been bred, and ſo was weary of that Office; but if they would needs ſend him to Priſon, ſhe ſaid, I beſhrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a Good-Will; and concluded, I pray GOD to ſend you to do well in your Souls and Bodies, for ſome of you have but weak Bodies. This is the Subſtance of the Report theſe Counſellors gave, when they returned back to the Court on the 29th of Auguſt. By which they were now out of all Hopes of prevailing with her by Perſuaſions, or Authority: So it was next conſidered, whether it was fit to go to further Extremities with her. How the Matter was determined, Dr. Burnet ſays, he does not clearly find; but 'tis certain, that the Lady Mary would never admit of the new Service, and ſo he believed ſhe continued to keep her Prieſts, and have Maſs; but ſo ſecretly, that there was no Ground for any publick Complaint; for there is no farther Mention of that Matter, than what is made by Ridley, of a Paſſage that befel him in September next Year.

HE went to wait on her, ſhe living then at Hunſden; where ſhe received him at firſt civilly, and told him ſhe remembered him in her Father's Time, and at Dinner ſent him to dine with her Officers: After Dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his Duty to her, but to offer to preach before her next Sunday: She bluſh'd, and once or twice deſired him to make the Anſwer to that himſelf. But when he preſſed her further, ſhe ſaid, The Pariſh-Church would be open to him if he had a Mind to preach in it; but neither ſhe, nor any of her Family ſhould hear him. He ſaid, he hoped ſhe would not refuſe to hear GOD's Word; ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not know what they called GOD's Word, but ſhe was ſure that was not now GOD's Word that was called ſo in her Father's Days. He ſaid, GOD's Word was the ſame at all Times. She anſwered, She was ſure he durſt not for his Ears have avowed theſe Things in her Father's Time, which he did now: And for their Books, as, ſhe thanked GOD, ſhe never had, ſo ſhe never would read them. She alſo uſed many reproachful Words to him, and asked him, If he was of the Council? He ſaid, Not: She replied, He might well enough be, as the Council goes now-a-days; and ſo diſmiſſed him, thanking him for coming to ſee her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir Thomas Wharton, one of her Officers, carried him to a Place where he deſired him to drink; which Ridley did; but reflecting on it, ſaid, He had done amiſs to drink in a Place where GOD's Word

was rejected: For, if he had remembered his Duty, he ſhould, upon that Refuſal, have ſhaken the Duſt off his Feet, for a Teſtimony againſt the Houſe, and have departed immediately. Theſe Words he was obſerved to pronounce with an extraordinary Concern, and went away much troubled in his Mind: And this is all that is to be found of the Lady Mary during this Reign. For the Lady Elizabeth, ſhe had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. Parker, who had been her Mother's Chaplain, received a ſtrict Charge from her Mother a little before her Death, to look well to the Inſtructing her Daughter in the Principles of true Religion; ſo that there is no doubt to be made of her chearful Receiving all the Changes that had been eſtabliſhed by Law.

AND this is all that concerns Religion, that falls within this Year: But now a Deſign came to be laid, which though it broke not out for ſome Time, yet it was believed to have had a great Influence on the Fall of the Duke of Somerſet. The Earl of Warwick began to form great Projects for himſelf, and thought to bring the Crown into his Family. The King was now much alienated from the Lady Mary; the Privy-Council had alſo embroiled themſelves ſo with her, that he imagined it would be no hard Matter to exclude her from the Succeſſion. There was but one Reaſon that could be pretended for it; which was, that ſhe ſtood illegitimated by Law; and that therefore the next Heirs in Blood could not be barred their Right by her; ſince it would be a great Blot on the Honour of the Engliſh Crown to let it devolve on a Baſtard. This was as ſtrong againſt the Lady Elizabeth, ſince ſhe was alſo illegitimated by a Sentence in the Spiritual Court, and that confirmed in Parliament: So if their Jealouſy of the elder Siſter's Religion, and the Fear of her Revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the Succeſſion, the ſame Reaſon that was to be uſed in Law againſt her, was alſo to take Place againſt her Siſter. So he reckoned that theſe two were to be paſs'd over, as being put both in the Act of Succeſſion, and in the late King's Will, by one Error. The next in the Will, were the Heirs of the French Queen, by Charles Brandon, who were the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, and her Siſters. Tho' Dr. Burnet ſaith, he hath ſeen in many Letters, and Writings of that Time, that all that Iſſue, by Charles Brandon, was illegitimated; ſince he was certainly married to one Mortimer, before he married the Queen of France; which Mortimer lived long after his Marriage to that Queen; ſo that all her Children were Baſtards: Some ſay he was devorced from his Marriage to Mortimer, but that is not clear.

THIS Year the Sweating Sickneſs, that had been formerly both in Henry the VIIth's, and the late King's Reign, broke out with that Violence in England, that many were ſwept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they ſlept, to which they had a violent Deſire; but if it took them not off in Twenty-four Hours, they did ſweat out the Venom of the Diſtemper; which raged ſo in London, that in one Week 800 died of it. It did alſo ſpread in the Country, and the two Sons of Charles Brandon by his laſt Wife, both Dukes of Suffolk, died within a Day one of another. So that Title was fallen. Their Siſter by the half Blood was married to Gray Lord Marquis of Dorſet. So ſhe being the eldeſt Daughter to the French Queen, the Earl of Warwick reſolved to link himſelf to that Family; and to procure the Honour of the Dukedom of Suffolk to be given to the Marquis of Dorſet, who was a weak Man, and eaſily governed. He had three Daughters; the eldeſt was Jane, a Lady of excellent Qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, and much converſant in Scripture; and of ſo rare a Temper of Mind, that ſhe charmed all who knew her: In particular the young King, about whom ſhe was bred, and who had always lived with her in the Familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of Warwick deſigned to marry her to Guilford his fourth Son, then living, his three elder being already married; and ſo to get the Crown to deſcend on them if the King ſhould die; of which it is thought he reſolved to take Care. But apprehending ſome Danger from the Lady Elizabeth's Title, he intended to ſend her away. So an Ambaſſador was diſpatched to Denmark, to treat of a Marriage for her with that King's eldeſt Son.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

TO amuſe the King himſelf, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy was ſent to France, to propoſe a Marriage for the King to

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The King treats with the French King for a Marriage with his Daughter.

that King's Daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to Philip of Spain. The Marquis of Northampton was ſent with this Propoſition, and with the Order of the Garter. With him went the Earls of Worceſter, Rutland, and Ormond; the Lords Liſle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergavenny, and Evers; and the Biſhop of Ely, who was to be their Mouth: With them went many Gentlemen of Quality, who with their Train made up near 500. King Henry received the Garter with great Expreſſions of Eſteem for the King. The Biſhop of Ely told him, They were come to deſire a more cloſe Tie between theſe Crowns by Marriage, and to have the League made firmer between them in other Particulars. To which the Cardinal of Lorrain made Anſwer, in his Way of Speaking, which was always vain, and full of Oſtentation. A Commiſſion was given to that Cardinal, the Conſtable, the Duke of Guiſe, and others to treat about it.

THE Engliſh began firſt, for Form's Sake, to deſire the Queen of Scots. But that being rejected, they moved for the Daughter of France, which was entertained; but ſo that neither Party ſhould be bound in Honour and Conſcience, till the Lady were twelve Years of Age. Yet this never taking Effect, it is needleſs to enlarge further about it; of which the Reader will find all the Particulars in King Edward's Journal. The King of France ſent another very noble Embaſſy into England, with the Order of St. Michael, to the King, and a very kind Meſſage, that he had no leſs Love to him than a Father could bear to his Son. He deſired the King would not liſten to the vain Rumours which ſome malicious Perſons might raiſe, to break their Friendſhip; and wiſhed, there might be ſuch a Regulation on their Frontiers, that all Differences might be amicably removed. To this the young King made anſwer himſelf, "That he thanked his good Bro-
"ther for his Order, and for the Aſ-
"ſurances of his Love, which he
"would always requite. For Rumours,
"they were not always to be credited,
"nor always to be rejected; it being
"no leſs vain to fear all Things, than
"it was dangerous to doubt of No-
"thing; and for any Differences that
"might ariſe, he ſhould be always rea-
"dy to determine them, by Reaſon,
"rather than Force; ſo far as his Ho-
"nour ſhould not be thereby dimi-
"niſhed.

BUT while all this was carrying on, there was a Deſign laid to deſtroy the Duke of Somerſet. He had ſuch Acceſs to the King, and ſuch Freedoms with him, that the Earl of Warwick had a Mind to be rid of him, leſt he ſhould ſpoil all his Projects. The Duke of Somerſet ſeemed alſo to have deſigned, in April this Year, to have got the King again in his Power: And dealt with the Lord Strange, that was much in his Favour, to perſuade him to marry his Daughter Jane, and that he would advertiſe him of all that paſs'd about the King; but the Earl of Warwick, to raiſe himſelf, and all his Friends, higher, procured a great Creation of new Honours. Gray was made Duke of Suffolk, and himſelf Duke of Northumberland; for Henry Piercy, the laſt Earl of Northumberland, dying without Iſſue, his next Heirs were the Sons of Thomas Piercy, that had been attainted in the laſt Reign for the Yorkſhire Rebellion. Pawlet, then Lord Treaſurer, and Earl of Wiltſhire, was made Marquis of Wincheſter; and Sir William Herbert, that had married the Marquis of Northampton's Siſter, was made Earl of Pembroke. The Lord Ruſſel had been made Earl of Bedford laſt Year, upon his Return from making the Peace with the French; Sir Tho. Darcy had alſo been made Lord Darcy. The new Duke of Northumberland could no longer bear ſuch a Rival in his Greatneſs, as the Duke of Somerſet was, who was the only Perſon that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 17th of October the Duke was apprehended, and ſent to the Tower; and with him the Lord Gray; Sir Ralph Vane, who had eſcaped over the River, but was taken in a Stable at Lambeth, hid under the Straw: Sir Tho. Palmer, and Sir Tho. Arundel, were alſo taken, yet not ſent at firſt to the Tower, but kept under Guards in their Chambers. Some of his Followers, Hamond, Nudigate, and two of the Seimours were ſent to Priſon. The Day after, the Dutcheſs of Somerſet was alſo ſent to the Tower, with one Crane, and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamber-women. After theſe, Sir Tho. Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Banniſher, and Vaughan, were all made Priſoners

ſoners. The Evidence againſt the Duke, was, That he had made a Party for getting himſelf declared Protector in the next Parliament; which the Earl of Rutland did poſitively affirm; and the Duke did ſo anſwer it, that it is probable it was true. But tho' this might well inflame his Enemies, yet it was no Crime. But Sir Tho. Palmer, tho' impriſoned with him as an Accomplice, was the Perſon that ruined him. He had been before that brought ſecretly to the King, and had told him, that on the laſt St. George's-Day, the Duke apprending there was Miſchief deſigned againſt him, thought to have raiſed the People, had not Sir William Herbert aſſured him he ſhould receive no Harm: That lately he intended to have the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, invited to Dinner at the Lord Paget's; and either to have ſet on them by the Way, or to have killed them at Dinner: That Sir Ralph Vane had 200 Men ready; that Sir Tho. Arundel had aſſured the Tower; that all the Grand Armoury were to be killed: The Duke of Somerſet, hearing Palmer had been with the King, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He ſent alſo for Secretary Cecil, and told him he ſuſpected there was an ill Deſign againſt him: To which the Secretary anſwer'd, If he were not in Fault, he might truſt to his Innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to ſay but to lament him.

ALL this was told the King with ſuch Circumſtances, that he was induced to believe it; and the Probity of his Diſpoſition wrought in him a great Averſion to his Unkle, when he looked on him as a Conſpirator againſt the Lives of the other Counſellors; and ſo he reſolved to leave him to the Law. Palmer being a ſecond Time examined, ſaid, That Sir Ralph Vane was to have brought 2000 Men, who, with the Duke of Somerſet's 100 Horſe, were on a Muſter-Day to have ſet on the Gendarmoury; that being done, the Duke reſolved to have gone through the City, and proclaimed Liberty, Libety; and if his Attempt did not ſucceed, to have fled to the Iſle of Wight, or to Pool. Crane confirmed all that Palmer had ſaid; to which he added, That the Earl of Arundel was privy to the Conſpiracy; and that the Thing had been executed, but that the Greatneſs of the Enterprize had cauſed Delays, and ſometimes Diverſity of Advice; and that the Duke, being once given out to be ſick, had gone privately to London, to ſee what Friends he could make. Hamond being examined, confeſſed nothing, but that the Duke's Chamber at Greenwich had been guarded in the Night by many armed Men. Upon this Evidence, both the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget were ſent to the Tower. The Earl had been one of the Chief of thoſe who had joined with the Earl of Warwick to pull down the Protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his Enemy: So this Part of the Information ſeemed very credible. The Thing lay in Suſpence till the 1ſt of December, that the Duke of Somerſet was brought to his Trial; where the Marquis of Wincheſter was Lord Steward. The Peers that judged him were Twenty-ſeven in Number. The Dukes of Suffolk, and Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suſſex, Worceſter, Pembroke, and the Viſcount of Hereford, the Lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windſor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The Crimes laid againſt him were caſt into five ſeveral Indictments, as the King has it in his Journal; but the Record mentions only three; whether Indictments or Articles is not ſo clear. That he had deſigned to have ſeized on the King's Perſon, and ſo have governed all Affairs; and that he, with One Hundred others, intended to have impriſoned the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland; and that he had deſigned to have raiſed an Inſurrection in the City of London. Now by the Act that paſſed in the laſt Parliament, If Twelve Perſons ſhould have aſſembled together to have killed any Privy-Counſellor, and upon Proclamation they had not diſperſed themſelves, it was Treaſon: Or if ſuch Twelve had been, by any malicious Artifice, brought together, for any Riot, and, being warned, did not diſperſe themſelves, it was Felony, without Benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. It ſeemed very ſtrange, that the three Peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, who were his Profeſſed Enemies, and againſt the firſt of whom it was pretended in the Indictment that he had conſpired, ſhould ſit his Judges: For tho' by the Law no Peer can be challenged in a Trial, yet the Law of

Nations

Nations that is ſuperior to all other Laws, makes, That a Man cannot be Judge in his own Cauſe: And which was very unuſual, the Lord Chancellor, though then a Peer, was left out of the Number; but it is like the Reconciliation between the Duke of Somerſet and him was then ſuſpected, which made him not be called to be one of his Judges.

THE Duke of Somerſet being, it ſeems, little acquainted with Law, did not deſire Council to plead, or aſſiſt him in Point of Law; but only anſwered to Matters of Fact. He prefaced, that he deſired no Advantage might be taken againſt him, for any idle or angry Word that might have at any Time fallen from him. He proteſted he never intended to have raiſed the Northern Parts, but had only, upon ſome Reports, ſent to Sir William Herbert to be his Friend: That he had never determined to have killed the Duke of Northumberland, or any other Perſon, but had only talked of it, without any Intention of doing it: That for the Deſign of deſtroying the Gendarmoury, it was ridiculous to think that he, with a ſmall Troop, could deſtroy ſo ſtrong a Body of Men, conſiſting of 900, in which tho' he had ſucceeded, it could have ſignified nothing: That he never deſigned to raiſe any Stirs in London, but had always looked on it as a Place where he was moſt ſafe: That his having Men about him in Greenwich, was with no ill Deſign, ſince when he could have done Miſchief with them, he had not done it; but upon his Attachment rendered himſelf a Priſoner, without any Reſiſtance. He objected alſo many Things againſt the Witneſſes, and deſired they might be brought Face to Face. He particulary ſpake much againſt Sir Tho. Palmer, the chief Witneſs. But the Witneſſes were not brought, only their Examinations were read: Upon this, the King's Council pleaded againſt him, That to levy War was certainly Treaſon; That to gather Men with Intention to kill was alſo Treaſon; That to have Men about him to reſiſt the Attachment was Felony; and, To aſſault the Lords, or contrive their Deaths, was Felony. Whether he made any Defence in Law, or not, does not appear: For the material Defence is not mentioned in all the Accounts, Dr. Burnet ſays, that he had ſeen of it; which was, that theſe Conſpiracies, and Gatherings of the King's Subjects were only treaſonable and felonious, after they had been required to diſperſe themſelves, and had refuſed to give Obedience: And in all this Matter, that is never ſo much as alledged, no not in the Indictment itſelf, to have been done. It is plain it was not done: For if any ſuch Proclamation, or Charge, had been ſent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into London, or to the Country, and try'd what he could have done by Force; but to have refuſed ſuch a Command, and ſo to have come within the Guilt of Treaſon, and yet not to ſtir from his Houſe, are not Things conſiſtent.

WHEN the Peers withdrew, it ſeems the Proofs about his Deſign of raiſing the North, or the City, or of the Killing the Gandarmes, did not ſatisfy them: For all theſe had been, without Queſtion treaſonable. So they only held to that Point of Conſpiring to impriſon the Duke of Northumberland. If he, with Twelve Men about him, had conſpired to do that, and had continued together after Proclamation, it was certainly Felony: But that not being pretended, it ſeems there was no Proclamation made. The Duke of Suffolk was of Opinion, that no Contention among private Subjects ſhould be on any Account ſcrewed up to be Treaſon. The Duke of Northumberland ſaid, he would never conſent that any Practiſe againſt him, ſhould be reputed Treaſon. After a great Difference of Opinion, they all acquitted him of Treaſon: But the greater Number found him guilty of Felony. When they returned him not guilty of Treaſon, all the People who were much concerned for his Preſervation, ſhouted for Joy, ſo loud, and ſo long, that they were heard at Charing-Croſs. But the Joy laſted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of Felony, and Sentence was thereupon given that he ſhould die as a Felon.

THE Duke carried himſelf all the while of the Trial with great Temper and Patience; and tho' the King's Council had, in their uſual Way of Pleading, been very bitter againſt him; perhaps the rather, that thereby they might recommend themſelves to the Duke of Northumberland; yet he never took Notice of theſe Reflections, nor ſeemed much affected with them. When Sentence was given, he thanked the Lords for their Favour, and aſk'd Pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill Intentions

againſt them; and made Suit for his Life, and for his Wife, and Children: From thence he was carried back to the Tower. Whether this aſking the Lords Pardon, had in it a full Confeſſion of the Crime charged on him, or was only a Compliment to them, that they might not obſtruct his Pardon, is but a Matter of Conjecture. He confeſſed he had ſpoke of Killing them, and this made it reaſonable enough for him to aſk their Pardon; ſo that it does not imply a Confeſſion of the Crime. All People thought, that being acquitted of Treaſon, and there being no felonious Action done by him, but only an Intention of one, and that only of Impriſoning a Peer, proved, that one ſo nearly joined to the King in Blood, would never be put to Death on ſuch an Occaſion. But to poſſeſs the King much againſt him, a Story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal, That at the Duke's Coming to the Tower, he had confeſſed, that he had hired one Bartuile to kill the Lords; and that Bartuile himſelf acknowledged it; and that Hammond knew of it: But whether this was deviſed to alienate the King wholly from him, or whether this was true, is uncertain. But tho' it was true, it was Felony in Bartuile, if he were the King's Servant; but not in the Duke, who was a Peer. Yet no doubt this gave the King a very ill Opinion of his Unkle, and ſo made him more eaſily conſent to his Execution; ſince all ſuch Conſpiracies are Things of that inhumane and barbarous Cruelty, that it is ſcarce poſſible to puniſh them too ſeverely: But it is certain, that there was no Evidence at all of any Deſign to kill the Duke of Northumberland, otherwiſe the Indictment had not been laid againſt him, only for deſigning to ſeize on, and impriſon him, as it was; the conſpiring to kill him not being ſo much as mentioned in the Indictment, but it was maliciouſly given out to poſſeſs the World, and chiefly the King againſt him.

THE King alſo, in his Letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, who was like to be his Favourite, and was then ſent over, for his Breeding, into France, writ, that the Duke ſeemed to have acknowledged the Felony, and that after Sentence he had confeſſed it, tho' he had formerly vehemently ſworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the King was perſuaded of his being guilty. Sir Michael Stanhop, Sir Tho. Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, were next brought to their Trials. The firſt and the laſt of theſe were little pitied. For, as all great Men have People about them, who make Uſe of their Greatneſs only for their own Ends, without regarding their Maſter's Honour, or true Intereſt; ſo they were the Perſons upon whom the ill Things which had been done by the Duke of Somerſet were chiefly caſt. But Sir Tho. Arundel was much pitied, and had hard Meaſure in his Trial, which began at Seven o'Clock in the Morning, and continued till Noon. Then the Jury went a-ſide, and they did not agree in their Verdict, till next Morning, when thoſe who thought him not guilty, yet, for preſerving their own Lives, were willing to yield to the Fierceneſs of thoſe who were reſolved to have him found guilty. Sir Ralph Vane, was moſt lamented of them all. He had done great Services in the Wars, and was eſteemed one of the braveſt Gentlemen of the Nation. He pleaded for himſelf, that he had done his Country conſiderable Service during the Wars; tho' now in Time of Peace, the Coward and Courageous were equally eſteemed. He ſcorned to make any Submiſſions for Life. But this Height of Mind in him did certainly ſet forward his Condemnation; and to add more Infamy to him in the Manner of his Death, he and Partridge were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

THE Duke of Somerſet was uſing Means to have the King better inform'd, and diſpoſed towards him; and engag'd the Lord Chancellor to be his Friend; who thereupon ſent him an Advertiſement of ſomewhat deſigned againſt him by the Council, and being in Haſte, writ only on the Back of his Letter, To the Duke; and bid one of his Servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular Directions, to the Duke of Somerſet. But his Servant having known of the Familiarities between his Maſter and the Duke of Norfolk, who was ſtill in the Tower; and knowing none between him and the other Duke, carried the Letter to the Duke of Norfolk. When the Lord Chancellor found the Miſtake at Night, he knew the Duke of Norfolk, to make Northumberland his Friend, would certainly diſcover him; ſo he went in all Haſte to the King, and deſired to be diſcharged of his Office, and thereby pre-

prevented the Malice of his Enemies: And upon this he fell ſick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raiſe the more Pity for him; or perhaps the Fright in which he was, did really caſt him into Sickneſs. So the Seal was ſent for, by the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lord Darcy, on the 21ſt of December, and put into the Hands of the Biſhop of Ely, who was made Keeper during Pleaſure: And when the Seſſion of Parliament came on, he was made Lord Chancellor. But this was much cenſured: When the Reformation was firſt preached in England, Tindal, Barns, and Latimer, took an Occaſion, from the great Pomp and Luxury of Cardinal Wolſey, and the Secular Imployments of the other Biſhops and Clergymen, to repreſent them as a Sort of Men that had wholly neglected the Care of Souls, and thoſe Spiritual Studies and Exerciſes that diſpoſed Men to ſuch Functions; and only carried the Names of Biſhops and Churchmen, to be a Colour to ſerve their Ambition and Covetouſneſs. And this had raiſed great Prejudices in the Minds of the People againſt thoſe who were called their Paſtors, when they ſaw them fill their Heads with Cares, that were at leaſt impertinent to their Callings, if not inconſiſtent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon Goodrick's being made Lord Charncellor, that was a Reformed Biſhop, it was ſaid by their Adverſaries, theſe Men only condemned Secular Imployments in the Hands of Churchmen, becauſe their Enemies had them, but changed their Mind as ſoon as any of their own Party came to be advanced to them. But as Goodrick was raiſed by the Popiſh Intereſt, in Oppoſition to the Duke of Somerſet, and to Cranmer, that was his firm Friend; ſo it appeared in the Beginning of Queen Mary's Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide; and that whether he joined in the Reformation only in Compliance to the Time, or was perſuaded in his Mind concerning it; yet he had not that Senſe of it that became a Biſhop, and was one of theſe who reſolved to make as much Advantage by it as he could, but would ſuffer nothing for it. So his Practice in this Matter is neither a Precedent to juſtify the like in others, nor can it caſt a Scandal on thoſe to whom he joined himſelf. Chriſt being ſpoke to, to divide an Inheritance between two Brethen, ſaid, Who made me a Judge, or a Divider? St. Paul, ſpeaking of Churchmen, ſays, No Man that warreth intangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life; which was underſtood by St. Cyprian, as a perpetual Rule againſt the Secular Imployments of the Clergy. There are three of the Apoſtolical Canons againſt it; and St. Cyprian reckoning up the Sins of his Time, that had provoked GOD to ſend a Perſecution on the Church, names this, That many Biſhops forſaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares. In which he was ſo ſtrict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a Diſtraction unſuitable to their Character; ſo that one Prieſt leaving another Tutor to his Children, becauſe by the Roman Law he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, the Prieſt's Name who made that Teſtament was appointed to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of thoſe Churchmen who had died in the Faith, and were remembered in the daily Offices. Samoſatenus is repreſented as one of the firſt eminent Churchmen that involved himſelf much in Secular Cares. Upon the Emperor's turning Chriſtian, it was a natural Effect of their Converſion for them to cheriſh the Biſhops much, and many of the Biſhops became ſo much in Love with the Court and publick Imployments, that Canons were made againſt their going to Court, unleſs they were called, and the Canalis, or Road to the Court, was kept by the Biſhop of Rome; ſo that none might go without his Warrant. Their Meddling in Secular Matters was alſo condemned in many Provincial Councils; but moſt copiouſly and amply by the General Council at Chalcedon. It is true, the Biſhops had their Courts for the Arbitration of Civil Differences; which firſt begun upon St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Corinthians, againſt their going to Law before Unbelievers, and for ſubmitting their Suits to ſome among themſelves. The Reaſons of this ceaſed when the Judges in the Civil Courts were become Chriſtians; yet theſe Epiſcopal Audiences were ſtill continued after Conſtantine's Time, and their Juriſdiction was ſometimes enlarged, and ſometimes abridged, as there was Occaſion given. St. Auſtin, and many other Holy Biſhops, grew weary even of that; and found, that the hearing Cauſes, as it took up much of their Time, ſo filled their Heads with Thoughts of

another

another Nature, than what properly belonged to them.

THE Biſhops of Rome and Alexandria taking Advantage from the Greatneſs and Wealth of their Sees, began firſt to eſtabliſh a Secular Principality of the Church; and the Confuſions that fell out in Italy after the 5th Century, gave the Biſhops of Rome great Opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmoſt Advantage. The Revolutions in Spain gave a Riſe to the Spaniſh Biſhops meddling much in all Civil Matters: And when Charles the Great and his Son had given great Territories and large Juriſdictions to many Sees and Monaſteries, Biſhops and Abbots came, after that, not only to have a Share in all the publick Councils of moſt of the States of Europe, to which their Lands gave them a Right, but to be chiefly employed in all Affairs and Offices of State. The Ignorance of theſe Ages made this in a manner neceſſary; and Church-Preferments were given as Rewards to Men who had ſerved in the State in Embaſſies, or in their Princes Courts of Juſtice: So that it was no Wonder if Men advanced upon that Merit, continued in their former Method and Courſe of Life. Thus the Biſhops became for the greateſt Part only a Sort of Men who went in particular Habits, and upon ſome high Feſtivities perform'd a few Offices; but for the Paſtoral Care, and all the Duties incumbent on them, they were univerſally neglected; and that Seriouſneſs, that Abſtraction from the World, that Application to Study and religious Exerciſes, and chiefly the Care of Souls, which became their Function, ſeemed inconſiſtent with that Courſe of Life, which Secular Cares brought on Men who purſued them. Nor was it eaſy to perſuade the World, that their Paſtors did very much aſpire to Heaven, when they were thruſting themſelves ſo indecently into the Courts of Princes, or ambitiouſly pretending to the Adminiſtration of Matters of State; and it was always obſerved, that Churchmen who aſſumed to themſelves Imployments, and an Authority that was excentrick to their Callings, ſuffered ſo much in that Eſteem, and loſt ſo much of that Authority, which of right belonged to their Character and Office.

BUT to go on with the Series of Affairs. There was all poſſible Care taken to divert and entertain the King's Mind with pleaſing Sights, as will appear by his Journal, which, it ſeems, had the Effect that was deſired; for he was not much concerned in his Unkle's Preſervation.

AN Order was ſent for Beheading the Duke of Somerſet on the 22d of January, on which Day he was brought to the Place of Execution, on Tower-Hill. His whole Deportment was very compoſed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: He firſt kneeled down, and prayed; and then he ſpake to the People in theſe Words:

"DEARLY beloved Friends, I "am brought here to ſuffer Death, al- "beit that I never offended againſt the "King, neither by Word nor Deed; "and have been always as faithful and "true to this Realm, as any Man hath "been. But for ſo much as I am by "Law condemned to die, I do acknow- "ledge myſelf, as well as others, to be "Subject thereto. Wherefore, to ſa- "tisfy my Obedience which I owe un- "to the Laws, I am come hither to "ſuffer Death; whereunto I willingly "offer myſelf, with moſt hearty "Thanks to GOD, that hath given "me this Time of Repentance; who "might through ſudden Death have "taken away my Life, that neither I "ſhould have acknowledged him, nor "myſelf. Moreover, there is yet ſome- "what that I muſt put you in Mind "of, as touching Chriſtian Religion; "which, ſo long as I was in Authori- "ty, I always diligently ſet forth, and "furthered to my Power; neither re- "pent I of my Doings, but rejoice "therein, ſith that now the State of "Chriſtian Religion cometh moſt near "unto the Form and Order of the "Primitive Church; which Thing I "eſteem as a great Benefit given of "GOD both to you and me; moſt hear- "tily exhorting you all, that this "which is moſt purely ſet forth to "you, you will with like Thankfulneſs "accept and embrace, and ſet out the "ſame in your Living; which Thing "if you do not, without doubt greater "Miſchief and Calamity will follow.

WHEN he had gone ſo far, there was an extraordinary Noiſe heard, as if ſome Houſe had been blown up with Gun-powder; which frighted all the People, ſo that many run away, they knew not for what; and the Relator, who tarried ſtill, ſays, it brought into his Remembrance the Aſtoniſhment that the Band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards

wards to the Ground. At the ſame Time Sir Ant. Brown came riding towards the Scaffold, and they all hoped that he had brought a Pardon; upon which there was a general Shouting, Pardon, Pardon, GOD ſave the King; many throwing up their Caps; by which the Duke might well perceive how dear he was to the People. But as ſoon as theſe Diſorders were over, he made a Sign to them with his Hand to compoſe themſelves, and then went on in his Speech thus:

"DEARLY beloved Friends, there "is no ſuch Matter here in Hand, as "you vainly hope or believe. It ſeem-"eth thus good unto Almighty GOD, "whoſe Ordinance it is meet and ne-"ceſſary that we all be Obedient to. "Wherefore I pray you all to be qui-"et, and to be contented with my "Death, which I am moſt willing to "ſuffer. And let us now join in "Prayer to the LORD for the Preſer-"vation of the King's Majeſty, unto "whom hitherto I have always ſhew'd "myſelf a moſt faithful and firm Sub-"ject. I have always been moſt dili-"gent about his Majeſty, in his Affairs "both at Home and Abroad; and no leſs "diligent in ſeeking the common Com-"modity of the whole Realm; (upon "this the People cry'd out it was moſt "true) unto whoſe Majeſty I wiſh "continual Health, with all Felicity, "and all proſperous Succeſs. More-"over, I do wiſh unto all his Coun-"ſellors, the Grace and Favour of "GOD, whereby they may rule in all "Things uprightly with Juſtice; unto "whom I exhort you all in the LORD "to ſhew yourſelves Obedient, as it is "your bounden Duty, under the Pain "of Condemnation; and alſo moſt "profitable for the Preſervation and "Safeguard of the King's Majeſty. "Moreover, foraſmuch as heretofore "I have had Affairs with divers Men, "and hard it is to pleaſe every Man; "therefore if there have been any that "have been offended or injured by me, "I moſt humbly require and aſk him "Forgiveneſs; but eſpecially Almigh-"ty GOD, whom throughout all my "Life I have moſt grievouſly offended: "And all other whatſoever they be "that have offended me, I do with "my whole Heart forgive them." Then he deſired them to be quiet, leſt their Tumults might trouble him; and ſaid, "Albeit the Spirit be wil-"ling and ready, the Fleſh is frail "and wavering; and through your "Quietneſs I ſhall be much more qui-"eter. Moreover, I deſire you all to "bear me Witneſs, that I die here in "the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, deſiring "you to help me with your Prayers, "that I may perſevere conſtant in the "ſame to my Live's End.

THEN Dr. Cox, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his Knees; then he took Leave of all about him, and undreſſed himſelf to be fitted for the Axe. In all which there appeared no Change in him, only his Face was a little ruddier than ordinary: He continued calling, Lord Jeſus ſave me, till the Executioner ſevered his Head from his Body.

THUS fell the Duke of Somerſet; a Perſon of great Virtues, eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his Greatneſs, ſincere and candid in all his Tranſactions. He was a better Captain, than a Counſellor; had been oft ſucceſsful in his Undertakings, was always careful of the Poor and the Oppreſſed; and, in a Word, had as many Virtues, and as few Faults, as moſt great Men, eſpecially when they were ſo unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conſpiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only Forgery. For both Palmer, and Crane, the chief Witneſſes, were ſoon after diſcharged, as were alſo Bartuile, and Hamond, with all the reſt that had been made Priſoners on the Pretence of this Plot. And the Duke of Northumberland continued after that in ſo cloſe a Friendſhip with Palmer, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And indeed, the not bringing the Witneſſes into the Court, but only the Depoſitions, and the Parties ſitting Judges, gave great Occaſion to have condemned the Proceedings againſt him. For it was generally thought, that all was an Artifice of Palmer's, who had put the Duke of Somerſet in Fears of his Life, and ſo got him to gather Men about him for his own Preſervation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, ſeemed thro' Fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the Death of the other four formerly mention'd, who were executed on the 26th of February, and did all proteſt they had never been

been guilty of any Deſign, either againſt the King, or to kill the Lords. Vane added, That his Blood would make Northumberland's Pillow uneaſy to him. The People were generally much affected with this Execution; and many threw Handkerchiefs into the Duke of Somerſet's Blood, to preſerve it in Remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of Northumberland when he was led through the City in Queen Mary's Reign, ſhaking one of theſe Bloody Handkerchiefs, ſaid, Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Unkle of that excellent King, which was ſhed by thy malicious Practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itſelf on thee. Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciouſly contrived this, was ever after hated by the People.

BUT on the other Hand, great Notice was taken that the Duke of Norfolk (who, with his Son the Earl of Surrey, were believed to have fallen in all their Miſery, by the Duke of Somerſet's Means) did now out-live him, and ſaw him fall by a Conſpiracy of his own Servants, as himſelf and his Son had done. The Proceeding againſt his Brother was alſo remembered, for which many thought the Judgments of GOD had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert Things ſacred to his own Uſe, and becauſe a great Part of his Eſtate was raiſed out of the Spoils of many Churches: And ſome late Writers have made an Inference from this, upon his not claiming the Benefit of Clergy, that he was thus left of GOD not to plead that Benefit, ſince he had ſo much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church. But in this they ſhewed their Ignorance: For by the Statute, that Felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by Clergy. Thoſe who pleaſed themſelves in comparing the Events in their own Times with the Tranſactions of the former Ages, found out many Things to make a Parallel between the Duke of Somerſet, and Humphrey the good Duke of Gloceſter, in Henry the VIth's Time.

NOW was the Duke of Northumberland abſolute at Court, all Offices being filled with thoſe who were his Aſſociates: But here ſays Dr. Burnet, I ſtop to give a general View of Affairs beyond Sea this Year, tho' I have a little tranſgreſs'd the Bounds of it, to give an Account of the Duke of Somerſet's Fall all together. The Siege of Magdeburg went on in Germany: But it was coldly followed by Maurice, who had now other Deſigns. He had agreed with the French King, who was both to give him Aſſiſtance, and to make War on the Emperor, at the ſame Time when he ſhould begin. Ferdinand was alſo not unwilling to ſee his Brother's Greatneſs leſſened; for he was preſſing him, not without Threatnings, to lay down his Dignity, as King of the Romans, and thought to have eſtabliſhed it on his Son. All the other Princes of Germany were alſo oppreſſed by him, ſo that they were diſpoſed to enter into any Alliance for the Shaking off that Yoke. Maurice did alſo ſend over to try the Inclinations of England if they would join with him, and contribute 400000 Dollars towards the Expence of a War, for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and Recovering the Liberty of Germany. The Ambaſſadors were only ſent to try the King's Mind, but were not empower'd to conclude any Thing. They were ſent back with a good Anſwer, That the King would moſt willingly join in Alliance with them that were of the ſame Religion with himſelf; but he deſired, that the Matter of Religion might be plainly ſet down, leſt under the Pretence of that, War ſhould be made for other Quarrels. He deſired them alſo to communicate their Deſigns with the other Princes, and then to ſend over others more fully empowered. Maurice, ſeeing ſuch Aſſiſtances ready for him, reſolved, both to break the Emperor's Deſigns, and by leading on a new League againſt him, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Empire, and thereby to ſecure the Electoral Dignity in his Family. So after Magdeburg had endured a long Siege, he, giving a ſecret Intimation to ſome Men in whom they confided, perſuaded them about the End of November to ſurrender to him, and then broke up his Army; but they fell into the Dominions of ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, and put them under very heavy Contributions. This alarmed all the Empire; only the Emperor himſelf, by a fatal Security, did not apprehend it, till it came ſo near him, that he was almoſt ruined before he dream'd of any Danger.

THIS Year the Tranſactions of Trent were remarkable: The Pope had

Proceedings at Trent.

had called the Council to meet there, and the 1ſt of May this Year, there was a Seſſion held. There was a War now broken out, between the Pope and the King of France, on this Occaſion: The Pope had a Mind to have Parma in his own Hands; but that Prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the Emperor did Placentia, and ſo he ſhould be ruined between them, implored the Protection of France, and received a French Garriſon for his Safety. Upon this the Pope cited him to Rome, declaring him a Traitor, if he appeared not: And this engaged the Pope in a War with France. At firſt he ſent a threatning Meſſage to that King, that if he would not reſtore Parma to him, he would take France from him. Upon this the King of France proteſted againſt the Council of Trent, and threatned that he would call a National Council in France. The Council was adjourned to the 10th of September. In the mean while the Emperor preſſed the Germans to go to it: So Maurice, and the other Princes of the Ausburg Confeſſion, ordered their Divines to conſider of the Matters which they would propoſe to the Council. The Electors of Mentz and Triers went to Trent: But the King of France ſent the Abbot of Belloſana thither, to make a Proteſtation, that by Reaſon of the War that the Pope had raiſed, he could not ſend his Biſhops to the Council; and that therefore he would not obſerve their Decrees, (for they had declared in France, that abſent Churches were not bound to obey the Decrees of a Council, for which many Authorities were cited from the Primitive Times:) But at Trent they proceeded for all this, and appointed the Articles about the Euchariſt to be firſt examined: And the Preſidents recommended to the Divines, to handle them according to Scripture, Tradition, and antient Authors, and to avoid unprofitable Curioſities. The Italian Divines did not like this: For they ſaid, to argue ſo, was but an Act of the Memory, and was an old and inſufficient Way, and would give great Advantage to the Lutherans, who were well skilled in the Tongues; but the School Learning was a myſtical and ſublime Way, in which it was eaſier to ſet off or conceal Matters as was expedient: But this was done to pleaſe the Germans; and, at the Suit of the Emperor, the Matter of Communicating in both Kinds was poſtponed, 'till the German Divines could be heard. A ſafe Conduct was deſired by the Germans, not only from the Emperor, but from the Council: For at Conſtance, John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, were burnt, upon this Pretence, That they had not the Council's ſafe Conduct; and therefore when the Council of Baſil called for the Bohemians, they ſent them a ſafe Conduct, beſides that which the Emperor gave them: So the Princes deſired one in the ſame Form that was granted by thoſe of Baſil. One was granted by the Council, which in many Things differed from that of Baſil; particularly in one Clauſe, That all Things ſhould be determined according to Scriptures, which was in that ſafe Conduct of Baſil, but was now left out. In October an Ambaſſador from the Elector of Brandenburg came to Trent, who was endeavouring to get his Son ſettled in the Archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg, which made him more complaiſant. In his firſt Addreſſes to the Council, he ſpake of the Reſpect his Maſter had to the Fathers in it, without a Word of Submitting to their Decrees. But in the Anſwer that was made in the Name of the Council, it was ſaid, they were glad he did ſubmit to them, and would obey their Decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was ſaid, that they anſwered according to what he ſhould have ſaid, and not according to what he had ſaid. But in the mean while, the Council publiſhed their Decrees about the Euchariſt; in the firſt Part of which they defined, that the Way of the Preſence could hardly be expreſſed, and yet they called Tranſubſtantiation a fit Term for it. But this might be well enough defended, ſince that was a Thing as hard to be either expreſſed or underſtood, as any Thing they could have thought on. They went on next to examine Confeſſion, and Penitence. And now, as the Divines handled the Matter, they found the gathering Proofs out of Scripture grew endleſs and trifling; for there was not a Place in the Scripture where I confeſs was to be found, but they drew it in to prove Auricular Confeſſion. From that they went on to extream Unction. But then came the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of Wirtenberg, another Prince of the Auſburg Confeſſion, and ſhewed their Mandate to the Emperor's Ambaſſadors; who deſired them to carry it

to

to the Presidents; but they refused to do that; since it was contrary to the Protestation, which the Princes of their Confession had made against a Council in which the Pope should preside. On the 25th of November they published the Decree of the Necessity of Auricular Confession, that so the Priest might thereby know how to proportion the Penance to the Sin. It was much censured, to see it defined that Christ had instituted Confession to a Priest, and not shewed where, or how it was instituted. And the Reason for it, about the Proportioning the Penance, was laughed at, since it was known what slight Penances were universally enjoined to expiate the greatest Sins. But the Ambassadors of Wirtenberg moving that they might have a safe Conduct for their Divines to come and propose their Doctrine, the Legate answered, That they would not upon any Terms enter into any Disputation with them; but if their Divines had any Scruple, in which they desired Satisfaction, with an humble and obedient Mind, they should be heard. And for a safe Conduct, he thought it was a distrusting the Council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived Ambassadors from Strasburg, and from the other five Cities, and those sent from the Duke of Saxe were on their Journey: So the Emperor ordered his Ambassadors to study to gain Time till they came; and then an effectual Course must be taken, for compassing that about which he had laboured so long in vain, to bring it to a happy Conclusion. And thus this Year ended.

THE Parliament was opened on the 23d of January, and sate till the 15th of April. The first Act that was put into the House of Lords, was for an Order to bring Men to Divine Service; which was agreed to on the 26th, and sent down to the Commons, who kept it long before they sent it back. On the 6th of April, when it was agreed to, the Earl of Derby, the Bishops of Carlisle, and Norwich, and the Lords Sturton, and Windsor, dissented. The Lords afterwards brought in another Bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Alterations which had been agreed on the former Year. This the Commons joined to the former, and so put both in one Act. By it was first set forth, "That an Order of Divine Service being published, many did wilfully abstain from it, and refused to come to their Parish-Churches; therefore all are required, after the Feast of Alhallows next, to come every Sunday and Holiday, to Common Prayers, under Pain of the Censures of the Church. And the King, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons, did in GOD's Name require all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, to endeavour the due Execution of that Act, as they would answer before GOD for such Evils and Plagues, with which he might justly punish them, for neglecting that good and wholesome Law: And they were fully authorized to execute the Censures of the Church on all that should offend against this Law.

TO which is added, "That there had been divers Doubts raised about the Manner of the Ministration of the Service, rather by the Curiosity of the Ministers and Mistakers, than of any other worthy Cause; and that for the better Explanation of that, and for the greater Perfection of the Service, in some Places, where it is fit to make the Prayer and Fashion of Service more earnest and fit, to stir Christian People to the true honouring of Almighty GOD; therefore it had been by the Command of the King and Parliament perused, explained, and made more perfect. They also annexed to it the Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and so appointed this new Book of Service, to be every where received after the Feast of All Saints next, under the same Penalties that had been enacted three Years before, when the former Book was set out.

IT was upon this Act said by the Papists, That the Reformation was like to change as oft as the Fashion did; since they seemed never to be at a Point in any thing, but new Models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, That it was no Wonder that the Corruptions which they had been introducing for above a Thousand Years, were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the Business was brought to a fuller Perfection, and they were not like to see any more material Changes. Besides, any that would take the Pains to compare the Offices that had been among the Papists, would clearly perceive, that in every Age there

was

was ſuch an Increaſe of Additional Rites and Ceremonies, that tho' the old ones were ſtill retained, yet it ſeemed there would be no End of new Improvements and Additions. Others wondered why the Execution of this Law was put off ſo long as till the End of the Year. Dr. Burnet ſaith, all the Account that he can give of this is, that it was expected that by that Time the new Body of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which was now preparing ſhould be finiſhed; and therefore, ſince this Act was to be executed by the Clergy, the Day in which it was to be in Force, was ſo long delayed, till that Reformation of their Laws were concluded.

ON the 8th of February a Bill of Treaſons was put in, and agreed to by all the Lords, except the Lord Wentworth. It was ſent down to the Commons where it was long diſputed; and many ſharp Things were ſaid of thoſe who now bore the Sway; that whereas they who governed in the Beginning of this Reign had put in a Bill for leſſening the Number of ſuch Offences, now they ſaw the Change of the Councils, when ſeverer Laws were propoſed. The Commons at laſt rejected the Bill, and then drew a new one, which paſſed. By it they enacted, "That if any ſhould call the King, or "any of his Heirs named in the Sta"tute of the 35th of his Father's "Reign, Heretick, Schiſmatick, Ty"rant, Infidel, or Uſurper of the "Crown; for the firſt Offence they "ſhould forfeit their Goods and Chat"tels, and be impriſoned during Plea"ſure; for the ſecond, ſhould be in a "Præmunire; for the third, ſhould be "attainted of Treaſon; but any who "ſhould adviſedly ſet that out in "Printing or Writing, was for the "firſt Offence to be held a Traitor. "And that thoſe who ſhould keep "any of the King's Caſtles, Artillery, "or Ships, ſix Days after they were "lawfully required to deliver them "up, ſhould be guilty of Treaſon: "That Men might be proceeded againſt "for Treaſons committed out of the "Kingdom, as well as in it. They added "a Proviſo, That none ſhould be at"tainted of Treaſon on this Act, un"leſs two Witneſſes ſhould come, and "to their Face aver the Fact for "which they were to be tried, except "ſuch as without Violence ſhould con"feſs it; and that none ſhould be queſ"tioned for any Thing ſaid or written, "but in three Months after it was done.

THIS Proviſo ſeems clearly to have been made with relation to the Proceeding againſt the Duke of Somerſet, in which the Witneſſes were not brought to aver the Evidence to his Face, and by that Means he was deprived of all the Benefit and Advantage which he might have had by croſs examining them. It is certain, that tho' ſome falſe Witneſſes have practiſed the Trade ſo much, that they ſeem to have laid off Shame, and have a Brow that cannot be daunted; yet for the greateſt Part a bright Serenity and Chearfulneſs attends Innocence, and a low'ring Dejection betrays the Guilty, when the Innocent and they are confronted together.

ON the 3d of March, a Bill was brought into the Lords for Holidays and Faſting-days; and ſent down to the Commons on the 15th of March, by whom it was paſs'd, and had the Royal Aſſent. In the Preamble it is ſet forth, "That Men are not at all "Times ſo ſet on the Performance of "Religious Duties as they ought to be; "which made it neceſſary that there "ſhould be ſet Times, in which La"bour was to ceaſe; that Men might "on theſe Days wholly ſerve GOD; "which Days were not to be account"ed holy of their own Nature, but "were ſo called, becauſe of the Holy "Duties then to be ſet about; ſo that "the Sanctification of them was not "any magical Virtue in that Time, but "conſiſted in the Dedicating them to "GOD's Service; that no Day was de"dicated to any Saint, but only to "GOD, in Remembrance of ſuch "Saints; that the Scripture had not "determined the Number of Holidays, "but that theſe were left to the Li"berty of the Church. Therefore "they Enact, That all Sundays, with "the Days marked in the Kalendar "and Liturgy, ſhould be kept as Holi"days: And the Biſhops were to pro"ceed by the Cenſures of the Church "againſt the Diſobedient." A Proviſo was added for the Obſervation of St. George's Feaſt by the Knights of the Garter; and another, That Labourers, or Fiſher-Men might, if Need ſo required, work on thoſe Days either in or out of Harveſt. The Eves before Holidays were to be kept as Faſts; and in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays, Abſtinence from Fleſh was enacted; but if a Holiday fell to be on a Monday, the Eve for it was to be kept on

Saturday, ſince Sunday was never to be a Faſting-Day. But it was generally obſerved, that in this and all ſuch Acts, the People were ready enough to lay hold on any Relaxation made by it, but did very ſlightly obſerve the ſtricter Parts of it; ſo that the Liberty left to Tradeſmen to work in Caſes of Neceſſity, was carried further than intended, to a too publick Profanation of the Time ſo ſanctified; and the other Parts of it, directing the People to a conſcientious obſerving of ſuch Times, was little minded.

ON the 5th of March, a Bill concerning the Relief of the Poor was put into the Houſe of Lords: The Form for paſſing it has given Occaſion to ſome to take Notice, that though it is a Bill for taxing the Subjects; yet it had its firſt Birth in the Lords Houſe, and was agreed to by the Commons. By it the Church-Wardens were empow'red to gather charitable Collections for the Poor; and if any did refuſe to contribute, or diſſuade others from it, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe was to proceed againſt them. On the 9th of March the Biſhops put in a Bill for the Security of the Clergy from ſome ambigous Words that were in the Submiſſion which the Convocation had made to King Henry in the 21ſt Year of his Reign; by which they were under a Præmunire, if they did any Things in their Courts contrary to the King's Prerogative; which was thought hard, ſince ſome through Ignorance might tranſgreſs. Therefore it was deſired, that no Prelate ſhould be brought under a Præmunire, unleſs they had proceeded in any Thing after they were prohibited by the King's Writ. To this the Lords conſented, but it was let fall by the Commons.

THERE was another Act brought in for the Marriage of the Clergy, which was agreed to by the Lords; the Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Bath, and the Lords Abergavenny, Stourton, Mounteagle, Sands, Windſor, and Wharton, proteſting againſt it. The Commons alſo paſs'd it, and it was aſſented to by the King. But it was ſet forth, "That many "took Occaſion from Words in the "Act formerly made about this Mat-"ter, to ſay, that it was only per-"mitted as Uſury and other unlaw-"ful Things were, for the avoiding "greater Evils; who thereupon ſpake "ſlanderouſly of ſuch Marriages, and "accounted the Children begotten in "them to be Baſtards, to the high "Diſhonour of the King, and Parlia-"ment, and the learned Clergy of "the Realm, who had determined, that "the Laws againſt Prieſts Marriages "were moſt unlawful by Law of GOD; "to which they had not only given their "Vote in the Convocation, but ſign'd "it with their Hands. Theſe Slanders "did alſo occaſion, that the Word of "GOD was not heard with due Re-"verence: Whereupon it was enacted, "That ſuch Marriages, made according "to the Rules preſcribed in the Book "of Service, ſhould be eſteemed good "and valid, and that the Children be-"got in them ſhould be inheritable "according to Law.

THE Marquis of Northampton did alſo put in a Bill for confirming his Marriage, which was paſſed; only the Earl of Derby, the Biſhops of Carliſle, and Norwich, and the Lord Stourton, diſſented. By it, "The Marriage is "declared lawful, as by the Law of "GOD indeed it was; any Decretal, "Canon, Eccleſiaſtical Law, or Uſage "to the contrary notwithſtanding." This occaſioned another Act that no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unleſs he were formerly divorced; to which the Biſhop of Norwich diſſented, becauſe he was of Opinion, that a Divorce did not break the Marriage Bond. But this Bill fell in the Houſe of Commons, being thought not neceſſary; for the Laws were already ſevere enough againſt ſuch double Marriages.

BY another Act, the Biſhoprick of Weſtminſter was quite ſuppreſſed, and re-united to the See of London: But the Collegiate Church, with its exempted Juriſdiction, was ſtill continued. Another Bill was put in againſt Uſury; which was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, and paſs'd by both, and aſſented to. By it, an Act paſſed in Parliament in the 37th Year of the late Reign, "That none might take "above 20 per Cent. for Money lent, "was repealed; which they ſay, was "not intended for the allowing of "Uſury, but for preventing further "Inconveniences: And ſince Uſury "was by the Word of GOD forbid-"den, and ſet out in divers Places of "Scripture as a moſt odious and de-"teſtable Vice, which yet many con-"tinued to practiſe, for the filthy "Gain they made by it; therefore "from the 1ſt of May all Uſury or

"Gain

Gain for Money lent, was to ceaſe: And whoſoever continued to practiſe to the contrary, were to ſuffer Impriſonment, and to be fined at the King's Pleaſure.

THIS Act has been ſince repealed, and the Gain for Money lent has been at ſeveral Times brought to ſeveral Regulations. It was much queſtioned, whether theſe Prohibitions of Uſury by Moſes were not judicial Laws, which did only bind the Nation of the Jews; whoſe Land being equally divided among the Families by Lot, the making Gain by lending Money was forbid to them of that Nation: Yet it did not ſeem to be a Thing of its Nature ſinful, ſince they might take Encreaſe of a Stranger. The not lending Money on Uſe was more convenient for that Nation; which abounding in People, and being ſhut up in a narrow Country, they were neceſſarily to apply themſelves to all the Ways of Induſtry for their Subſiſtance; ſo that every one was, by the Law of not lending upon Uſe, forced to employ his Money in the Way of Trade or Manufacture, for which they were ſure to have Vent, ſince they lay near Tyre and Sidon, which were then the chief Places of Traffick and Navigation of the World; and without ſuch Induſtry the Soil of Judea could not poſſibly have fed ſuch vaſt Numbers as lived on it: So that it ſeemed clear that this Law in the Old Teſtament properly belonged to that Policy. Yet it came to be looked on by many Chriſtians as a Law of perpetual Obligation. It came alſo to be made a Part of the Canon Law; and Abſolution could not be given to the Breakers of it, without a ſpecial Faculty from Rome. But for avoiding the Severity of the Law, the Invention of Mortgages was fallen on; which at firſt, were only Purchaſes made, and let back to the Owner, for ſuch Rent as the Uſe of the Money came to; ſo that the Uſe was taken as the Rent of the Land thus bought. And thoſe who had no Land to ſell thus, fell upon another Way: The Borrower bought their Goods, to be paid within a Year, (for Inſtance an hundred and ten Pound) and ſold them back, for a Sum to be preſently laid down, as they ſhould agree, (it may be an hundred Pound;) by this Means the one had an hundred Pound in Hand, and the other was to have ten Pound or more at a Year's End. But this being the Way of Sale, was not called Uſury. This Law was looked on as impoſſible to be obſerved in a Country, like England; and it could not eaſily appear where the Immorality lay of lending Money upon moderate Gain, ſuch as held Proportion to the Value of Land; provided that the perpetual Rule of Chriſtian Equity and Charity were obſerved, which is, not to exact above the Proportion duly limited by the Law, and to be merciful in not exacting ſeverely of Perſons who by inevitable Accidents have been diſabled from making Payment. This Digreſſion is neceſſary, becauſe of the Scruples that many good and ſtrict Perſons have ſtill in that Matter,

ANOTHER Act paſs'd both Houſes, againſt all Simonical Pactions, the Reſervation of Penſions out of Benefices, and the granting Advowſons while the Incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the Lords, the Earls of Derby, Rutland, and Suſſex, the Viſcount Hereford, and the Lords Mounteagle, Sands, Wharton, and Evers, diſſenting. But for what Reaſon is uncertain; the Bill was not aſſented to by the King, who being then ſick, there was a Collection made of the Tithes of the Bills which were to have the Royal Aſſent, and thoſe the King ſigned, and gave Commiſſion to ſome Lords to paſs them in his Name. Theſe Abuſes have been often complained of, but there have been ſtill new Contrivances found out, to elude all Laws againſt Simony; either Bargains being made by the Friends of the Parties concerned without their expreſs Knowledge, or Bonds of Reſignation given, by which Incumbents lie at the Mercy of their Patrons, and in theſe, the Faultineſs of ſome Clergymen, is made the Colour of impoſing ſuch Terms upon others, and of robbing the Church oftentimes by that Means.

THERE was a private Bill put in, about the Duke of Somerſet's Eſtate, which had been by Act of Parliament entailed on his Son, in the 23d Year of the laſt King's Reign. On the 3d of March it was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, ſigned by the King; it was for the Repeal of that Act. Whether the King was ſo alienated from his Unkle, that this extraordinary Thing was done by him for the utter Ruin of his Family, or not, Dr. Burnet ſaith he cannot determine; but rather inclines to think it was done in Hatred to the Dutcheſs

Dutcheſs of Somerſet and Iſſue. For the Eſtate was entailed on them by that Act of Parliament, in Prejudice of the former Marriage, of whom are deſcended the Seimours of Devonſhire, who were diſ-inherited and excluded from the Duke of Somerſet's Honours, by his Patents, and from his Eſtate by Act of Parliament; partly upon ſome Jealouſies he had of his former Wife, but chiefly by the Power his ſecond Wife had over him. This Bill of Repeal was much oppoſed in the Houſe, tho' ſent to them in ſo unuſual a Way, by the King himſelf. And tho' there was on the 8th of March a Meſſage ſent from the Lords, that they ſhould make Haſte towards an End of the Parliament, yet ſtill they ſtuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of Entails that were made by Act of Parliament, as a thing of ſuch Conſequence, that it diſſolved the greateſt Security that the Law of England gives for Property. It was long argued by the Commons, and was 15 ſeveral Days brought in. At laſt a new Bill was deviſed, and that was much altered too: it was not quite ended till the Day before the Parliament was diſſolved. But near the End of the Seſſion, a Proviſo was ſent from the Lords, to be added to the Bill, confirming the Attainder of the Duke and his Accomplices. It ſeems his Enemies would not try this at firſt, till they had by other Things meaſured their Strength in that Houſe; and finding their Intereſt grew there, they adventured on it; but they miſtook their Meaſures; for the Commons would not agree to it. In Concluſion, the Bill of Repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been ſome Writings for a Marriage between the Earl of Oxford's Daughter and the Duke of Somerſet's Son, and a Bill was put for avoiding theſe, upon a Diviſion of the Houſe the 28th of March there were 68 that agreed, and 69 that rejected it; ſo this Bill was caſt out. By this we ſee what a thin Houſe of Commons there was at that Time, the whole being but 137 Members. But this was a natural Effect of a long Parliament; many of thoſe who were at firſt choſen, being infirm, and others not willing to put themſelves to the Charge and Trouble of ſuch conſtant and long Attendance: It is alſo from hence clear, how great an Intereſt the Duke of Somerſet had in the Affections of the Parliament.

ANOTHER Bill gave a more evident Diſcovery how hateful the Duke of Northumberland was to them. The Biſhop of Dureſme was, upon ſome Complaint brought againſt him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, put into the Tower about the End of December laſt Year. What the Particulars were Dr. Burnet ſaith he does not find; but it was viſible that the ſecret Reaſon was, that he being Attainted, the Duke of Northumberland intended to have had the Dignities and Juriſdiction of that Principality conferred on himſelf; ſo that he ſhould have been made Count Palatine of Dureſme. Tonſtall had in all Points given Obedience to every Law, and to all the Injunctions that had been made; but had always in Parliament proteſted againſt the Changes in Religion; which he though he might, with a good Conſcience, ſubmit to and obey; thought he could not conſent to them. Only in the Matter of the Corporal Preſence, he was ſtill of the old Perſuaſion, and writ about it: But the Latin Stile of his Book is much better than the Divinity and Reaſonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to ſubſcribe the Articles, that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while Priſoner. There was a conſtant good Correſpondence between Cranmer and him. Though in many Things they differed in Opinion; yet Tonſtall was both a Man of Candour, and of great Moderation, which agreed ſo well with Cranmer's Temper, that no Wonder they lived always in good Terms. So when the Bill for Attainting him, as guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, on the 31ſt of March, being put in on the 28th, Cranmer ſpoke ſo freely againſt it, that the Duke of Northumberland and he were never after that in Friendſhip together. When he could do no more, he proteſted againſt it, being ſeconded only by the Lord Stourton. How it came to paſs that the other Popiſh Lords and Biſhops that proteſted againſt the other Acts of this Parliament, did not join in this, is uncertain, unleſs it was, that they were the leſs concerned for Tonſtall, becauſe Cranmer had appeared to be ſo much his Friend, or were awed by their Fear of offending the Duke of Northumberland. But when the Bill was carried down to the Commons, with the Evidences againſt him, which were ſome Depoſitions that had been taken, and brought

Brought to the Lords; they who were reſolved to condemn that Practice for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the 5th of April they ordered the Privy Counſellors of their Houſe, to move the Lords, that his Accuſers and he might be heard Face to Face: And that not being done, they went no further in the Bill.

BY theſe Indications the Duke of Northumberland ſaw how little Kindneſs the Houſe of Commons had for him. The Parliament had now ſat almoſt five Years, and being called by the Duke of Somerſet, his Friends had been generally choſe to be of it. So that it was no Wonder, if upon his Fall they were not eaſy to thoſe who had deſtroyed him; nor was there any Motion made for their giving the King a Supply. Therefore the Duke of Northumberland thought it neceſſary for his Intereſt to call a new Parliament: And accordingly on the 15th of April the Parliament was diſſolved; and it was reſolved to ſpend this Summer in making Friends all over England, and to have a new Parliament in the Opening of the next Year.

THE Convocation at this Time agreed to the Articles of Religion that were prepared the laſt Year: Thus the Reformation of Doctrine and Worſhip were brought to their Perfection; and were not after this in a Tittle mended or altered in this Reign, nor much afterwards; only ſome of the Articles were put in more general Words under Queen Elizabeth.

ANOTHER Part of the Reformation was yet unfiniſhed, and it was the chief Work of this Year. That was, the giving Rules to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and for all Things relating to the Government of the Church, and the Exerciſe of the ſeveral Functions in it. In the firſt Book it was told, that an Act had paſſed for this Purpoſe; yet it had not taken Effect, but a Commiſſion was made upon it, and theſe appointed by King Henry had met and conſulted about it, and had made ſome Progreſs in it, as appears by an Original Letter of Cranmer's to the King in the Year 1545. In which he ſpeaks of it as a Thing then almoſt forgotten, and quite laid aſide; for from the Time of the ſix Articles till then, the Deſign of the Reformation had been going backwards. At that Time the King began to re-aſſume the Thoughts of it, and was reſolved to remove ſome Ceremonies, ſuch as the Creeping to the Croſs, the Ringing of Bells on St. Andrew's Eve, with other Superſtitious Practiſes; for which Cranmer ſent him the Draught of a Letter to be written in the King's Name, to the two Archbiſhops, and to be by them communicated to the reſt of the Clergy. In the Poſtſcript of his Letter, he complains much of the Sacrilegious Waſte of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; where the Dean and Prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their Manors upon Letters obtained by Courtiers from the King, as if the Lands had been deſired for the King's Uſe: Upon which they had ſurrendered thoſe Lands, which were thereupon diſpoſed of to the Courtiers that had an Eye upon them.

IT was formerly told, that an Act had paſſed in this Reign, to empower Thirty-two Perſons, who ſhould be named by the King, to make a Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which was to be finiſhed within three Years. But the Revolutions of Affairs, and the other more preſſing Things that were ſtill uncompleated, had kept them hitherto from ſetting to that Work. On the 1ſt of November laſt Year, a Commiſſion was given to eight Perſons to prepare the Matter for the Review of the Two and Thirty, that ſo it might be more eaſily compiled, being in a few Hands, than could well be done, if ſo many had been to ſet about it. Theſe eight were, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of Ely, Dr. Cox, and Peter Martyr, two Divines, Dr. May, and Dr. Taylor, two Doctors of the Law, and John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick, two Common Lawyers: But on the 14th of November the Commiſſion was renewed, and the Biſhop of London was nameed in the Room of the Biſhop of Ely; one Traheron, in the Room of May; and Goſnald in Goodrick's Room. Theſe, it ſeems, deſiring more Time than one Year to finiſh it in, for two of the Years was now lapſed; in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament they had three Years more Time offered them: But it ſeems the Work was believed to be in ſuch a Forwardneſs, that this Continuation was not judged neceſſary; for the Royal Aſſent was not given to that Act. After the Parliament was ended they made Haſte with it: But it was ſaid in the Preface to the Book, as it was printed in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, That Cranmer did the

the whole Work almoſt himſelf: Which will juſtify the Character ſome give of him, that he was the greateſt Canoniſt then in England. Dr. Haddon, that was Univerſity Orator in Cambridge, and Sir Jo. Cheek was employed to put it in Latin. And they did ſo imitate the Stile of the Roman Laws, that any who reads the Book, will fancy himſelf to be reading a Work of the purer Ages of that State, when their Language was not yet corrupted with theſe barbarous Terms, which the Mixture of other Nations brought in, and made it no where more nauſeouſly rude than in the Canon-Law.

THE Work was digeſted and caſt into 51 Titles, to bring it near the Number of the Books of the Pandects, into which Juſtinian had digeſted the Roman Law. It was prepared by February this Year, and a Commiſſion was granted to 32 Perſons, of whom the former eight were a Part; conſiſting of eight Biſhops, eight Divines, among whom John à Laſco was one, eight Civilians, and eight Common Lawyers. They were to reviſe, correct, and perfect the Work, and ſo to preſent it to the King. They divided themſelves into four Claſſes, eight to a Claſſis; and every one of theſe were to prepare their Corrections, and ſo to communicate them to the reſt. And thus was the Work carried on, and finiſhed; but before it receiv'd the Royal Confirmation, the King died, and this fell with him: Nor do I find, ſaith Dr. Burnet, that it was ever ſince that Time taken up, and proſecuted, with the Care that a Thing of that Conſequence deſerved; and therefore he thinks it not improper, having before ſhewed what was done, in the next Place to give an Account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well conſidered.

THE Firſt Title was of the Trinity, and the Catholick Faith; in which thoſe who denied the Chriſtian Religion were to ſuffer Death, and the Loſs of their Goods. The Books of Scripture were numbered, thoſe call'd Apocryphal being left out of the Canon; which, tho' they were read in the Church, it was only for the Edification of the People, but not for the Proof of the Doctrine. The Power of the Church was ſubjected to the Scriptures: The four General-Councils were received; but all Councils were to be examined by the Scriptures; as were alſo the Writings of the Fathers, who were to be much reverenced; but according to what themſelves have written, they were only to be ſubmitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures.

THE Second Title contains an Enumeration of many Hereſies, viz. againſt the Trinity, Jeſus Chriſt, the Scriptures, about Original Sin, Juſtification, the Maſs, Purgatory, and cenſured thoſe who denied Magiſtracy to be lawful, or aſſerted the Community of Goods, or Wives, or who denied the Paſtoral Office, and thought any might aſſume it at Pleaſure, or who thought the Sacraments naked Signs, who denied the Baptiſm of Infants, or thought none could poſſibly be ſaved that were not baptized; or who aſſerted Tranſubſtantiation, or denied the Lawfulneſs of Marriage, particularly in the Clergy; or who aſſerted the Pope's Power; or ſuch as excuſed their ill Lives by the Pretence of Predeſtination, as many wicked Men did: From which and other Hereſies, all are diſſuaded, and earneſtly exhorted to endeavour the Extirpation of them.

THE Third was about the Judgments of Hereſy, before the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, even in exempted Places. They were to proceed by Witneſſes; but the Party, upon Fame, might be required to purge himſelf: If he repented, he was to make publick Profeſſion of it in thoſe Places where he had ſpread it, and to renounce his Hereſy, ſwearing never to return to it any more: But obſtinate Hereticks were to be declared infamous, incapable of publick Truſt, or to be Witneſſes in any Court, or to have Power to make a Teſtament, and were not to have Benefit of the Law; Clergymen falling into Hereſy, were not to return to their Benefices, unleſs the Circumſtances were ſuch that they required it; and thus all capital Proceedings for Hereſy were laid down.

THE Fourth was about Blaſphemy, flowing from Hatred or Rage againſt GOD, which was to be puniſhed as obſtinate Hereſy was.

THE Fifth was about the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the LORD's Supper. To which is added, that Impoſition of Hands is to be retained in the Ordination of Paſtors; that Marriages are to be ſolemnly made; that thoſe who renew their Baptiſmal Vow, be

be confirmed by the Biſhop; and that the Sick ſhould be viſited by their Paſtors.

THE Sixth was about Idolatry, Magick, Witchcraft, or Conſulting with Conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily puniſhed, if they ſubmitted; otherwiſe, to be excommunicated.

THE Seventh was about Preachers, whom the Biſhops were to examine carefully, before they licenſed them; and were once a Year to gather together all thoſe who were licenſed in their Dioceſes, to know of them the true State of their Flock, what Vices abounded, and what Remedies were moſt proper. Thoſe who refuſed to hear Sermons, or did make Diſturbance in them, were to be ſeparated from the Communion. It ſeems it was deſigned, that there ſhould be in every Dioceſe, ſome who ſhould go round a Precinct, and preach like Evangeliſts, as ſome then called them.

THE Eighth was about Marriage; which was to be after asking Banes, three Sundays or Holidays. Thoſe who were married in any other Form, than in the Book of Service, were not to be eſteemed lawfully married; thoſe who corrupted Virgins, were to be excommunicated, if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third Part of their Goods, beſides other arbitrary Puniſhments. Marriages made without the Conſent of Parents or Guardians, were declared Null. Then follow the Things that may void Marriages; they are left Free to all: Poligamy is forbid, Marriages made by Force are declared void, Mothers are required to ſuckle their Children.

THE Ninth is about the Degrees of Marriage. All theſe in the Levitical Law, or thoſe that are Reciprocal to them, are forbidden: But Spiritual Kindred was not to hinder Marriage, ſince there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good Reaſon for it.

THE Tenth was about Adultery. A Clergyman guilty of it to forfeit all his Goods and Eſtate to his Wife, and Children; or if he had none, to the Poor, or ſome pious Uſe; and to loſe his Benefice, and be either baniſh'd or impriſoned during Life. A Layman was to reſtore his Wive's Portion, and to give her the Half of his Goods, and be impriſoned or baniſhed during Life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like Manner puniſhed. But the Innocent Party might marry again; yet ſuch were rather exhorted, if they ſaw Hope of Amendment, to be reconciled to the offending Party. No Marriage was to be diſſolved without a Sentence of Divorce, Deſertion, or long Abſence; capital Enemies where either Party was in Hazzard of their Life, or the conſtant Perverſeneſs or Fierceneſs of a Husband againſt his Wife, might induce a Divorce; but little Quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual Diſeaſe; Relief in ſuch a Miſery being one of the Ends of Marriage: But all Separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was to be taken away.

THE Eleventh was about Admiſſion to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. Patrons were to conſider, the Choice of the Perſon was truſted to them, but was not to be abuſed to any ſacrilegious or baſe Ends; if they did otherwiſe, they were to loſe their Right for that Time. Benefices were not to be given, or promiſed, before they were void; nor let lie deſtitute above ſix Months, otherwiſe they were to devolve to the Biſhop. Clergymen before their Ordination were to be examined by the Archdeacons, with ſuch other Triers as the Biſhop ſhould appoint to be Aſſiſtant to them; and the Biſhop himſelf was to try them, ſince this was one of the chief Things, upon which the Happineſs of the Church depended. The Candidate was to give an Oath to anſwer ſincrely, upon which he was to be examined about his Doctrine, chiefly of the whole Points of the Catechiſm, if he underſtood them aright; and what Knowledge he had of the Scriptures: They were to ſearch him well whether he held Heretical Opinions: None was to be admitted to more Cures than one; and all Priviledges for Pluralities were for ever to ceaſe: Nor was any to be abſent from his Cure, except for a Time, and a juſt Cauſe, of which he was to ſatisfy his Ordinary. The Biſhops were to take great Care to allow no Abſence longer than was neceſſary: Every one was to enter upon his Cure within two Months after he was inſtituted by the Biſhop. Prebendaries who had no particular Cure, were to preach in the Churches adjacent to them. Baſtards might not be admitted to Orders, unleſs they had eminent Qualities. But the Baſtards of Patrons were upon

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no Account to be received, if presented by them. Other bodily Defects, unless such as did much disable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a Barr to any. Beside the Sponsions in the Office of Ordination, they were to swear that they had made no Agreement to obtain the Benefice to which they were presented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their Account, they should signify it to the Bishop; and that they should not do any thing to the Prejudice of their Church.

THE Twelfth and Thirteenth were about the Renouncing or Changing of Benefices.

THE Fourteenth was about Purgation upon common Fame, or when one was accused for any Crime, which was proved incompleatly, and only by Presumptions, The Ecclesiastical Courts might not re-examine any Thing that was proved in any Civil Court; but upon a high Scandal, a Bishop might require a Man to purge himself, otherwise to separate him from Holy Things. The Form of a Purgation was, to swear himself innocent; and he was also to have four Compurgators of his own Rank, who were to swear, that they believed he swore true; upon which the Judge was to restore him to his Fame. Any that were under Suspicion of a Crime, might by the Judge be required to avoid all the Occasions from which the Suspicion had risen: But all superstitious Purgations were to be rejected.

THE Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth, were about Dilapidations, the Letting of the Goods of the Church, the Confirming the former Rules of Election in Cathedrals or Colleges, and the Collation of Benefices. And there was to be a Purgation of Simony, as there should be Occasion for it.

THE Nineteenth was about Divine Offices. In the Mornings on Holidays, the Common Prayer was to be used, with the Communion Service joined to it. In Cathedrals, there was to be Communion every Sunday and Holiday; where the Bishop, the Dean, and the Prebendaries, and all maintained by that Church, were to be present. There was no Sermon to be in Cathedrals in the Morning, lest they might draw any from the Parish-Churches; but only in the Afternoons. In the Anthems, all figured Musick, by which the Hearers could not understand what they sung, was to be taken away. In Parish-Churches there were only to be Sermons in the Morning, but none in the Afternoon, except in great Parishes. All who were to receive the Sacrament, were to come the Day before, and inform the Minister of it, who was to examine their Consciences, and their Belief. On Holidays in the Afternoon, the Catechism was to be explained for an Hour. After the Evening Prayers, the Poor were to be looked to; and such as had given open Scandal were to be examined, and publick Penitence was to be enjoined them: And the Minister, with some of the Antients of the Parish, were to commune together about the State of the People in it; that if any carried themselves indecently, they might be first charitably admonished; and if that did not prevail, subjected to severer Censures; but none were to be excommunicated, without the Bishop were first informed, and had consented to it. Divine Offices were not to be performed in Chapels, or private Houses, lest the Churches should, under that Pretence, be neglected, and Errors more easily disseminated; excepting only the Houses of Peers, and Persons of great Quality, who had numerous Families; but in these all Things were to be done according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

THE 20th was about those that bore Office in the Church; Sextons, Church-Wardens, Deacons, Priests, and Rural Deans. This last was to be a Yearly Office: He that was named to it by the Bishop, being to watch over the Manners of the Clergy and People in his Precinct, was to signify the Bishop's Pleasure to them, and to give the Bishop an Account of his Precinct every Sixth Month. The Archdeacons were to be General Visitors over the Rural Deans. In every Cathedral, one of the Prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a Week to expound some Part of the Scriptures. The Bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their Authority was given to them for that End, that many might be brought to Christ, and that such as had gone astray might be restored by Repentance. To the Bishop all were to give Obedience according to the Word of God. The Bishop was to Preach often in his Church; was to Ordain none for Rewards, or rashly; was to provide good Pastors, and to de-

prive bad Ones: He was to viſit his Dioceſe every third Year, or oftner as he ſaw Cauſe; but then he was to do it at his own Charge: He was to have yearly Synods, and to confirm ſuch as were well inſtructed. His Family was to conſiſt of Clergymen, whom he ſhould bring up to the Service of the Church; (ſo was St. Auſtin's, and other Antient Biſhops Families conſtituted:) This being a great Means to ſupply the great Want of the good and the faithful Miniſters. Their Wives and Children were alſo to avoid all Levity or vain Dreſſing. They were never to be abſent from their Dioceſes, but upon a publick and urgent Cauſe; and when they grew Sick or Infirm, they were to have Coadjutors. If they became Scandalous or Heretical, they were to be deprived by the King's Authority. The Archbiſhops were to exerciſe the Epiſcopal Function in their Dioceſe, and were once to viſit their whole Province, and to overſee the Biſhops, to admoniſh them for what was a-miſs, and to receive and judge Appeals, to call Provincial Synods upon any great Occaſion, having obtained Warrant from the King for it. Every Biſhop was to have a Synod of his Clergy ſome Time in Lent, ſo that they might all return home before Palm-Sunday. They were to begin with the Litany, a Sermon, and a Communion; then all were to withdraw into ſome private Place, where they were to give the Biſhop an Account of the State of the Dioceſe, and to conſult of what required Advice; every Prieſt was to deliver his Opinion, and the Biſhop was to deliver his Sentence, and to bring Matters to as ſpeedy a Concluſion as might be; and all were to ſubmit to him, or to appeal to the Archbiſhop.

THE 21ſt, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th Titles are about Church-Wardens, Univerſities, Tithes, Viſitations, Teſtaments, Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, Suſpenſion, Sequeſtration, and Deprivation.

THE 30th is about Excommunication.

EXCOMMUNICATION they reckon an Authority given of GOD to the Church, for removing ſcandalous or corrupt Perſons, from the Uſe of the Sacraments, or Fellowſhip of Chriſtians, till they give clear Signs of their Repentance, and ſubmit to ſuch Spiritual Puniſhments, by which the Fleſh may be ſubdued, and the Spirit ſaved. This was truſted to Churchmen, but chiefly, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deans, and any other appointed for it by the Church. None ought to be excommunicated, but for their Obſtinacy in great Faults; but it was never to be gone about raſhly; and therefore the Judge who was to give it, was to have a Juſtice of Peace with him, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the Party lived, with two or three learned Presbyters, in whoſe Preſence the Matter was to be examined, and Sentence pronounced; which was to be put in Writing. It was to be intimated in the Pariſh where the Party lived, and in the neighbouring Pariſhes, that all Perſons might be warned to avoid the Company of him that was under Excommunication, and the Miniſter was to declare what the Nature and Conſequences of Excommunication were, the Perſon ſo cenſured being cut off from the Body of Chriſt: After that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep Company with him, but thoſe of his own Family: Whoſoever did otherwiſe, if being admoniſhed, they continued in it; were alſo to be excommunicated. If the Perſon cenſured continued forty Days without expreſſing any Repentance, it was to be certified into the Chancery, and a Writ was to iſſue for Taking and Keeping him in Priſon, till he ſhould become ſenſible of his Offences; and when he did confeſs theſe, and ſubmitted to ſuch Puniſhments as ſhould be enjoined, the Sentence was to be taken off, and the Perſon publickly reconciled to the Church. And this was to take Place againſt thoſe, who, being condemned for capital Offences, obtained the King's Pardon, but were notwithſtanding to be ſubject to Church Cenſures.

THEN follows the Office of receiving Penitents. They were firſt to ſtand without the Church, and deſire to be again received into it, and ſo to be brought in. The Miniſter was to declare to the People the Heinouſneſs of Sin, and the Mercies of God in the Goſpel; in a long Diſcourſe, of which the Form is there preſcribed: Then he was to ſhew the People, that as they were to abhor hard'ned Sinners, ſo they were to receive, with the Bowels of true Charity, all ſincere Penitents: He was next to warn the Perſon, not to mock GOD and deceive the People by a feigned Confeſſion; he was thereupon to repeat, firſt, a general Confeſſion, and then more particularly to name his Sin, and to pray to GOD for Mercy to himſelf;

himſelf, and that none by his ill Example might be defiled; and finally to beſeech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their Fellowſhip: Then the Miniſter was to ask the People, Whether they would grant his Deſire; who were to anſwer, They would: Then the Paſtor was to lay his Hand on his Head, and to abſolve him from the Puniſhment of his Offences, and the Bond of Excommunication; and ſo to reſtore him to his Place in the Church of GOD. Then he was to lead him to the Communion-Table, and there to offer up a Prayer of Thankſgiving to God for reclaiming that Sinner: For the other Titles they relate to the other Parts of the Law of thoſe Courts, for which the Reader is referred to the Book itſelf.

HOW far any of thoſe Things, chiefly the laſt about Excommunication, may be yet brought into the Church, Dr. Burnet leaves to the Conſultations of the Governors of it, and of the two Houſes of Parliament. It cannot be denied, that Vice and Immorality, together with much Impiety, have over-run the Nation; and though the Charge of this is commonly caſt on the Clergy, who certainly have been in too many Places wanting to their Duty; yet on the other Hand, they have ſo little Power, or none at all, by Law, to cenſure even the moſt publick Sins, that the Blame of this great Defect ought to lie more univerſally on the whole Body of the Nation, that have made effectual Proviſion for the reſtraining of Vice, the making ill Men aſhamed of their Ways, and the driving them from the Holy Myſteries, till they change their Courſe of Life.

THERE was another Thing propoſed this Year for the Correcting the great Diſorders of Clergymen, which were occaſioned by the extream Miſery and Poverty to which they were reduced. There were ſome Motions made about it in Parliament, but they took not Effect; ſo one writ a Book concerning it, which he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, then the Biſhop of Ely. He ſhewed, that without Rewards or Encouragements few would apply themſelves to the Paſtoral Function, and that thoſe in it, if they could not ſubſiſt by it, muſt turn to other Employments; ſo that at that Time, many Clergymen were Carpenters, and Taylors, and ſome kept Ale-houſes. It was a Reproach on the Nation, that there had been ſo profuſe a Zeal for Superſtition, and ſo much Coldneſs in true Religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain Students at the Univerſities according to the King's Injunctions; and that in Schools, and Colleges, the poor Scholars Places were generally filled with the Sons of the Rich, and that Livings were moſt Scandalouſly ſold, and the greateſt Part of the Country Clergy were ſo Ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no Hope of doing any thing effectually for redreſſing ſo great a Calamity, till the King ſhould be of Age himſelf to ſet forward ſuch Laws as might again recover a competent Maintenance for the Clergy.

THIS Year, both Heath of Worceſter, and Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, were put out of their Biſhopricks. For Heath, it has been already ſaid, that he was put in Priſon for refuſing to conſent to the Book of Ordinations: But for Day, whether he refuſed to ſubmit to the new Book, or fell into other Tranſgreſſions, is not known. Both theſe were afterwards deprived, not by any Court conſiſting of Churchmen, but by Secular Delegates, of whom three were Civilians, and three Common Lawyers, as King Edward's Journal informs us. Day's Sentence is ſomething ambiguouſly expreſſed in the Patent that Scory Biſhop of Rocheſter had to ſucceed him; which bears Date the 24th of May, and mentions his being put there in the Room of George late Biſhop of that See, who had been deprived or removed from it: In June following, upon Hollbeach Biſhop of Lincoln's Death, Taylour, that had been Dean of Lincoln, was made Biſhop. This Year the Biſhoprick of Gloceſter was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted Archdeaconry; and Hooper was made Biſhop of Worceſter. In the December before, Worceſter and Gloceſter had been united, by the Reaſon of their Vicinage, and their great Poverty, and that they were not very populous: So they were to be for ever after one Biſhoprick with two Titles, as Coventry and Litchfield, and Bath and Wells were; and Hooper was made Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter. But now they were put into another Method, and the Biſhop was to be called only Biſhop of Worceſter. In all the Vacancies of Sees, there were a great many of their beſt Lands taken from them: The Sees that before had

had been profuſely enriched, were now brought to ſo low a Condition, that it was ſcarce poſſible for the Biſhops to ſubſiſt: And yet, if what was ſo taken from them had been converted into good Uſes, to the bettering the Condition of the Poor Clergy over England, it had been ſome Mitigation of ſo heinous a Robbery; but theſe Lands were ſnatched up by every hungry Courtier, who found this to be the eaſieſt Way to be ſatisfied in their Pretenſions; and the World had been ſo poſſeſſed with the Opinion of their exceſſive Wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

THIS Year a Paſſage fell out, relating to Ireland, which gives Dr. Burnet an Occaſion to look over to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Kings of England had formerly contented themſelves with the Title of Lords of Ireland: Which King Henry the VIIIth, in the 33d Year of his Reign, had, in a Parliament there, changed into the Title of a Kingdom: But no ſpecial Crown or Coronation was appointed, ſince it was to follow the Crown of England. The Popes and the Emperors have pretended, that the conferring Titles of Sovereign Dignity belonged to them. The Pope derived his Claim from what our Saviour ſaid, That all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him, and by Conſequence to his Vicar. The Emperors, as being a dead Shadow of the Roman Empire, which Title, with the Deſignation of Cæſar, they ſtill continued to uſe, and pretended, that as the Roman Emperors did antiently make Kings, ſo they had ſtill the ſame Right; thought becauſe thoſe Emperors made Kings in the Countries which were theirs by Conqueſt, it was an odd Stretch to infer, that thoſe who retained nothing of their Empire, but the Name, ſhould therefore make Kings in Countries that belonged not to them; and 'tis certain, that every intire or independent Crown or State may make for, or within itſelf what Titles they pleaſe. But the Authority the Crown of England had in Ireland was not then ſo intire, as by the many Rebellions that have fallen out ſince, is now become. The Heads of the Clans and Names had the Conduct of all their ſeveral Tribes, who were led on by them to what Deſigns they pleaſed; and though within the Engliſh Pale, the King was obeyed, and his Laws executed almoſt as in England; yet the Native Iriſh were an uncivilized and barbarous Nation, and not yet brought under the Yoke; and for the greateſt Part of Ulſter, they were united to the Scots, and followed their Intereſts.

THERE had been a Rebellion in the Second Year of this Reign. But Sir Anthony St. Leiger, then Deputy, being recalled, and Sir Edward Bellinghame ſent in his Room, he ſubdûed O-Canor, and O-More, that were the chief Authers of it; and not being willing to put Things to Extremities, when England was otherwiſe diſiracted with Wars, he perſuaded them to accept of Penſions of 100 l. a-piece; and ſo they came in and liv'd in the Engliſh Pale. But the Winter after, there was another Rebellion deſigned in Ulſter, by O-Neal, O-Donnel, O-Docart, and the Heads of ſome other Tribes; who ſent to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, to procure them Aſſiſtance from France, and they would keep up the Diſorders in Ireland. The Biſhop of Valence, being then in Scotland, was ſent by her to obſerve their Strength, that he might accordingly perſuade the King of France to aſſiſt them. He croſſed the Seas, and met with them, and with Wauchop, a Scotchman, who was the Biſhop of Armagh, of the Pope's making, and who, though he was Blind, was yet eſteemed one of the beſt at Riding Poſt in the World. They ſet out all their Greatneſs to the French Biſhop, to engage him to be their Friend at the Court of France; but he ſeemed not ſo well ſatisfy'd of their Ability to do any great Matter; and ſo nothing followed on this. One Paſſage fell out here, which will a little diſcover the Temper of that Biſhop. When he was in O-Docart's Houſe, he ſaw a fair Daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but ſhe avoided him carefully. Two Engliſh Grey Fryars, that had fled out of England from their Religion, and were there at that Time, obſerving the Biſhop's Inclinations, brought him an Engliſh Whore, whom he kept for ſome Time. She one Night looking among his Things, found a Glaſs full of ſomewhat that was very Odoriferous, and poured it all down her Throat; which the Biſhop perceiving too late, fell into a moſt violent Paſſion; for it had been preſented to him

him by Soliman, the Magnificent, at his leaving that Court, as the richeh Balm in Ægypt; and was valued at 2000 Crowns. The Biſhop was in ſuch a Rage, that all the Houſe was diſturbed with it; whereby he diſcovered both his Lewdneſs and Paſſion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a Page to the Scotch Queen. Sir James Melvil, who lived long in that Court, under the Conſtable of France, and was afterwards much employed by the Prince Elector Palatine in many Negotiations; and coming Home to his own Country, was ſent on many Occaſions to the Court of England, where he lived in great Eſteem. He, in his old Age writ a Narrative of all the Affairs that himſelf had been concerned in, which is one of the beſt and perfecteſt Pieces of that Nature. The Original is yet extant under his own Hand in Scotland. But to return to Ireland. Upon the Peace made with France and Scotland, Things were quieted there; and Sir Anthony St. Leiger was in Auguſt 1550, again ſent over to be Deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a ſmall Progreſs in that Kingdom. It was received among the Engliſh, but not any Endeavours were uſed to bring it among the Iriſh. This Year Bale was ſent into Ireland. He had been a buſy Writer upon all Occaſions, and had a great deal of Learning, but wanted Temper, and did not write with the Decency that became a Divine, or was ſuitable to ſuch Matters: which it ſeems made thoſe who recommended Men to Preferment in this Church, not to think him ſo fit a Perſon to be employed here in England. But the Biſhoprick of Oſſery being void, the King propoſed him to be ſent thither. So in Auguſt this Year Dr. Goodaker was ſent over to be Biſhop of Armagh, and Bale to be Biſhop of Oſſery. There were alſo two other, who were Iriſhmen, to be promoted. When they came thither, the Archbiſhop of Dublin intended to have conſecrated them according to the old Pontifical; for the new Book of Ordination had not been yet uſed among them. Goodaker and the two others were eaſily perſuaded to it, but Bale abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it: Who being aſſiſted by the Lord Chancellor, it was carried, that they ſhould be ordained according to the new Book. When Bale went into his Dioceſe, he found all Things there in dark Popery; but before he could make any Reformation there, King Edward's Death put an End to his and all ſuch Deſigns.

IN England nothing elſe that had any Relation to the Reformation paſs'd this Year, unleſs what belongs to the Change made in the Order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23d of April the former Year, being St. George's-Day, a Propoſition was made to conſider the Order and Statutes, ſince there was thought to be a great deal of Superſtition in them; and the Story upon which the Order was founded, concerning St. George's fighting with the Dragon, looked like a Legend formed in the darker Ages, to ſupport the Humour of Chivalry, that was then very high in the World. And as the Story had no great Credibility in itſelf, ſo it was deliver'd by no antient Author. Nor was it found that there had been any ſuch Saint; there being among antient Writers none mentioned of that Name, but George of Alexandria, the Arrian Biſhop, that was put in when Athanaſius was baniſhed. Upon this Motion in the former Year, the Duke of Somerſet, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earls of Wiltſhire, and Warwick, were appointed to review the Statutes of the Order. So this Year the whole Order was changed; and the Earl of Weſtmoreland and Sir Andrew Dudley, who were now to be inſtall'd, were the firſt that were received according to the new Model. The Preamble of which ſets forth the noble Deſign of the Order, to animate great Men to gallant Actions, and to aſſociate them into a Fraternity, for their better Encouragement and Aſſiſtance; but ſays, it had been much corrupted by Superſtition, therefore the Statutes of it were hereafter to be theſe.

IT was no more to be called the Order of St. George, nor was he to be eſteemed the Patron of it; but it was to be called the Order of the Garter. The Knights of this Order were to wear the Blue Ribond or Garter as formerly; but at the Collar, inſtead of a George, there was to be on one Side of the Jewel, a Knight carrying a Book upon a Sword Point, on the Sword to be written, Protectio, on the Book, Verbum Dei; on the Reverſe, a Shield, on which ſhould be written Fides;

Fides; to expreſs their Reſolution both with offenſive and defenſive Weapons to maintain the Word of GOD. But this was repealed by Queen Mary, and ſo the old Rules took Place again, and do ſo ſtill. This Deſign ſeems to have been chiefly intended, that none but thoſe of the Reformed Religion might be capable of it; ſince the adhering to, and ſtanding for the Scriptures, was then taken to be the diſtinguiſhing Character between the Papiſts and the Reformers.

THIS is the Sum of what was either done, or deſigned, this Year, with relation to Religion. As for the State, there was a ſtrict Enquiry made of all who had cheated the King in the Suppreſſion of Chantries, or in any other Thing that related to Churches; from which the Viſitors were believed to have embezzeled much to their own Uſes, and there were many Sutis in the Star-Chamber about it. Moſt of all theſe Perſons had been the Friends or Creatures of the Duke of Somerſet; and the Enquiry after theſe Things ſeems to have been more out of Hatred to him, than out of any Deſign to make the King the richer by what ſhould be recovered for his Uſe. But on none did the Storm break more ſeverely than on the Lord Paget. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, and was charged with many Miſdemeanors in that Office, for which he was fined in 6000 l. But that which was moſt ſevere, was, that on St. George's-Eve, he was degraded from the Order of the Garter, for divers Offences; but chiefly, becauſe he was no Gentleman, neither by Father's Side nor Mother's Side. His chief Offence was his geateſt Virtue. He had been on all Occaſions a conſtant Friend to the Duke of Somerſet: For which the Duke of Northumberland hated him mortally, and ſo got him to be degraded to make Way for his own Son. This was much cenſur'd, as a barbarous Action, that a Man who had ſo long ſerved the Crown in ſuch publick Negotiations, and was now of no meaner Blood than he was when King Henry firſt gave him the Order, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured, being guilty of no other Fault, but what is common to moſt Courtiers, of enriching himſelf at his Maſter's Coſt; for which his Fine was ſevere enough for the Expiation. But the Duke of Northumberland was a Perſon ſo given up to Violence and Revenge, that an ordinary Diſgrace did not ſatisfy his Hatred.

SIR, Anthony St. Leiger, another Knight of the Order, was at the ſame Time accuſed, upon Complaint ſent from the Archbiſhop of Dublin in Ireland, for ſome high Words that he had uſed. But theſe being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his Place among the Knights of the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent Proſecution, to purchaſe the Favour of Northumberland, who was much ſet on framing a Parliament to his Mind, and ſo took thoſe Methods which he thought likelieſt to work his Ends. It being ordinary for Men of inſolent and boiſterous Tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low, as they are puff'd up with Proſperity, to meaſure other People by themſelves: Therefore, knowing that the Methods of Reaſon and Kindneſs would have no Operation on themſelves, and that Height and Severity are the only Ways to ſubdue them, they uſe that ſame Way of gaining others which they find moſt effectual with themſelves.

THIS Year the King went on, in Paying his Debts, Reforming the Coin, and other Ways, that might make the Nation great and wealthy. And one great Project was undertaken; which has been the chief Beginning and Foundation of the great Riches, and Strength of Shipping, to which this Nation has attained ſince that Time. From the Days of King Henry the IIId the Free Towns of Germany, who had aſſiſted him in his Wars, obtained great Privileges in England: They were made a Corporation, and lived together in the Still-Yard near the Bridge. They had in Edward the IVth's Time been brought into ſome Trouble, for carrying their Privileges further than their Charter allowed them; and ſo Judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themſelves out of that, by a great Preſent which they made to the King. That which chiefly ſupported them at Court, was, that they, trading in a Body, were not only able to take the Trade out of all other Perſons Hands, by underſelling them, but they had always a great Stock of Money; and ſo when the Government was in a Streight, they were ready, upon a good Security, to lend great Sums: And on leſſer Occaſions could obtain the Favour of a States-man by

the Preſents they made him. But now Trade was raiſed much above what it had been, and the Court's becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater Conſumption, particularly of Cloth, than had ever been known. The Diſcovery of the Indies had raiſed both Trade and Navigation, ſo that there was a quicker Circulation of the Wealth of the World, than had been in former Ages.

ANTWERP, and Hamburg, lying both conveniently, the one in the Mouth of the Elb, and the other near the Mouth of the Rhine, which were the two greateſt Rivers that fell into the Seas, the Merchants of thoſe two Cities at that Time had the chief Trade of the World. The Engliſh began to look on thoſe Eaſterlings with Envy. All that was Imported, or Exported, came for the moſt Part in their Bottoms: All Markets were in their Hands; ſo that Commodities of foreign Growth were vented by them in England, and the Product of the Kingdom was bought up by them; and all the Nation being then ſet much on Paſture, they had much advanced their Manufacture; inſomuch that their own Wool, which had been formerly wrought at Antwerp, was now made into Cloth in England, which the Still-Yard Men obtained Leave to carry away. At firſt they ſhipped not above eight Cloths in a Year, after that an Hundred, then a Thouſand, then ſix Thouſand; but this laſt Year there was ſhipped in their Name 44000 Cloths; and not above 1100 by all others that Traded within England.

THE Merchant Adventurers found they could not hold out, unleſs this Company was broke: So they put in their Complaint againſt them in the Beginning of this Year, to which the Still-Yard Men made Anſwer, and they replied. Upon this, the Council made a Decree, that the Charter was broken, and ſo diſſolved the Company. Thoſe of Hamburg, and Lubeck, and the Regent of Flanders, ſolicited the Council to have this redreſſed; but in vain: For the Advantage the Nation was to have by it, was too viſible to admit of any Interpoſition. But the Deſign of Trade being thus ſet on Foot, another Project of a higher Nature followed it. The War was now begun between the Emperor and the King of France. And that, with the Perſecution raiſed in Flanders againſt all that leaned to the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, made many there think of changing their Seats. It was therefore propoſed here in England, to open a free Trade, and to appoint ſome Mart Towns, that ſhould have greater Privileges and Securities for Encouraging Merchants to live in them, and ſhould be eaſier in their Cuſtoms than they were any where elſe. Southampton for the Cloth Trade, and Hull for the Northern Trade, were thought the two fitteſt Places. And for the Advantages and Diſadvantages of this Deſign, the young King had ballanced the Matter exactly; for there is a large Paper all written with his own Hand, containing what was to be ſaid on both Sides. But his Death, and Queen Mary's Marrying the Prince of Spain, put an End to this Project; tho' all the Addreſſes her Husband made, ſeconding the Deſires of the Eaſterlings, could never prevail to the ſetting up of that Company again.

THIS Summer, Cardan, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſſed thro' England. He was brought from Italy on the Account of Hamilton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who was then deſperately ſick of a Dropſy. Cardan cured him of his Diſeaſe; but being a Man much converſant both in Aſtrology, and Magick, as himſelf profeſſed, he told the Archbiſhop, that tho' he had at preſent ſaved his Life, yet he could not change his Fate, for he was to die on a Gallows. In his going through England he waited on King Edward, where he was ſo entertained by him, and obſerved his extraordinary Parts and Virtues ſo narrowly, that on many Occaſions he writ afterwards of him, with great Aſtoniſhment, as being the moſt wonderful Perſon he had ever ſeen.

THE Mention of the Scotch Archbiſhop's Sickneſs leads the Author now to the Affairs of Scotland. The Queen had paſſed through England from France to Scotland laſt Year. In her Paſſage ſhe was treated by the King with all that Reſpect that one crowned Head could pay to another. The Particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When ſhe came Home, ſhe ſet herſelf much to perſuade the Governor to lay down the Government, that it might be put in her Hands, to which he, being a ſoft Man, was the more eaſily induced, becauſe his Brother, who had great Power over him, and was a violent

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and ambitious Man, was then ſo ſick, that there was no Hope of his Life. He had alſo received Letters from France, in ſuch a Stile, that he ſaw he muſt either lay down the Government, or not only loſe the Honour and Penſion he had there, but be forced to ſtruggle for what he had in his own Country. Whether the French underſtood any thing by their Spies in the Court of England, that it had been propoſed there to perſuade him to pretend to the Crown, and were therefore the more earneſt to have the Government out of his Hands, Dr. Burnet ſays he does not know; but tho' he had ſeen many hundred Letters that paſſed in thoſe Times between England and Scotland, he could not find, he ſays, by any of them, that he ever entered into any Treaty about it.

IT ſeems his baſe Brother had ſome Thoughts of it. For when he was ſo far recovered that he could enquire after News, and heard what his Brother had done, he flew out in a Paſſion, and called him a Beaſt for parting with the Government, ſince there was none but a Laſs between him and the Crown. Dr. Burnet ſets down his own Words, leaving a Space void for an Epithet he uſed of the young Queen, ſcarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great Conſultation in France what to do with the Queen of Scotland. Her Unkles preſſed the King to marry her to the Dauphin: For thereby another Kingdom would be added to France, which would be a perpetual Thorn in the Side of England; ſhe had alſo ſome Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown of England; ſo that on all Accounts it ſeemed the beſt Match in Europe, for the Dauphin. But the wiſe Conſtable had obſerved, that the Spaniards loſt by their Dominions that lay ſo remote from the chief Seat of their Government; though theſe were the richeſt Countries in Europe; namely, Sicily, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands; and wiſely apprehended that France might ſuffer much more, by the Acceſſion of ſuch a Crown, which not only was remote, but where alſo the Country was poor, and the People not eaſily governed. It would be a vaſt Charge to them, to ſend Navies, and to pay Armies there: The Nobility might when they wou'd, by Confederating with England; either ſhake off the French Government, or put them to a great Expence to keep it: So that whereas Scotland had been hitherto, by a Penſion, and ſometimes by a little Aſſiſtance, kept in a perpetual Alliance with France, he apprehended by ſuch a Union it might become their Enemy, and a great Weight on their Government. This the Conſtable preſſed much, both out of his Care of his Maſter's Intereſt, and in Oppoſition to the Houſe of Guiſe. He adviſed the King rather to marry her to ſome of his Subjects, of whom he was well aſſured, and to ſend her and her Huſband home into Scotland; by which Means the perpetual Amity of that Kingdom might be preſerved on eaſy Terms. But the King was ſo poſſeſſed with the Notion of the Union of that Crown to France, that he gave no Ear to this wiſe Adviſe, thinking it flowed chiefly from the Hatred and Enmity which he knew the Conſtable bore the Family of Guiſe. This the Conſtable himſelf told Melvill.

THE Queen-Mother of Scotland being poſſeſſed of the Government, found two great Factions in it. The Head of the one was the Archbiſhop, who now recovering, and finding himſelf neglected, and the Queen govern'd by other Councils, ſet himſelf much againſt her, and drew the Clergy for the moſt Part into his Intereſts. The other Faction was of thoſe who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They ſet up the Prior of St. Andrew's, who was their young Queen's natural Brother, as their Head; and by his Means offered their Service to the Queen now made Regent: They offered that they would agree with her to ſend the Matrimonial Crown to the Dauphin, and conſent to the Union of both Kingdoms; only they deſired her Protection from the Violence of the Clergy, and that they might have ſecretly Preachers in their Houſes to inſtruct them in the Points of Religion. This Offer the Queen readily accepted of, and ſo by their Aſſiſtance carried Things till near the End of her Regency, with great Moderation and Diſcretion. And now the Affairs of Scotland were put in a Channel, in which they held long ſteady and quiet, till about ſix Years after this, that upon the Peace with the King of Spain there were cru-

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el Councils laid down in France, and from thence ſent over into Scotland, for extirpating Hereſy.

As for the Affairs of Germany, there was this Year a great and ſudden Turn of Things there, with which the Emperor was ſurprized by a ſtrange Supineneſs, that proved as fatal to him, as it was happy to the Empire; tho' all the World beſides ſaw it coming on him. Upon the Delivery of Magdeburg, Maurice of Saxe's Army, pretending there was an Arrear due to them, took up their Winter Quarters near Saxe, in the Dominions of ſome Popiſh Princes; where they were very unwelcome Gueſts. The Sons of Landgrave, being required by their Father, preſſed the Duke of Saxe on his Honour, to free their Father, or to become their Priſoner in his Room, ſince they had his Faith for his Liberty: So he went to them, and offered them his Perſon; but tho' he did not truſt them with his whole Deſign, yet he told them ſo much that they were willing to let him go back. The Emperor's Counſellors were allarmed with what they heard from all Hands. And the Duke of Alva (well known afterwards by his Cruelties in the Netherlands) adviſed him to ſend for Maurice to come and give an Account of all thoſe ſuſpicious Paſſages, to take the Army out of his Hands; and to take ſuch Securities from him, as might clear all the Jealouſices, for which his Carriage had given great Cauſe. But the Biſhop of Arras was on the other Hand ſo aſſured of him, that he ſaid, the giving him any Suſpicion of the Emperor's Diſtruſt might really engage him into ſuch Deſigns; and that ſuch deep Projects as they heard he was in, were too fine Conceits for Dutch drunken Heads. He alſo aſſured them he had two of his Secretaries in Penſion, ſo that he was advertiſed of all his Motions. But the Duke of Saxe came to know that thoſe, his Secretaries, were the Emperor's Penſioners; and diſſembled it ſo well, that he treated them in all Appearance with more Confidence than formerly: He held all his Conſultations in their Preſence, and ſeemed to open his Heart ſo to them, that they poſſeſſed the Biſhop with a firm Confidence of his Sincerity and Steadineſs to the Emperor's Intereſts. Yet his lingering ſo at the Town of Magdeburg, with the other dark Paſſages concerning him, made the Emperor conceive at laſt a Jealouſy of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himſelf: Then he refined it higher; for having left Orders with the Officers whom he had made ſure to him, to follow with the Army in all the Haſte they could; he himſelf took Poſt, with as ſmall a Train as his Dignity cou'd admit of, and carried one of thoſe corrupted Secretaries with him; but on the Way complained of Pains in his Side, ſo that he could not hold on his Journey; but ſent forward his Secretary, who gave ſuch an Account of him, that it, together with his coming ſo readily a great Part of his Way in ſo ſecure a Manner, made the Emperor now lay down all his former Diſtruſts. The Emperor writ to Trent, and to many other Places, that there was no cauſe of Fear from Maurice. Maurice, to colour the Matter more completely, had ſent his Ambaſſadors to Trent, and had ordered Melancthon, and his other Divines, to follow them ſlowly, that aſſoon as the ſafe Conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their Doctrine.

UPON their coming to Trent, and propoſing their Deſires, that all might be again conſidered, the Legates rejected the Propoſition with much Scorn. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors and Prelates preſſed that they might be well received. The Archbiſhop of Toledo ſhew'ed how much Chriſt had born with the Scribes and Phariſees; and that in Imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was reſolved, that the Council ſhould make a Proteſtation, that the Uſage they gave them was out of Charity, which is above all Law; ſince it was againſt the Decretals to have any Treaty with profeſſed Hereticks. At the ſame Time the Imperialiſts dealt no leſs earneſtly with the Ambaſſadors from the Proteſtant Princes, not to aſk too much at once, but to go on by Degrees; and aſſured them they had a Mind to leſſen the Pope's Greatneſs as much as they had. The Ambaſſadors firſt Step was to be for obtaining a ſafe Conduct. They excepted to that which the Council had given, as different from that the Council of Baſil had ſent to the Bohemians, in four material Points. The Firſt was, That their Divines ſhould have

have a decisive Voice. Second, That all Points should be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the Fathers, as they were conformable to those. The Third, That they should have the Exercise of their Religion within their own Houses. Fourth, That nothing should be done in Contempt of their Doctrine. So they desired that the safe Conduct might be Word for Word the same with that of Basil.

BUT the Legates abhorred the Name of that Council, that had endeavoured so much to break the Power of the Popedom, and had consented to that extraordinary safe Conduct, only to unite Germany, and to gain them by such Compliance to be of their Side against the Pope: Yet the Legates promised to consider of it. The Ambassadors were received in a Congregation, which differed from a Session of the Council, just as a Committee of a whole House of Parliament, differs from the House, when set according to its Forms. They began their Speech with this Salutation, Most Reverend and Most Mighty Fathers and Lords; they added a cold Compliment, and desired a safe Conduct. At this Time the Pope, hearing that the Emperor was resolved to bring on the old Designs of some Councils for lessening his Greatness, and that the Spanish Bishops were much set on it, united himself to France, and resolved to break the Council as soon as it was possible; and therefore he ordered the Legates to proceed in the Decision of the Doctrine, hoping that the Protestants would dispair of obtaining any Thing, and so go away. So the safe Conduct they had desired was not granted them, and another offered in its Room, containing full Security for their Persons. Upon this Security, such as it was, Divines came both from Wirtenberg, and the Town of Strasburg: But as they were going on to treat of Matrimony, the War of Germany broke out, and the Bishops of the Empire, with the other Ambassadors, immediately went home. The Legates laid hold on this so readily, that though the Session was to have been held on the 2d of May, they called an extraordinary one on the 28th of April, and suspended the Council for two Years.

THERE had been a great Expectation over Christendom of some considerable Event of a General Council for many Years. The Bishops and Princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the Differences among Divines to a happy Composure; and have settled a Reformation of those Abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the Court of Rome, for the Ends of that Principality that they had assum'd in sacred Things. The Popes, for the same Reasons, were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their Prerogatives; and by cutting off Abuses, that brought in a great Revenue to them, have abridged their Profits: But it was, by the Cunning of the Legates, the Dissentions of Princes, the great Number of poor Italian Bishops, and the Ignorance of the greatest Part of the other, so managed, that instead of composing Differences in Religion, Things were so nicely defined, that they were made irreconcileable. All those Abuses, for which there had been nothing but Practice, and that much questioned before, were now, by the Proviso's, and Reservations, excepted for the Priviledges of the Roman See, made warrantable. So that it had in all Particulars an Issue quite contrary to what the several Parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the World, ever since, out of the Humour of desiring any more General Councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The History of that Council was writ with as much Life, Beauty, and Authority, as had been ever seen in any humane Writing, by Fryar Paul, of Venice, within half an Age of the Time in which it was ended; when the Thing was yet fresh in Mens Memories, and many were alive who had been present; and there was not one in that Age that engaged to write against it: But about 40 Years after, when Father Paul, and his Friends who knew from what Vouchers he writ, were dead; Pallavicini, a Jesuit, who was made a Cardinal, for this Service, undertook to answer him, by another History of that Council, which in many Matters of Fact, contradicts Father Paul; upon the Credit (as he tells us) of some Journals and Memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all Occasions. We see that Rome hath been in all Ages so good at Forging those Things which might be of Use to its Interests, that we know not how to trust that Shop of false Wares in any one Thing that comes out of it:

And therefore it is not eaſy to be aſſured of the Truth and Genuineneſs of any of the Materials, out of which the Jeſuit compoſed his Work. But as for the main Thread of the Story, both his and Father Paul's Accounts do ſo agree, that whoſoever compares them, will clearly ſee that all theſe Things were managed by Intrigues and ſecret Practiſes; ſo that it will not be eaſy for a Man of common Senſe, after he has read over Pallavicini's Hiſtory to fancy that there was any extraordinary Influence of the HOLY GHOST hovering over and directing their Councils. And the Care they took for palliating all the Corruptions, then complained of, was ſo apparent, that their Hiſtorian had no other Way by which to excuſe it, but to ſet up a new Hypotheſis, which a French Writer ſince has wittily called the Cardinal's New Goſpel, "That there muſt be a Temporal Principality in the Church, "that all Things which ſupport that "Principality are to be at leaſt tolerated, tho' they be far contrary to "the Primitive Patterns, and to the "firſt Delivery of the Goſpel by "Chriſt and his Apoſtles. That which "was then ſet up, he accounts a State of "Infancy, to which Milk was proper; "but the Church being ſince grown to "its full State and Strength, other "Things are now neceſſary for the "Maintaining and Preſerving of it.

BUT to return to Maurice, he having poſſeſſed the Emperor with an intire Confidence in him, gathered his Army together, took Ausburg, with many other Imperial Cities; and diſplaced the Magiſtrates which the Emperor had put in them, and reſtored their old ones, with the baniſh'd Miniſters: So that every Thing began to put on a new Face. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, did mediate both on his own Account, for the Turks were falling into Hungary; and on the Empires, for the King of France was come with a great Army to the Confines of the Empire; and the Conſtable, pretending that he only deſired Paſſage through the Town of Metz, entered it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Toul and Verdun fell alſo into his Hands; and the French were endeavouring to be admitted into Strasburg. The Emperor was now in great Diſorder; he had no Army about him; thoſe he had confided in were declared againſt him; his own Brother was not ill pleaſed at his Misfortune, and the French were like to gain Ground on his Hereditary Dominions. Being thus perplexed, and irreſolved, he did not ſend a ſpeedy Anſwer to Maurice's Demands, which he had ſent by his Brother, for the ſetting of the Landgrave at Liberty, reſtoring the Freedoms of the Empire, and particularly in Matters of Religion. But to loſe no Time the mean while, Maurice marched on to Inſpruck, where the Emperor lay; and ſurprized a Paſs to which he had truſted; ſo that he was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the Emperor roſe from Supper in great Haſte, and by Torch-light fled away to make his Eſcape into Italy. He gave the Duke of Saxe his Liberty; but he generouſly reſolved to follow him in this his Calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his Liberty to his Couſin Maurice. Thus all that Deſign, which the Emperor had been laying ſo many Years, was now broken off on a ſudden: He loſt all the Advantages he had of his former Victories, and was forced to ſet the Priſoners at Liberty, and to call in the Proſcriptions; and in Concluſion, the Edict of Paſſaw was made, by which the ſeveral Princes and Towns were ſecured in the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

HIS Misfortunes redoubled on him: For, having made a Peace in the Empire, he would, againſt all Reaſon, or Probability of Succeſs, ſit down before Metz. But the Duke of Guiſe defended the Place ſo againſt him, and the Time of the Year was ſo unſeaſonable, being in December, that after a great Loſs of Men, and vaſt Expence of Treaſure, he was forced to raiſe his Siege. From thence he retired into Flanders; where his Afflictions ſeized ſo violently on him, that for ſome Time he admitted none to come near him: Some ſaid he was Frantick, others, that he was Sullen and Melancholly. The Engliſh Ambaſſadors at Bruſſels for many Weeks could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is ſaid, he began to reflect on the Vanity of the World; when he who had but a Year before given Law to Chriſtendom, was now driven to ſo low an Ebb, that as he had irrecoverably loſt all his Footing in Germany; ſo in all other Things his Councils were unlucky. It was one of the notableſt Turns of Fortune that had been in many Ages; and gave a great Demonſtration, both of an over-

over-ruling Providence, that diſpoſes of all humane Affairs at Pleaſure, and of a particular Care that GOD had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it, when it ſeemed gone without Hope in Germany.

THESE Reflections made deep Impreſſions on his Mind, and were believed to have firſt poſſeſſed him with the Deſign which not long after he put in Execution, of laying down his Crowns, and retiring to a private Courſe of Life. In his Retirement having Time to conſider Things more impartially, he was ſo much changed in his Opinion of the Proteſtant Religion, that he who hitherto had been a moſt violent Oppoſer of it, was ſuſpected of being turned to it before he died.

THUS ended this Year: In the next was the laſt and fatal Period of this young King's Life and Reign: The firſt Thing done in it, was, a Regulation of the Privy-Council, which was divided into ſo many Committees, and every one of theſe had its proper Work, and Days appointed for the Receiving and Diſpatching of all Affairs. In all theſe Things a Method was preſcribed to them, of which the Reader will ſee a full Account in the Sixth Paper of thoſe that follow King Edward's Journal; which Paper, tho' it is not all written with his Hand, as the others be, yet it is in ſo many Places interlined by him, that he ſeems to have conſidered it much, and been well pleaſed with it. His Second Parliament was opened on the 1ſt of March. On the 6th of March it was moved in the Houſe of Commons to give the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths, with a Subſidy for two Years: It was long argued at firſt, and at the paſſing the Bill it was again argued; but at laſt the Commons agreed to it. The Preamble of it is a long Accuſation of the Duke of Somerſet, for involving the King in Wars, waſting his Treaſure, engaging him in much Debt, embaſing the Coin, and having given Occaſion to a moſt terrible Rebellion. In fine, conſidering the great Debt the King was left in by his Father, the Loſs he put himſelf to in the Reforming the Coin, and they finding his Temper to be ſet wholly on the Good of his Subjects, and not Enriching himſelf; therefore they give him two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with one Subſidy for two Years. Whether the Debate in the Houſe of Commons was againſt the Subſidies in this Act, or againſt the Preamble, cannot be certainly known; but it is probable the Debate at the Engroſſing the Bill was about the Preamble, which the Duke of Northumberland and his Party were the more earneſtly ſet on, to let the King ſee how acceptable they were, and how hateful the Duke of Somerſet had been. The Clergy did alſo, for an Expreſſion of their Affection and Duty, give the King 6s. in the Pound of their Benefices. There was alſo a Bill ſent down from the Lords, That none might hold any ſpiritual Promotion, unleſs he were either Prieſt or Deacon: But after the Third Reading it was caſt out. The Reaſon of it was, becauſe many Noblemen and Gentlemens Sons had Prebends given them, on this Pretence, That they intended to fit themſelves by Study for entering into Orders; but they kept theſe, and never advanced in their Studies: Upon which the Biſhops prevailed to have the Bill agreed to by the Lords, but could carry it no further.

ANOTHER Act paſſed for the Suppreſſing the Biſhoprick of Dureſme, which is ſo ſtrangely miſ-repreſented by thoſe who never read more than the Title of it, that Dr. Burnet, for that Reaſon, gives a more full Account of it. It is ſet forth in the Preamble, "That that Biſhoprick being "then void of a Prelate, ſo that the "Gift thereof was in the King's Plea-"ſure; and the Compaſs of it being "ſo large, extending to ſo many Shires "ſo far diſtant, that it could not be "ſufficiently ſerved by one Biſhop; "and ſince the King, according to his "Godly Diſpoſition, was deſirous to "have GOD's Holy Word preached in "theſe Parts, which were wild and "barbarous, for Lack of good Preach-"ing, and good Learning; therefore "he intended to have two Biſhopricks "for that Dioceſe, the one at Dureſme, "which ſhould have 2000 Marks Re-"venue; and another at Newcaſtle, "which ſhould have 1000 Marks Re-"venue; and alſo to found a Cathe-"dral Church at Newcaſtle, with a "Deanry and Chapter, out of the Re-"venues of the Biſhoprick: There-"fore the Biſhoprick of Dureſme is "utterly extinguiſhed and diſſolved, "and Authority is given for Letters "Patents to erect the two new Biſhop-"ricks, together with the Deanry and "Chapter at Newcaſtle; with a Pro-

" viſo that the Rights of the Deanry " and Chapter, and Cathedral of Du- " reſme ſhould ſuffer nothing by this " Act.

WHEN this Bill is conſidered, that Diſſolution that was deſigned by it, will not appear to be ſo ſacrilegious a Thing as ſome Writers have repreſented it: For, whoſoever underſtands the Value of old Rents, eſpecially ſuch as theſe were near the Marches of an Enemy, where the Service of the Tenants in the War made their Lands be ſet at very low Rates, will know, that 3000 Marks of Rent being reſerv'd, beſides the Endowing of the Cathedral, which could hardly be done under another Thouſand Marks, there could not be ſo great a Prey of that Biſhoprick as has been imagined. Ridley, as himſelf writes in one of his Letters, was named to be Biſhop of Dureſme, being one of the Natives of that Country; but the Thing never took Effect: For in May, and no ſooner, was the Temporalty of the Biſhoprick turned into a County-Palatine, and given to the Duke of Northumberland; but the King's Sickneſs, and ſoon after his Death, made that and all the reſt of theſe Deſigns prove abortive.

How (*) Tonſtal came to be deprived, Dr. Burnet ſays, he cannot underſtand. It was for Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and done by ſecular Men; for Cranmer refuſed to meddle in it. He ſaith he had ſeen the Commiſſion given by Queen Mary to ſome Delegates to examine it, in which it is ſaid, That the Sentence was given only by Laymen; and that Tonſtal, being kept Priſoner long in the Tower, was brought to his Trial, in which he had neither Counſel aſſigned him, nor convenient Time given him for clearing himſelf; and that after divers Proteſtations, they had, notwithſtanding his Appeal, deprived him of his Biſhoprick. He was not only turned out, but kept Priſoner, 'till Queen Mary ſet him at Liberty.

AT the End of the Parliament the King granted a free Pardon; concerning which, this is only remarkable, That whereas it goes for a Maxim, that the Acts of Pardon muſt be paſſed without changing any Thing in them, the Commons, when they ſent up this Act of Pardon to the Lords, deſired that ſome Words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done; for that ſame Day the Acts were paſſed, and the Parliament was diſſolved.

IN it the Duke of Northumberland had carried this Point, That the Nation made a publick Declaration of their Diſlike of the Duke of Somerſet's Proceedings; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe the King had let fall Words concerning his Death, by which he ſeemed to reflect on it with ſome concern, and looked on it as Northumberland's Deed. But the Act had paſſed with ſuch Difficulty, that either the Duke did not think the Parliament well enough diſpoſed for him; or elſe he reſolved totally to vary from the Meaſures of the Duke of Somerſet, who continued the ſame Parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the Firſt was diſſolved on the Laſt Day of March.

VISITERS were ſoon after appointed to examine, what Church-Plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, was in the Cathedrals and Churches; and to compare their Account with the Inventories made in former Viſitations; and to ſee what was embezzelled, and how it was done. And becauſe the King was reſolved to have Churches and Chapels furniſhed with that which was comely and convenient for the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; they were to give one or two Chalices of Silver, or more, to every Church, Chapel, or Cathedral, as their Diſcretions ſhould direct them; and to diſtribute comely Furniture for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices; and to ſell the reſt of the Linen, and give it to the Poor; and to ſell Copes, and Altar-Cloaths, and deliver all the reſt of the Plate and Jewels to the King's Treaſurer Sir Edmund Pecham. This is ſpitefully urged by one of our Writers, who would have his Reader infer from it, that the King was ill principled as to the Matters of the Church, becauſe when this Order was given by him, he was now in the 16th Year of his Age. But if all Princes ſhould be thus judged by all Inſtructions that paſs under their Hands, they would be more ſeverely cenſured than there is Cauſe. And for the particular Matter that is charged on

(*) King Edward VI. being informed of divers Conſpiracies and Offences, committed by Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, iſſued out a Commiſſion dated the 14th of Sept. in the Sixth Year of his Reign, to Sir Roger Cholmley, Chief Juſtice, and ſix others, to inquire and proceed againſt the ſaid Biſhop, by Virtue whereof they at laſt deprived him.

on the Memory of this young Prince, which, as it was repreſented to him, was only a Calling for the ſuperfluous Plate and other Goods that lay in Churches, more for Pomp than Uſe; though the applying of it to common Uſes, except upon extream Neceſſities, is not a Thing that can be juſtified, yet it deſerved not ſo ſevere a Cenſure, eſpecially the Inſtructions being ſigned by the King in his Sickneſs; in which it is not likely that he minded Affairs of that Kind much, but ſet his Hand eaſily to ſuch Papers as the Council prepared for him.

THESE Inſtructions were directed, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Preſident of the North; one among them belongs to Religion; that he and the other Counſellors, when there was at any Time Aſſemblies of People before them, ſhould perſuade them to be obedient chiefly to the Laws about Religion, and eſpecially concerning the Service ſet forth in their own Mother Tongue. There was alſo a particular Charge given them concerning the aboliſhed Power of the Biſhops of Rome; whoſe Abuſes they were by continual Inculcation ſo to beat into the Minds of the People, that they might well apprehend them, and might ſee that thoſe Things were ſaid to them from their Hearts, and not from their Tongues only for Form's Sake. They were alſo to ſatisfy them about the Abrogation of many Holy-days appointed by the ſame Biſhop; who endeavoured to perſuade the World that he could make Saints at his Pleaſure; which by leading the People to Idleneſs, gave Occaſion to many Vices and Inconveniences. Theſe Inſtructions were given after the Peace was made with Scotland; otherwiſe there muſt have been a great deal in them relating to the War; but the critical Time of them Dr. Burnet ſaith he does not know.

THIS Year Harley was made Biſhop of Hereford, inſtead of Skip, who died laſt Year; and he being the laſt of thoſe who were made ſo by Letters Patents, the Dr. gives the Reader the following Account of that Way of making Biſhops. The Patents began with the Mention of the Vacancy of the See, by Death, or Removal; upon which the King, being informed of the good Qualifications of ſuch a one, appoints him to be Biſhop, during his natural Life, or ſo long as he ſhall behave himſelf well, giving him Power to ordain and deprive Miniſters, to confer Benefices, judge about Wills, name Officials, and Commiſſaries, exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, viſit the Clergy, inflict Cenſures, and puniſh ſcandalous Perſons, and to do all the other Parts of the Epiſcopal Function that were found by the Word of GOD to be committed to Biſhops; all which they were to execute and do in the King's Name and Authority. After that in the ſame Patent follows the Reſtitution of the Temporalties. The Day after, a Certificate, in a Writ called a Significavit, was to be made of this, under the Great Seal, to the Archbiſhop, with a Charge to conſecrate him.

THE firſt that had his Biſhoprick by the King's Patents was Barlow, who was removed from St. David's to Bath and Wells. They bear Date the third of February, in the ſecond Year of the King's Reign; and ſo Ferrar, Biſhop of St. David's, was not the firſt, as ſome have imagined; for he was made Biſhop the firſt of Auguſt that Year. This Ferrar was a raſh indiſcreet Man, and drew upon himſelf the Diſlike of the Prebendaries of St. David's. He was made Biſhop upon the Duke of Somerſet's Favour to him; but laſt Year many Articles were objected to him; ſome, as if he had incurred a Præmunire for acting in his Courts, not in the King's, but his own Name, and ſome for neglecting his Charge; and ſome little Indecencies were objected to him, as going ſtrangely habited, travelling on foot, whiſtling impertinently, with many other Things, which, if true, ſhewed in him much Weakneſs and Folly. The heavieſt Articles he denied; yet he was kept in Priſon, and Commiſſioners were ſent into Wales to examine Witneſſes, who took many Depoſitions againſt him. He lay in Priſon till Queen Mary's Time; and then he was kept in on the Account of his Belief; but his Suffering afterwards for his Conſcience, when Morgan, who had been his chief Accuſer before on thoſe other Articles, being then made his Judge, condemned him for his Hereſy, and made room for himſelf to be Biſhop, by Burning him, did much turn People's Cenſures from him upon his Succeſſor.

BY theſe Letters Patents it is clear, that the Epiſcopal Function was acknowledged to be of divine Appointment, and that the Perſon was no other Way named by the King, than as Lay-Patrons preſented to Livings; only the

Biſhop was legally authorized, in ſuch a Part of the King's Dominions, to execute that Function which was to be derived to him by Impoſition of Hands. Therefore here was no Pretence for denying, that ſuch Perſons were true Biſhops, and for ſaying, as ſome have done, that they were not from Chriſt, but from the King.

UPON this Occaſion it will not be improper to repreſent to the Reader how this Matter ſtands, according to Law at this Day, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe ſome ſuperficial Writers have either miſ-underſtood, or miſrepreſented it. The Act that authorized thoſe Letters Patents, and required the Biſhops to hold their Courts in the King's Name, was repealed both by the 1. Mar. Chap. 2. and 4 and 2 Phil. and Mary, Chap. 8. The latter of theſe, that repealed only a Part of it, was repealed by the 1. Eliz. Chap. 1. and the former by the 1. Jac. Chap. 25. So ſome have argued, that ſince thoſe Statutes which repealed this Act of Edward the 6th. 1. Par. Chap. 2. are ſince repealed, that it now ſtands in full Force. This ſeems to have ſome Colour in it, and ſo it was brought in Queſtion in Parliament in the fourth Year of King James; and great Debate being made about it, the King appointed the two Chief Juſtices to ſearch into the Matter: They upon a ſlight Enquiry agreed, that the Statute of Edw. the VIth. was in Force by that Repeal; but the Chief Baron, and the other Judges, ſearching the Matter more carefully, found that the Statute had been in Effect repealed by the firſt of Eliz. Chap. 1. where the Act of the 25 Hen. 8. concerning the Election and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, as formerly they had exerciſed it, was revived; ſo that being in full Force, the Act of Edw. the VIth that repealed it, was thereby repealed. To this all the learned Men of the Law did then agree; ſo that it was not thought ſo much as neceſſary to make an explanatory Law about it, the Thing being indeed ſo clear, that it did not admit of any Ambiguity.

IN May this Year the King by his Letters Patents authorized all School-Maſters to teach a new and fuller Catechiſm, compiled, as is believed, by Poinet.

THESE are all the Paſſages in which the Church is concerned this Year. The Foreign Negotiations were important; for now the Balance began to turn to the French Side, therefore the Council reſolved to mediate a Peace between the French and the Emperor. The Emperor had ſent over an Ambaſſador in September laſt Year, to deſire the King would conſider the Danger in which Flanders was now, by the French King's having Metz, with the other Towns in Lorrain, which did in a great Meaſure divide it from the Aſſiſtance of the Empire; and therefore moved, that according to the antient Leagues between England and the Houſe of Burgundy, they would enter into a new League with him. Upon this Occaſion the Reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the Underſtanding of Buſineſs, with Relation to the Studies he was then about: for Secretary Cecil ſet down all the Arguments for and againſt the Leagues, with little Notes on the Margin, relating to ſuch Topicks from whence he brought them; by which it ſeems the King was then learning Logick. This is the fifth of thoſe Papers after his Journal.

IT was reſolved on to ſend Sir John Morriſon, with Inſtructions to compliment the Emperor upon his coming into Flanders, and to make an Offer of the King's Aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, who had made great Depredations that Year both in Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. If the Emperor ſhould, upon that, complain of the French King, and ſay, that he had brought in the Turks, and ſhould have asked Aſſiſtance againſt him, he was to move the Emperor to ſend over an Ambaſſador to treat about it, ſince he that was then Reſident in England was not very acceptable. Theſe Inſtructions were ſigned in September, but not made Uſe of 'till January this Year: And then new Orders were ſent to propoſe the King to be a Mediator between France and the Emperor. Upon which, the Biſhop of Norwich, and Sir Phil. Hobbey, were ſent over, to join with Sir John Morriſon; and Sir William Pickering, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, were ſent into France. In May the Emperor fell ſick, and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors could learn Nothing certainly concerning him; but then the Queen of Hungary, and the Biſhop of Arras, treated with them. The Biſhop of Arras complain'd, that the French had begun

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the War, had taken the Emperor's Ships at Barcelona, and robbed his Subjects at Sea, had ſtired up the Princes of Germany againſt him, had taken ſome of the Towns of the Empire from him, while the French Ambaſſadors were all the while ſwearing to the Emperor, that their Maſter intended Nothing ſo much as to preſerve the Peace: So that now, although the French were making ſeveral Overtures for Peace, they could give no Credit to any Thing that came from them. In fine, the Queen and Biſhop of Arras promiſed the Engliſh Ambaſſadors to let the Emperor know of the King's offering himſelf to mediate; and afterwards told them, that the Emperor delayed giving Anſwer 'till he was well enough to do it himſelf.

ON the 26th of May, the Ambaſſadors writ over, that there was a Project ſent them out of Germany, of an Alliance, between the Emperor, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire. They did not deſire that the King ſhould offer to come into it of his own Accord; but John-Frederick of Saxe would move Ferdinand to invite the King into it. This Way they thought would give leaſt Jealouſy. They hoped the Emperor would eaſily agree to the Conditions that related to the Peace of Germany, ſince he was now out of all Hopes of making himſelf Maſter of it. The Princes neither loved nor truſted him; but loved his Brother, and relied much on England: But the Emperor having propoſed, that the Netherlands ſhould be included in the perpetual League of the Empire, they would not agree to that, unleſs the Quota's of their Contribution were much changed: For theſe Provinces were like to be the Seats of War, therefore they would not engage for their Defence, but upon reciprocal Advantages and eaſy Terms.

WHEN the Engliſh Ambaſſadors in the Court of France deſired to know on what Terms a Peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their Succeſs; ſo that (as they writ over on the 1ſt of May) they demanded the Reſtitution of Milan, and the Kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, the Sovereignty of Flanders, Artois, and the Town of Tournay; they would alſo have Siena to be reſtored to its Liberty, and Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to continue under the Protection of France. Theſe Terms the Council thought ſo unreaſonable, that, though they writ them over as News to their Ambaſſadors in Flanders, yet they charged them not to propoſe them: But the Queen of Hungary asked them what Propoſitions they had for a Peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence ſtudied to inflame the Ambaſſadors, ſince it appeared how little the French regarded their Mediation, or the Peace of Chriſtendom, when they asked ſuch high and extravagant Things upon a little Succeſs.

ON the 9th of June the Emperor ordered the Ambaſſadors to be brought into his Bed-Chamber, whither they were carried by the Queen of Hungary. He looked pale and lean; but his Eyes were lively, and his Speech clear. They made him a Compliment upon his Sickneſs, which he returned with another for their long Attendance. Upon the Matter of their Ambaſſy, he ſaid, The King of France had begun the War, and muſt likewiſe begin the Propoſitions of Peace; but he accepted of the King's Offer very kindly, and ſaid, They ſhould always find him in great Inclinations to a juſt Peace. On the 1ſt of July the Council writ to their Ambaſſadors: Firſt, aſſuring them, that the King was ſtill alive, and they hoped he ſhould recover; they told them, they did not find that the French would offer any other Terms than thoſe formerly made; and, they continued ſtill in that Mind, that they could not be offered by them as Mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them to the Emperor as News, and carefully to obſerve his Looks and Behaviours upon their opening every one of them.

BUT now the King's Death broke off this Negotiation, together with all his other Affairs. He had laſt Year, firſt the Meaſles, and then the Small-Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered: In his Progreſs, he had been ſometimes violent in his Exerciſes, which had caſt him into great Colds; but theſe went off, and he ſeemed to be well after it: But in the Beginning of January this Year, he was ſeized with a deep Cough; and all Medicines that were uſed did rather encreaſe than leſſen it; upon which a Suſpicion was taken up, and ſpread over all the World (ſo that it is mentioned by moſt

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of the Hiſtorians of that Age) that ſome lingering Poiſon had been given him: But more than Rumours, and ſome ill-favoured Circumſtances, Dr. Burnet ſaith he could never diſcover concerning this. He was ſo ill, when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to Weſtminſter, but order'd their firſt Meeting, and the Sermon, to be at Whitehall. In the Time of his Sickneſs, Biſhop Ridley preached before him, and took Occaſion to run out much on Works of Charity, and the Obligation that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in good Works. This touched the King to the Quick: So that preſently after Sermon he ſent for the Biſhop; and after he had commanded him to ſit down by him, and be covered, he reſumed moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and ſaid, He look'd on himſelf as chiefly touched by it: He deſired him, as he had already given the Exhortation in general, ſo to direct him how to do his Duty in that Particular. The Biſhop, aſtoniſhed at this Tenderneſs in ſo young a Prince, burſt forth into Tears, expreſſing how much he was overjoy'd to ſee ſuch Inclinations in him; but told him he muſt take Time to think on it, and craved Leave to conſult with the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen. So the King writ by him to them to conſult ſpeedily how the Poor ſhould be relieved. They conſidered there were three Sorts of Poor; ſuch as were ſo by natural Infirmity or Folly, as impotent Perſons, and mad Men, as Ideots, ſuch as were ſo by Accident, as ſick or maimed Perſons, and ſuch as by their Idleneſs did caſt themſelves into Poverty. So the King ordered the Grey-Fryars Church, near Newgate, with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a Houſe for Orphans; St. Bartholomnew's near Smithfield to be an Hoſpital, and gave his own Houſe of Bridewell to be a Place of Correction and Work for ſuch as were wilfully idle. He alſo confirmed and enlarged the Grant for the Hoſpital of St. Thomas in Southwark, which he had erected and endowed in Auguſt laſt; and when he ſet his Hand to theſe Foundations, which was not done before the 26th of June this Year: He thanked GOD, that had prolonged his Life, 'till he had finiſh'd that Deſign. So he was the firſt Founder of thoſe Houſes, which, by many great Additions ſince that Time, have riſen to be among the nobleſt in England.

HE expreſſed, in the whole Courſe of his Sickneſs, great Submiſſion to the Will of GOD, and ſeemed glad at the Approaches of Death; only the Conſideration of Religion and the Church touched him much; and upon that Account he ſaid he was deſirous of Life. About the End of May, or Beginning of June, the Duke of Suffolk's three Daughters were married, the Eldeſt, Lady Jane, to the Lord Guilford Dudley, the fourth Son of the Duke of Northumberland, who was the only Son whom he had yet unmarried: The Second, the Lady Catharine, to the Earl of Pembroke's Eldeſt Son, the Lord Herbert: The Third, the Lady Mary, (who was crooked) to the King's Groom-Porter, Martin Keys. The Duke of Northumberland married his two Daughters, the eldeſt to Sir Henry Sidney, Son to Sir William Sidney, that had been Steward to the King when he was Prince; the other was married to the Lord Haſtings, Son to the Earl of Huntington. The People were mightily inflamed againſt this inſolent Duke, for it was generally given out, that he was facrificing the King to his own extravagant Ambition. He ſeemed little to regard their Cenſures, but attended on the King moſt conſtantly, and expreſſed all the Care and Concern about him that was poſſible; and finding that Nothing went ſo near his Heart as the Ruin of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his Death, when his Siſter Mary ſhould come to the Crown: Upon that he and his Party took Advantage to propoſe to him to ſettle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the Lady Jane Gray. How they prevailed with him to paſs by his Siſter Elizabeth, who had been always much in his Favour, is ſomething ſurprizing; But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, who was next in King Henry's Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even tho' ſhe ſhould come afterwards to have Sons. So on the 11th of June, Montagu, that was Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and Baker, and Bromley, two Judges, with the King's Attorney, and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with ſome Privy Counſellors

Counſellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the Danger the Kingdom might be in, if upon his Death his Siſter Mary ſhould ſucceed, who might marry a Stranger, and ſo change the Laws and the Religion of the Realm. So he ordered ſome Articles to be read to them, of the Way in which he would have the Crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an Act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch Advice; yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them: They asked a little Time to conſider of it: So having examined the Statute of the firſt Year of this Reign, concerning Treaſons, they found that it was Treaſon, not only after the King's Death, but even in his Life, to change the Succeſſion. Secretary Petre, in the mean while preſſed them to make Haſte: When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any ſuch Thing, for it was Treaſon; and all the Lords ſhould be guilty of Treaſon if they went on in it: Upon which, the Duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the Council Chamber, being advertiſed of this, came in great Fury, calling Montagu a Traitor, and threatened all the Judges, ſo that they thought he would have beaten them: But the Judges ſtood to their Opinion. They were again ſent for, and came, with Goſnold added to them, on the 15th of June. The King was preſent, and he, ſomewhat ſharply, asked them, Why they had not prepared the Book as he had ordered them? They anſwered, That whatever they did would be of no Force without a Parliament. The King ſaid, He intended to have one ſhortly. Then Montagu propoſed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met: But the King ſaid, He would have it firſt done, and then ratified in Parliament; and therefore he required them, on their Allegiance, to go about it; and ſome Counſellors told them, if they refuſed to obey that, they were Traitors. This put them in a great Conſternation; and old Montagu, thinking it could not be Treaſon whatever they did in this Matter while the King lived, and at worſt, that a Pardon under the Great Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about it, if he might have a Commiſſion requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done: Both theſe being granted him, he was ſatisfied. The other Judges, being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with Fear, except Goſnold, who ſtill refuſed to do it: But he alſo, being ſorely threatened, both by the Duke of Northumberland, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, conſented to it the next Day. So they put the Entail of the Crown in Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all required to ſet their Hands to it; but both Goſnold and Hales, refuſed: Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt ſteady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would upon no Conſideration yield to it: After that the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, deſired that all the Counſellors might ſet their Hands to it, which was done on the 21ſt of June, by thirty-three of them; it is like, including the Judges in the Number: But Cranmer, as he came ſeldom to Council after the Duke of Somerſet's Fall, ſo he was that Day abſent on Deſign. Cecil, in a Relation which he made one write of this Tranſaction, for clearing himſelf afterwards, ſays, That when he had heard Goſnold and Hales declare how much it was againſt Law, he refuſed to ſet his Hand to it as a Counſellor, and that he only ſigned as a Witneſs to the King's Subſcription. But Cranmer ſtill refuſed to do it after they had all ſigned it, and ſaid, he would never conſent to the Diſinheriting of the Daughters of his late Maſter. Many Conſultations were had to perſuade him to it: But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf ſet on him; who uſed many Arguments, from the Danger Religion would otherwiſe be in, together with other Perſuaſions; ſo that, by his Reaſons, or rather Importunities, at laſt he brought him to it: But whether he alſo uſed that Diſtinction of Cecil's, that he did it as a Witneſs, and not as a Counſellor, Burnet does not know; but it ſeems probable, that if that Liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

BUT though the ſettling this Buſineſs gave the King great Content in his Mind, yet his Diſtemper rather encreaſed than abated; ſo that the Phyſicians had no Hope of his Recovery. Upon which, a confident Woman came, and undertook the Cure, if he might be put into her Hands. This was done,

and the Phyſicians were put from him, upon this Pretence, they having no Hopes of his Recovery, in a deſperate Caſe deſperate Remedies were to be uſed. This was ſaid to be the Duke of Northumberland's Advice in particular; and it encreaſed the Peoples Jealouſy of him, when they ſaw the King grow very ſenſibly worſe every Day after he came under the Woman's Care: Which becoming ſo plain, ſhe was put from him, and the Phyſicians were again ſent for, and took him into their Charge: But if they had ſmall Hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus haſtening on him, the Duke of Northumberland, who knew he had done but half his Work, except he had the King's Siſters in his Hands, got the Council to write to them in the King's Name, inviting them to come and keep him Company in his Sickneſs: But as they were on the Way, on the Sixth of July, his Spirits and Body were ſo ſunk, that he found Death approaching; and ſo he compoſed himſelf to die in a moſt devout Manner. His whole Exerciſe was in ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations. The laſt that he was heard to uſe was in theſe Words: "LORD GOD deliver me out of this "miſerable and wretched Life, and "take me among thy Choſen; Howbeit not my Will but thine be done; "LORD, I commit my Spirit to thee. "O LORD, thou knoweſt how happy "it were for me to be with thee: Yet "for thy Choſen's ſake ſend me Life "and Health, that I may truely ſerve "thee. O my LORD GOD, bleſs my "People, and ſave thine Inheritance; "O LORD GOD, ſave thy choſen People of England; O LORD GOD, de"fend this Realm from Papiſtry, and "and maintain thy true Religion, that "I and my People may praiſe thy Ho"ly Name, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake". Seeing ſome about him, he ſeemed troubled, that they were ſo near, and had heard him; but with a pleaſant Countenance he ſaid, he had been praying to GOD. And ſoon after, the Pangs of Death coming on him, he ſaid to Sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his Arms, I am faint; LORD have Mercy on me, and receive my Spirit; and ſo he breathed out his Innocent Soul. The Duke of Northumberland, according to Cecil's Relation, intended to have concealed his Death for a Fortnight; but it could not be done.

THUS died King Edward the Sixth, that incomparable young Prince. He was then in the Sixteenth Year of his Age, and was counted the Wonder of that Time. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and other Liberal Sciences, but knew well the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Book, in which he writ the Characters that were given him, of all the Chief Men in the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace, over England: In it he had marked down their way of Living, and their Zeal for Religion. He had ſtudied the Matter of the Mint, with the Exchange, and Value of Money; ſo that he underſtood it well, as appears by his Journal. He alſo underſtood Fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own Dominions, and of France, and Scotland; and how much Water they had, and what was the Way of coming into them. He had acquired great Knowledge in Foreign Affairs; ſo that he talked with the Ambaſſadors about them in ſuch a Manner, that they filled all the World with the higheſt Opinion of him that was poſſible; which appears in moſt of the Hiſtories of that Age. He had great Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, and being miſtruſtful of his Memory, uſed to take Notes of almoſt every Thing he heard; He writ theſe firſt in Greek Characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them; and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him of every Thing that paſſed in Council, which he put in a Cheſt, and kept the Key of that always himſelf.

IN a Word, the natural and acquired Perfections of his Mind were wonderful; but his Virtues and true Piety were yet more extraordinary. He was ſuch a Friend to Juſtice, that, though he loved his Unkle, the Duke of Somerſet, much, yet when he was poſſeſſed of a Belief of his deſigning to murder his Fellow Counſellors, he was alienated from him; and being then but Fourteen, it was no Wonder if that was too eaſily infuſed in him. His chief Favourite was Barnaby Fitz Patrick, to whom he writ many Letters and Inſtructions, when he ſent him to be bred in France. In one of his Letters to him, he writ, That he muſt not think to live like an Ambaſſador, but like a private Gentleman, who was to be advanced as he ſhould deſerve it.

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He allowed him to keep but four Servants; he charged him to follow the Company of Gentlemen, rather than of Ladies; that he ſhould not be ſuperfluous in his Apparel; that he ſhould go to the Campaign, and obſerve well the Conduct of Armies, and the Fortifications of ſtrong Places; and let the King know always when he needed Money, and he would ſupply him. All theſe, with many other Directions, the King writ with his own Hand: And at his Return, to let him ſee he intended to raiſe him by Degrees, he gave him a Penſion only of 150 Pounds. This Fitz Patrick did afterwards fully anſwer the Opinion this young King had of him. He was bred up with him in his Learning; and as it is ſaid, had been his Whipping Boy, who, according to the Rule of Educating our Princes, was always to be whipt for the King's Faults. He was afterwards made by Queen Elizabeth, Baron of Upper Oſſory in Ireland, which was his Native Country.

KING Edward was tender and compaſſionate in a high Meaſure; ſo that he was much againſt the taking away the Lives of Hereticks; and therefore ſaid to Cranmer, when he perſuaded him to ſign the Warrant for the Burning of Joan of Kent, that he was not willing to do it, becauſe he thought that was to ſend her quick to Hell. He expreſſed great Tenderneſs to the Miſeries of the Poor in his Sickneſs, as hath been already ſhewn. He took particular Care of the Suits of all poor Perſons; and gave Dr. Cox ſpecial Charge to ſee that their Petitions were ſpeedily anſwered, and uſed oft to conſult with him how to get their Matters ſet forward. He was an exact Keeper of his Word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was moſt careful to pay his Debts, and to keep his Credit: Knowing that to be the chief Nerve of of Government; ſince a Prince that breaks his Faith, and loſes his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himſelf liable to perpetual Diſtruſts, and extream Contempt.

HE had, above all Things, a great Regard to Religion. He took Notes of ſuch Things as he heard in Sermons, which more eſpecially concerned himſelf; and made his Meaſures of all Men by their Zeal in that Matter. This made him ſo ſet on bringing over his Siſter Mary to the ſame Perſuaſions with himſelf; that when he was preſſed to give Way to her having Maſs, he ſaid, That he would not only hazzard the Loſs of the Emperor's Friendſhip, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than conſent to what he knew was a Sin: And he cited ſome Paſſages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry; by which, he ſaid, he was bound in Conſcience not to conſent to her Maſs, ſince he believed it was Idolatry; and did argue the Matter ſo learnedly with the Biſhops, that they left him; being amazed at his Knowledge in Divinity. So that Cranmer took Cheek by the Hand upon it, and ſaid, He had Reaſon, all the Days of his Life, to rejoice that GOD had honoured him to breed ſuch a Scholar. All Men who ſaw and obſerved theſe Qualities in him, looked on him as one raiſed by GOD for moſt extraordinary Ends; and when he died, concluded that the Sins of England muſt needs be very great, that had provoked GOD to take from them a Prince under whoſe Government they were like to have ſeen ſuch bleſſed Times. He was ſo affable and ſweet-natured, that all had free Acceſs to him at all Times; by which he came to be moſt univerſally beloved, and all the high Things that could be deviſed were ſaid by the People to expreſs their Eſteem of him. The Fable of the Phœnix pleaſed moſt; ſo they made his Mother one Phœnix, and him another, riſing out of her Aſhes. But graver Men compared him to Joſiah; and long after his Death, both in Letters and Printed Books, they commonly named him Our Joſias; others called him Edward the Saint.

A Prince of ſuch Qualities; ſo much eſteemed and beloved, could not but be much lamented at his Death; and this made thoſe of the Reformation abhor the Duke of Northumberland, who they ſuſpected had haſtened him to ſuch an untimely End: Which contributed, as much as any Thing, to the Eſtabliſhing of Queen Mary on the Throne; for the People reckoned none could be ſo unworthy to govern, as thoſe who had poiſoned ſo worthy a Prince, and ſo kind a Maſter.

BUT indeed, the Sins of England did at this Time call down from Heaven heavy Curſes on the Land. They are ſadly expreſſed in a Diſcourſe that Ridley writ ſoon after, under the Title of the Lamentation of England: He

ſays,

ſays, Leachery, Oppreſſion, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and a Hatred and Scorn of Religion, were generally ſpread among all People; chiefly thoſe of the higher Rank. Cranmer and he had been much diſliked: The former for Delivering his Conſcience ſo freely on the Duke of Somerſet's Death; and both of them for Oppoſing ſo much the Rapine and Spoil of the Goods of the Church, which was done without Law or Order. Nor could they engage any to take Share of relieving the Poor, except only Dobbs, who was then Lord Mayor of London. Theſe Sins were openly preached againſt by Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, who did it more ſeverely, and by others who did it plainly, tho' more ſoftly. One of the main Cauſes Ridley gives of all theſe Evils, was, that many of the Biſhops and moſt of the Clergy, being all the while Papiſts in Heart, who had only complied to preſerve their Benefices, took no Care of their Pariſhes, and were rather well pleaſed that Things were ill managed. And of this that good Biſhop had been long very apprehenſive when he conſidered the Sins then prevailing, and the Judgments which they had to look for; as appears by an excellent Letter, which he ſent about to his Clergy to ſet them on to ſuch Duties as ſo ſad a Proſpect required. Theſe Things having been fully laid open in the former Parts of this Work, Dr. Burnet does not inſiſt on them here, having mentioned them only for this Cauſe, that the Reader may, from hence, gather what we may ſtill expect, if we continue guilty of the ſame, or worſe Sins, after all that Illumination and Knowledge with which we have been ſo long bleſt in theſe Kingdoms.

The End of the Second BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen MARY.

UPON the Death of King Edward, the Crown devolved, according to King Henry's Will, and the Act of Parliament, made in the 35th Year of his Reign, on his Eldeſt Siſter, the now Queen Mary. She was on her Way to London, in Obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickneſs; and was come within half a Day's Journey of the Court, when ſhe received an Advertiſement from the Earl of Arundel, that her Brother was dead; together with an Account of what was done about the Succeſſion. The Earl alſo informed her, that the King's Death was concealed, on Deſign to entrap her before ſhe knew of it; and therefore he adviſed her to retire. Upon this, ſhe knowing that the Duke of Northumberland was much hated in Norfolk, for the great Slaughter he had made of the Rebels, when he ſubdued them in the Third Year of the laſt Reign; therefore choſe to go that Way to the Caſtle of Framlingham in Suffolk: Which Place being near the Sea, ſhe might, if her Deſigns ſhould miſcarry, have an Opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor that was then in Flanders.

AT London, it ſeems, the whole Buſineſs of ſetting up the Lady Jane, had been carried very ſecretly; ſince if Queen Mary had heard any Hint of it, ſhe had certainly kept out of the Way, and not adventured to have come ſo near the Town. It was an unaccountable Error in the Party for the Lady Jane, that they had not, immediately after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or at furtheſt, preſently after the King's Death, ſent ſome to make ſure of the King's Siſters; inſtead of which they thus lingered, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an eaſier and leſs violent Way. On the 8th of July, they writ, to the Engliſh Ambaſſadors at Bruſſels, the News of the King's Death, but ſaid nothing of the Succeſſion. On the 9th of July they perceived the King's Death was known; for Queen Mary writ to them, from Kenning-Hall, that ſhe underſtood the King her Brother was dead; which how ſorrowful it was to her, GOD only knew, to whoſe Will ſhe did humbly ſubmit her Will. The Proviſion of the Crown to her, after his Death, ſhe ſaid, was well known to them all; but ſhe thought it was ſtrange, that he being three Days dead, ſhe had not been advertiſed of it by them. She knew what Conſultations were againſt her, and what Engagements they had entered into; but was willing to take all their Doings in good Part, and therefore did give Pardon for all that was paſt, to ſuch as would accept of it, and required them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in London.

UPON this Letter, they ſaw the Death of the King could be no longer concealed; ſo the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Northumberland, went to Durham-Houſe, where the Lady Jane lay, to give her Notice of her being to ſucceed to the Crown, in the room of the deceaſed King. She received the News with great Sorrow for King Edward's Death; which was not at all leſſened, but rather encreaſed, by that other Part of their Meſſage, concerning her being to ſucceed him.

SHE was a Lady that ſeemed indeed born for a great Fortune; for as ſhe was a beautiful and graceful Perſon, ſo ſhe had great Parts, and greater Virtues. Her Tutor was Dr. Elmer, believed to be the ſame that was

afterwards made Biſhop of London by Queen Elizabeth. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek Tongues to great Perfection; ſo that being of the ſame Age with the late King, ſhe ſeemed Superior to him in thoſe Languages; and having acquired the Help of Knowledge, ſhe ſpent her Time much in the Study of it. Roger Aſcham, Tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait on her at her Father's Houſe in Leiceſterſhire, found her reading Plato's Works in Greek; when all the reſt of the Family were hunting in the Park: He aſked her, How ſhe cou'd be abſent from ſuch pleaſant Diverſions? She anſwer'd, the Paſtimes in the Park were but a Shadow to the Delight ſhe took in Reading Plato's Phedon, which then lay open before her; and added, That ſhe eſteemed it one of the greateſt Bleſſings that GOD ever gave her, that ſhe had ſharp Parents, and a gentle School-Maſter, which made her take Delight in nothing ſo much, as in her Study. She read the Scriptuers much, and had attained great Knowledge in Divinity. But with all theſe Advantages of Birth and Parts, ſhe was ſo humble, ſo gentle and pious, that all People both admir'd and lov'd her, and none more than the late King. She had a Mind wonderfully raiſed above the World, and at the Age wherein others are but imbibing the Notions of Philoſophy, ſhe had attained to the Practice of the higheſt Precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the Hope of a Crown, nor caſt down when ſhe ſaw her Palace made afterwards her Priſon; but carried herſelf, with an equal Temper of Mind, in thoſe great Inequalities of Fortune, that ſo ſuddenly exalted and depreſſed her. All the Paſſion ſhe expreſſed in it was, that which is of the nobleſt Sort, and is the Indication of tender and generous Natures, being much affected with the Troubles her Father and Husband fell in on her Account.

THE Mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in-Law, ſaluted her Queen, did rather heighten her Diſorder upon the King's Death. She ſaid, She knew, by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, the Crown was to go to the King's Siſters; ſo that She was afraid of burdening her Conſcience, by aſſuming that which belonged to them; and that, She was unwilling to enrich herſelf by the Spoils of others. But they told her, all that had been done was according to the Law, to which all the Judges and Counſellors had ſet their Hands. This, joined with their Perſuaſions, and the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philoſophy in him, at length prevailed with her to ſubmit to it; of which her Father-in-Law did afterwards ſay in Council, ſhe was rather, by Enticement of the Counſellors, and Force, made to accept of the Crown, than came to it by her own Seeking and Requeſt.

UPON this, Order was given for proclaiming her Queen the next Day: And an Anſwer was writ to Queen Mary, ſigned by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Marquiſſes of Wincheſter and Northampton; the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembrook; the Lords, Cobham and Darcy; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Willim Petre, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheek, Sir John Maſon, Sir Edward North, and Sir Robert Bowes, in all One and Twenty; letting her know, "That Queen Jane "was now their Sovereign, according "to the Antient Laws of the Land, "and the late King's Letters Patents, "to whom they were now bound by "their Allegiance." They told her, "That the Marriage between her Fa-"ther and Mother, was diſſolved by "the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, according "to the Laws of GOD, and of the "Land. That many noble Univerſi-"ties in Chriſtendom had conſented to "it; That the Sentence had been con-"firmed in Parliaments, and She had "been declared illegitimate, and unin-"heritable to the Crown. They there-"fore required her to give over her "Pretences, and not to diſturb the "Government; and promiſed; That "if She ſhewed herſelf Obedient, She "ſhould find them all ready to do her "any Service which in Duty they "could.

THE Day following they proclaimed Queen Jane. The Proclamation ſets forth, "That the late King had, "by his Letters Patents, limited the "Crown, that it ſhould not deſcend to "his two Siſters, ſince they were both "illegitimated by Sentences in the Spi-"ritual Courts, and Acts of Parlia-"ment; and were only his Siſters by

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" the Half Blood, who (though it " were granted they had been legiti- " mate) are not inheritable by the " Law of England." It was added, " That there was alſo great Cauſe to " fear, that the King's Siſters might " marry Strangers, and ſo change the " Laws of the Kingdom, and ſubject " it to the Tyranny of the Biſhops of " Rome, and other Foreign Laws. For " theſe Reaſons they were excluded " from the Succeſſion; and the Lady " Frances, Dutcheſs of Suffolk, being " next the Crown, it was provided, " that if ſhe had no Sons at the Death " of the King, the Crown ſhould de- " volve immediately on her eldeſt " Daughter Jane; and after her, and " her Iſſue, to her Siſters; ſince ſhe " was born within the Kingdom, and " already married in it. Therefore ſhe " was proclaimed Queen, promiſing to " be moſt benign and gracious to all " her People, to maintain GOD's Holy " Word, and the Laws of the Land, " requiring all the Subjects to obey " and acknowledge her." When this was proclaimed, great Multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that ſhouted with the Acclamations ordinary on ſuch Occaſions. And whereas a Vintner's Boy did ſome Way expreſs his Scorn at that which was done, it was ordered, that he ſhould be made an Example the next Day, by being ſet on a Pillory, and having his Ears nailed to it, and cut off from his Head; which was accordingly done; a Herald in his Coat, reading to the Multitude that was called together, by Sound of Trumpet, the Nature of his Offence.

UPON this, all People were in great Diſtraction; The Proclamation, opening the new Queen's Title, came to be variouſly diſcanted on. Some who thought the Crown deſcended by Right of Blood, and that it could not be limited by Parliament, argued, that the King having his Power from GOD, it was only to deſcend in the natural Way of Inheritance; therefore they thought the next Heir was to ſucceed. And whereas the King's two Siſters were both, by ſeveral Sentences and Acts of Parliament, declared Baſtards; and whether that was well judged, or not, they were to be reputed ſuch as the Law declared them to be, ſo long as it ſtood in Force; therefore they held that the Queen of Scotland was to ſucceed; who, though She pretended this upon Queen Mary's Death, yet did not claim now, becauſe, by the Papal Law, the Sentence againſt Queen Mary was declared null. Others argued, that though a Prince were named by an immediate Appointment from Heaven, yet he might change the Courſe of Succeſſion, as David did, preferring Solomon before Adonijah: But this, it was ſaid, did not belong to the Kings of England, whoſe Right to the Crown, with the Extent of their Prerogative, did not come from any Divine Deſignation, but from a long Poſſeſſion, and the Laws of the Land; and that therefore the King might by Law limit the Succeſſion, as well as he and other Kings had in ſome Points limited the Prerogative, (which was clearly Sir Thomas Moor's Opinion;) and that therefore the Act of Parliament, for the Succeſſion of the King's Siſters, was ſtill ſtrong in Law. It was alſo ſaid, That if the King's Siſters were to be excluded for Baſtardy, all Charles Bradon's Iſſue were in the ſame Predicament; ſince he was not lawfully married to the French Queen, his former Wife Mortimer being then alive; and his Marriage with her was never diſſolved; (for though ſome Engliſh Writers ſay they were divorced, yet thoſe who wrote for the Queen of Scots Title, in the next Reign, denied it;) But in this the Difference was great between them, ſince the King's Siſters were declared Baſtards in Law, whereas this againſt Charles Brandon's Iſſue, was only a Surmiſe. Others objected, That if the Blood gave an Indefeaſible Title, How came it that the Lady Jane's Mother did not reign? It is true, Maud the Empreſs, and Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, were ſatisfied that their Sons, Henry the Second, and Henry the Seventh, ſhould reign in their Rights; but it had never been heard of, that a Mother had reſigned to her Daughter, eſpecially when ſhe was yet under Age: But this was imputed to the Duke of Suffolk's Weakneſs, and the Ambition of the Duke of Northumberland. That Objection concerning the Half Blood, being a Rule of Common Law in the Families of Subjects, to cut off from Step-mothers the Inclinations and Advantages of deſtroying their Husbands Children, was not thought applicable to the Crown: Nor was that of one's being born out of the Kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the Queen of Scotland,

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thought pertinent to this Caſe; ſince there was an Exception made in the Law for the King's Children, which was thought to extend to all their Iſſue. But all People agreed in this, that though by Act of Parliament King Henry was empowered to provide or limit the Crown, by his Letters Patents; yet that was a Grant particularly to him, and did not deſcend to his Heirs: So that the Letters Patents made by King Edward, could have no Force to ſettle the Crown; and much leſs when they did expreſly contradict an Act of Parliament. The proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt the Vintner's Boy, was imputed to the violent Temper of the Duke of Northumberland. And though when a Government is firm, and Factions are weak, the making ſome publick Examples, may intimidate a Faction otherwiſe diſheartned; yet Severities, in ſuch a Juncture as this, when the Council had no other ſupport but the Aſſiſtance of the People, ſeemed unadviſed; and all thought it was a great Error to puniſh him in that Manner.

THIS made them reflect on the reſt of Northumberland's Cruelties: His bringing the Duke of Somerſet, with thoſe Gentlemen that ſuffered with him, to their End, by a foul Conſpiracy; but above all Things, the Suſpicions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, enraged the People ſo much againſt him, that without conſidering what they might ſuffer under Queen Mary, they generally inclined to ſet her up.

THE Lady Jane was proclaimed in many Towns near London, yet the People were generally running to Queen Mary: Many from Norfolk came to her, and a great Body of Suffolk Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They deſired to know of her, Whether ſhe would alter the Religion ſet up in King Edward's Days? To whom ſhe gave full Aſſurances, that ſhe would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion. Upon this they were all poſſeſſed with ſuch a Belief of her Sincerity, that it made them reſolve to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in her Quarrel. The Earls of Bath and Suffolk (*) raiſed Forces joined with her, ſo did the Sons of the Lord Wharton and Mordant, with many more.

(*) Suſſex

UPON this the Council reſolved to gather Forces for the diſperſing of theirs, and ſent the Earl of Huntington's Brother to raiſe Buckinghamſhire, and others to other Parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that ſhould come from London, at New-Market. It was at firſt propoſed to ſend the Duke of Suffolk to command them; but the Lady Jane was ſo much concerned in her Father's Preſervation, that ſhe urged, he might not be ſent; and he being but a ſoft Man, was eaſily excuſed. So it fell next on the Duke of Northumberland, who was now much diſtracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen Mary; nor was he well aſſured of the Council, who ſeemed to comply with him, rather out of Fear, than Good-will. Cecil would not officiate as Secretary, as himſelf relates; the Judges would do nothing; and the Duke plainly ſaw, that if he had not (according to the Cuſtom of our Princes, on their firſt coming to the Crown) gone with the Lady Jane, and the Council, into the Tower, whereby he kept them as Priſoners, the Council were inclined to deſert him. This divided him much in his Thoughts. The whole Succeſs of his Deſign depended on the diſperſing of the Queen's Forces: And it was no leſs neceſſary to have a Man of Courage continue ſtill in the Tower. There was none there whom he could entirely truſt, but the Duke of Suffolk, and he was ſo mean-ſpirited, that he did not depend much on him. But the Progreſs the Queen's Forces made, preſſed him to go, and make Head againſt her. So he laid all the heavy Charges he could on the Council, to look to Queen Jane, and to ſtand firmly to her Intereſts; and left London on the 14th of July, marching out with 2000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot. But as he rode through Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and Shoreditch, tho' there were great Crouds looking on, none cry'd out to wiſh him Succeſs, which gave a ſad Indication how ill they were affected to him.

THE Council writ to the Emperor by one Shelly, whom they ſent to give Notice of the Lady Jane's Succeſſion, complaining that the Lady Mary was making Stirs, and that his Ambaſſador had officiouſly meddled in their Affairs; but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady Mary to her Duty. They alſo deſired the Con-

Continuance of his Friendſhip, and that he would command his Reſident to carry himſelf as became an Ambaſſador. Sir Philip Hobbey, was continued Ambaſſador there; the others were ordered to ſtay and proſecute the Mediation of Peace; but the Emperor would not receive thoſe Letters; and in few Days there went over others from Queen Mary.

RIDLEY was appointed to ſet Queen Jane's Title, in a Sermon at St. Paul's; and to warn the People of the Dangers they would be in, if Queen Mary ſhould reign: Which he did, and gave an Account in his Sermon of what had paſſed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the ſame Time the Duke of Northumberland, at Cambridge, where himſelf was both Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice-Chancellor preach to the ſame Purpoſe. But he held in more general Terms, and managed it ſo, that there was no great Offence taken on either Hand.

BUT now the Queen had made her Title to be proclaimed at Norwich, and ſent Letters all over England, requiring the Peers, and others of great Quality, to come to her Aſſiſtance: Some Ships had been ſent about, to lie on that Coaſt for intercepting her, if ſhe ſhould fly away; but thoſe who commanded them were ſo dealt with, that inſtead of acting againſt her, they declared for her. Sir Edward Haſtings having raiſed 4000 Men in Buckinghamſhire, inſtead of joining with the Duke of Northumberland, went over with them into her Service. Many were alſo from all Places every Day running to her, and in ſeveral Counties of England ſhe was proclaimed Queen. But none came in to the Duke of Northumberland, ſo he writ earneſtly to the Lords at London, to ſend him more Supplies.

THEY underſtanding, from all the Corners of England, that the Tide grew every where ſtrong for the Queen, entered into Conſultations how to redeem their paſs'd Faults, and to reconcile themſelves to her. The Earl of Arundel hated Northumberland on many Accounts. The Marquis of Wincheſter was famous for his Dexterity in ſhifting Sides always to his own Advantage. To them joined the Earl of Pembroke, the more cloſely linked to the Intereſts of the Lady Jane, ſince his Son had married her Siſter; which made him the more careful to diſentangle himſelf in Time. To thoſe, Sir Tho. Cheney, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Sir John Maſon, with the two Secretaries, came over. It was ſaid, that the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors had deſired an Audience in ſome Place in the City; and it was propoſed to give it in the Earl of Pembroke's Houſe; who being the leaſt ſuſpected, it was agreed to, by the Duke of Suffolk, that they ſhould be ſuffered to go from the Tower thither: They alſo pretended, that ſince the Duke of Northumberland had writ ſo earneſtly for new Forces, they muſt go and treat with the Lord Mayor and the City of London about it. But aſſoon as they were got out, the Earl of Arundel preſſed them to declare for Queen Mary; and to perſuade them to it, he laid open all the Cruelty of Northumberland, under whoſe Tyranny they muſt reſolve to be enſlaved, if they would not now ſhake it off. The other conſenting readily to it, they ſent for the Lord Mayor, with the Recorder, and the Aldermen, and having declared their Reſolutions to them, they rode together into Cheapſide, and there proclaimed Queen Mary, on the 19th of July: From thence they went to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was ſung. An Order was ſent to the Tower, to require the Duke of Suffolk to deliver up that Place, and to acknowledge Queen Mary; and that the Lady Jane ſhould lay down the Title of Queen. To this, as her Father ſubmitted tamely, ſo ſhe expreſſed no Sort of Concern in loſing that imaginary Glory, which now had for nine Days been rather a Burden, than any Matter of Joy to her. They alſo ſent Orders to the Duke of Northumberland to diſband his Forces, and to carry himſelf as became an obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of Arundel, with the Lord Paget, were ſent to give her an Account of it, who continued ſtill at Framlingham in Suffolk.

THE Duke of Northumberland had retired back to Cambridge to ſtay for new Men from London; but hearing how Matters went there, before ever the Council's Orders came to him, he diſmiſſed his Forces, and went to the Market-place, and proclaim'd the Queen; flinging up his own Hat for Joy, and crying, GOD ſave Queen Mary. But

the Earl of Arundel being ſent by the Queen to apprehend him, it is ſaid, That when he ſaw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his Favour. This was like him; it being not more unuſual for ſuch inſolent Perſons to be moſt baſely ſunk with their Misfortunes, than to be out of Meaſure blown up with Succeſs. He was, on the 25th of July, ſent to the Tower, with the Earl of Warwick, his eldeſt Son, Ambroſe and Henry two of his other Sons. Some other of his Friends were made Priſoners, among whom was Sir Thomas Palmer, the wicked Inſtrument of the Duke of Somerſet's Fall, who was become his moſt intimate Confident, and Dr. Sands the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

Now did all People go to the Queen to implore her Mercy. She received them all favourably, except the Marquis of Northampton, Dr. Ridley, and Lord Robert Dudley. The firſt of theſe had been a ſubmiſſive Fawner on the Duke of Northumberland; the ſecond had incurred her Diſpleaſure by his Sermon; and ſhe gladly laid hold on any Colour to be more ſevere to him, that Way might be made for bringing Bonner to London; the third had followed his Father's Fortunes. On the 27th, the Lords Chief Juſtices, Cholmley, and Montagu, were ſent to the Tower; and the Day after, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheek, went after them; the Lady Jane and her Husband being ſtill detained in the Tower. Three Days after an Order came to ſet the Duke of Suffolk at Liberty, upon Engagement to return to Priſon, when the Queen required it; for it was generally known, that he had been driven on by Dudley; and as it was believed, that he had not been faulty out of Malice, ſo his great Weakneſs made them little apprehenſive of any Dangers from him; and therefore the Queen being willing to expreſs a ſignal Act of Clemency at her firſt coming to the Crown, it was thought beſt to let it fall on him.

Now did the Queen come towards London, being met on the Way by her Siſter Elizabeth, with 1000 Horſe, who had gathered about her, to ſhew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in this late Conteſt had been linked together. She made her Entry to London on the 3d of Auguſt, with great Solemnity and Pomp. When ſhe came to the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk, who had been almoſt ſeven Years in it; Gardiner, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that had been five Years there; the Dutcheſs of Somerſet, that had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord Courtney, whom ſhe made afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, that was Son to the Marquis of Exeter, and had been kept there ever ſince his Father was attainted, had their Liberty granted them. So now ſhe was peaceably ſettled in the Throne, without Effuſion of Blood; having broke thro' a Confederacy againſt her, which ſeemed to be ſo ſtrong, that if he that was the Head of it, had not been univerſally odious to the Nation, it could not have been ſo eaſily diſſipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to Superſtition; had a generous Diſpoſition of Mind, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increaſed by the croſs Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; ſo that ſhe was very peeviſh, and ſplenetick, towards the End of her Life. When the Differences became irreconcilable between her Father and Mother, ſhe followed her Mother's Intereſt, (they being indeed her own) and for a great while could not be perſuaded to ſubmit to the King; who being impatient of Contradiction from any, but eſpecially from his own Child, was reſolved to ſtrike a Terror in all his People, by putting her openly to Death: Which her Mother coming to know, writ her a Letter of a very devout Strain, in which, "She encouraged "her to ſuffer chearfully, to truſt to "GOD, and keep her Heart clean. "She charged her, in all Things, to "obey the King's Commands, except "in Matters of Religion. She ſent "her two Latin Books, the one of the "Life of Chriſt, (which was perhaps "the famous Book of Thomas à Kempis) and the other St. Jerom's Letter. She bid her divert herſelf at "the Virginals, or Lute, but above all "Things to keep herſelf pure, and to "enter into no Treaty of Marriage, "till theſe ill Times ſhould paſs over; "of which her Mother ſeemed to re"tain ſtill good Hopes. At Court, many were afraid to move the King for her; both the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own Intereſts to preſerve her. But, (as it is now printed, and both theſe appealed to) Cranmer

was

was the only Perſon that would adventure on it. In his gentle Way he told the King, That ſhe was young and indiſcreet, and therefore it was no Wonder if ſhe obſtinately adhered to that which her Mother, and all about her, had been infuſing into her, for many Years; but that it would appear ſtrange if he ſhould, for this Cauſe, ſo far forget he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child. That if ſhe were ſeparated from her Mother, and her People, in a little Time there might be Ground gained on her; but to take away her Life, would raiſe Horror thro' all Europe againſt him. By theſe Means he preſerved her at that Time.

AFTER her Mother's Death, in June following, ſhe changed her Note; for beſides the Declaration ſhe then ſigned, which was inſerted in the former Part of this Work, ſhe writ Letters of ſuch Submiſſion, as ſhew how expert ſhe was at diſſembling: "In "which ſhe, with the moſt ſtudied "Expreſſions, declaring her Sorrow "for her paſt Stubbornneſs, and Diſ"obedience to his moſt juſt and virtu"ous Laws, implores his Pardon, as "lying proſtrate at his Feet; and con"ſidering his great Learning and "Knowledge, ſhe puts her Soul in his "Hand, reſolving that he ſhould for "ever thereafter direct her Conſcience, "from which ſhe vows ſhe would ne"ver vary." This ſhe repeats in ſuch tender Words, that it ſhews ſhe could command herſelf to ſay any thing that ſhe thought fit for her Ends. And when Cromwell writ to her, to know "What her Opinion was about Pilgri"mages, Purgatory, and Reliques, ſhe "aſſures him ſhe had no Opinion at "all, but ſuch as ſhe ſhould receive "from the King, who had her whole "Heart in his Keeping; and he ſhould "imprint upon it, in theſe and all o"ther Matters, whatever his ineſti"mable Virtue, high Wiſdom, and "excellent Learning, ſhould think "convenient for her." So perfectly had ſhe learned that Stile, that ſhe knew was moſt acceptable to him.

FROM that Time this Princeſs had been in all Points moſt exactly compliant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, ſhe never pretended to be of any other Religion, than that which was eſtabliſhed by him; ſo that all that ſhe pleaded for, in her Brother's Reign, was only the Continuance of that Way of Worſhip, that was in Uſe at her Father's Death. But now, being come to the Crown, that would not content her; yet when ſhe thought where to fix, ſhe was diſtracted between two different Schemes that were preſented to her.

ON the one Hand, Gardiner and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King Henry's Death; and afterward, by ſlow Degrees, to raiſe it up to what it had been before his Breach with the Papacy. On the other Hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much diſpoſed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as ſhe called it; and it was neceſſary for her to do it, ſince it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed. To this it was anſwered, That all theſe Acts and Sentences that had paſſed againſt her, might be annulled, without taking any Notice of the Pope. Gardiner finding theſe Things had not ſuch Weight with her as he deſired (for ſhe looked on him as a crafty temporizing Man) ſent over to the Emperor, on whom ſhe depended much, to aſſure him, that if he would perſuade her to make him Chancellor, and to put Affairs into his Hands, he ſhould order them ſo, that every Thing he had a Mind to, ſhould be carried in Time. But Gardiner underſtood ſhe had ſent for Cardinal Pool; ſo he writ to the Emperor, that he knew his Zeal for the Exaltation of the Popedom would undo all; therefore he preſſed him to write to the Queen for moderating her Heat, and to ſtop the Cardinal's coming over. He ſaid, That Pool ſtood attainted by Law, ſo that his coming into England would alarm the Nation. He obſerv'd that upon a double Account they were averſe to the Papacy: The one was, for the Church-Lands, which they had generally bought from the Crown on very eaſy Terms, and they would not eaſily part with them. The other was, the Fear they had of Papal Dominion and Power, which had been now for about 25 Years ſet out to the People, as the moſt intolerable Tyranny that ever was. Therefore, he ſaid, It was neceſſary to give them ſome Time to wear out theſe Prejudices; and the precipitating of Councils might ruin all. He gave the Emperor alſo ſecret Aſſurances of ſerving him in all his Intereſts. All this Gardiner did the

more

more warily, becauſe he underſtood that Cardinal Pool hated him as a falſe and deceitful Man. Upon this the Emperor writ to the Queen ſeveral Letters with his own Hand, which is ſo hardly legible, that it was not poſſible, Dr. Burnet ſaith for him, or ſome others to whom he ſhewed them, to read them well enough to copy them out; and one that was written by his Siſter, the Queen of Hungary, and ſigned by him, is no better; but from many half Sentences it may be gathered, that all was with a Deſign to temper her, that ſhe ſhould not make too much Haſte, nor be too much led by Italian Councils. Upon the Return of this Meſſage, the Seal, which had been taken from Goodrick, Biſhop of Ely, and put for ſome Days in the Keeping of Hare, Maſter of the Rolls, was, on the 13th of Auguſt, given to Gardiner, who was declared Lord Chancellor of England, and the Conduct of Affairs was chiefly put in his Hands. So that now the Meaſure of the Queen's Councils, was to do every Thing ſlowly, and by ſuch ſure Steps as might put them leſs in Hazard.

THE firſt thing that was done, was, the Bringing the Duke of Northumberland to his Trial. The old Duke of Norfolk was made Lord High Steward; the Queen thinking it fit to put the firſt Character of Honour on him, who had ſuffered ſo much for being the Head of the Popiſh Party. And here a ſubtle Thing was ſtarted, which had been kept a great Secret hitherto. It was ſaid, the Duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted; and that the Act againſt him was not a true Act of Parliament; ſo that without any Pardon, or Reſtitution in Blood, he was ſtill Duke of Norfolk. This he had never mentioned all the laſt Reign, leſt that ſhould have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came now in upon his former Right, by which, all the Grants that had been given of his Eſtate, were to be declared void by Common Law. The Duke of Northumberland, with the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, were brought to their Trials. The Duke deſired two Points might be firſt anſwered by the Judges, in Matter of Law. The one, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby Guilty of Treaſon? The other was, Whether thoſe who had been equally guilty with him, and by whoſe Direction and Commands he had acted, could ſit his Judges? To theſe the Judges made Anſwer, That the Great Seal of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity, to thoſe that acted on ſuch a Warrant; and that any Peer that was not, by an Attainder upon Record, convicted of ſuch Acceſſion to his Crime, might ſit his Judge, and was not to be challenged upon a Surmize, or Report. So theſe Points, by which only he could hope to have defended himſelf, being thus determined againſt him, he confeſſed he was guilty, and ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy. So did the Marquis of Northampton, and the Duke's Son, the Earl of Warwick, who (it ſeems by this Trial) had a Writ for Sitting in the Houſe of Peers: They were all three found Guilty. Judgment alſo paſſed next Day, in a Jury of Commons, againſt Sir John Gates, and his Brother Sir Humphrey; Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, confeſſing their Indictments. But of all theſe it was reſolved, that only the Duke of Northumberland, and Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, ſhould be made Examples. Heath, Biſhop of Worceſter, was employed to inſtruct the Duke, and to prepare him for his Death, Whether he had been always in Heart what he then profeſſed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him Favour, is variouſly reported: But certain it is, that he ſaid he had been always a Catholick in his Heart; yet this could not ſave him. He was known to be a Man of that Temper, ſo given both to Revenge and Diſſimulation, that his Enemies ſaw it was neceſſary to put him out of the Way, leſt if he had lived, he might have inſinuated himſelf into the Queen's Favour, and then turned the Danger upon them. So the Earl of Arundel, now made Lord Steward of the Houſhold, with others, eaſily obtained that his Head ſhould be cut off, together with Sir John Gates's, and Sir Thomas Palmer's.

ON the 22d of Auguſt he was carried to the Place of Execution. On the Way there was ſome Expoſtulation between Gates and him: They, as is ordinary for Accomplices in ill Actions, lay'd the Blame of their Miſeries on one another; yet they profeſſed they did mutually forgive, and ſo died in Charity together. It is ſaid that he made a long

long Speech, accuſing his former ill Life, and confeſſing his Treaſon. But that Part of it which concerned Religion, is only preſerved. In it, he exhorted the People to ſtand to the Religion of their Anceſtors, and to reject that of latter Date, which had occaſioned all the Miſery of the foregoing thirty Years; and deſired, as they would prevent the like for the future, that they would drive out of the Nation theſe Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers; that for himſelf, whatever he had otherwiſe pretended, he believed no other Religion than that of his Fore-fathers, in which he appealed to his Ghoſtly Father, the Biſhop of Worceſter, then preſent with him; but being blinded with Ambition, he had made Wreck of his Conſcience, by temporiſing; for which he profeſſed himſelf ſincerely Penitent: So did he, and the other two, end their Days. Palmer was little pittyd, as being believed a treacherous Conſpirator againſt his former Maſter, and Friend, the Duke of Somerſet.

THUS died the ambitious Duke of Northumberland. He had been, in the former Parts of his Life, a great Captain, and had the Reputation of a wiſe Man: He was generally ſucceſsful, and they that are ſo, are always eſteemed wiſe. He was an extraordinary Man in a lower Size, but had forgot himſelf much when he was raiſed higher, in which his Mind ſeemed more exalted than his Fortunes: But as he was tranſported by his Rage and Revenge out of Meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and mean in his Submiſſions. Fox, it ſeems, was informed, that he had Hopes given him of his Life, if he ſhould declare himſelf to be of the Popiſh Religion, even though his Head were laid on the Block: But which Way ſoever he made the Declaration, either to get his Life by it, or that he had really been always what he now profeſſed; it argued that he regarded Religion very little, either in his Life, or at his Death: But whether he did any Thing to haſten the late King's Death was not at all enquired after; only thoſe who conſidered how much Guilt diſorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears, either in the Violence of Rage, or the Abjectneſs of Fear, did find ſo great a Change in his Deportment, in theſe laſt Paſſages of his Life, from what was in the former Parts of it, that they could not but think there was ſome extraordinary Thing within him from whence it flowed.

AND for King Edward's Death, thoſe who had Affairs now in their Hands, were ſo little careful of his Memory, and indeed ſo glad of his Death, that it is no Wonder they made little Search about it. It is rather ſtrange that they allowed him ſuch Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a Solemn Exequie, with all the other Remembrances of the Dead, and Maſſes for him, uſed in the Roman Church, at the Tower, on the 8th of Auguſt; the ſame Day that he was buried at Weſtminſter: The Lord Treaſurer, (who was the Marquis of Wincheſter, ſtill continued in that Truſt) the Earls of Shrewsbury, and Pembrook, being the principal Mourners. Day, that was now to be reſtored to his See of Chicheſter, was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon; in which he commended and excuſed the King, but loaded his Government ſeverely; and extolled the Queen much, under whom he promiſed the People happy Days. It was intended that all the Burial Rites ſhould have been according to the old Forms that were before the Reformation: But Cranmer oppoſed this vigorouſly, and inſiſted upon it, That as he himſelf had been a zealous Promoter of that Reformation, ſo the Engliſh Service was then eſtabliſhed by Law: Upon this he ſtoutly hindered any other way of Officiating, and himſelf performed all the Offices of the Burial; to which he joined the Solemnity of a Communion. In theſe, it may be eaſily imagined, he did every Thing with a very lively Sorrow; ſince as he had loved the King beyond Expreſſion, ſo he could not but look on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a Step to his own.

ON the 12th of Auguſt, the Queen made an open Declaration in Council, that although her Conſcience was ſtayed in the Matters of Religion, yet ſhe was reſolved not to compel or ſtrain others, otherwiſe than God ſhould put into their Hearts, a Perſuaſion of that Truth ſhe was in; and this ſhe hoped ſhould be done by the Opening his Word to them, by godly, virtuous, and learned Preachers. Now all the deprived Biſhops looked to be quickly placed in their Sees again. Bonner went to St. Paul's on the 13th of Auguſt, being Sunday, where Bourn, that was his

Chaplain, preached before him. He ſpoke honourably of Bonner, with ſharp Reflections on the Proceedings againſt him in the Time of King Edward. This did much provoke the whole Audience, who as they hated Bonner, ſo could not hear any thing ſaid that ſeemed to detract from that King. Hereupon there was a great Tumult in the Church; ſome called to pull him down, others flung Stones, and one threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with that Force, that it ſtuck faſt in the Timber of it; Bourn, by Stooping, ſaved himſelf from that Danger; and Rogers, and Bradford, two eminent Preachers, and of great Credit with the People, ſtood up, and gently quieted the Heat; and they, to deliver Bourn out of their Hands, conveyed him from the Pulpit, to a Houſe near the Church.

THIS was ſuch an Accident as the Papiſts would have deſired; for it gave them a Colour to proceed more ſeverely, and to prohibit Preaching, which was the firſt Step they intended to make. There was a Meſſage ſent to the Lord Mayor, to give a ſtrict Charge, that every Citizen ſhould take Care of all that belonged to him, and ſee that they went to their own Pariſh Church, and kept the Peace; as alſo to acquaint them with what the Queen had declared in Council on the 13th of Auguſt. And on the 18th, there was publiſhed an Inhibition in the Queen's Name, to this Effect, "That "ſhe, conſidering the great Danger "that had come to the Realm, by the "Differences in Religion, did declare "for herſelf, that ſhe was of that Re"ligion that ſhe had profeſſed from her "Infancy, and that ſhe would main"tain it during her Time, and be "glad that all her Subjects would "charitably receive it: Yet ſhe did "not intend to compel any of her "Subjects to it, 'till publick Order "ſhould be taken in it by common "Aſſent; requiring all, in the mean "while, not to move Sedition or Un"quietneſs, till ſuch Order ſhould be "ſettled, and not to uſe the Names of "Papiſt, or Heretick, but to live to"gether in Love, and in the Fear of "GOD; but if any made Aſſemblies "of the People, ſhe would take Care "they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; "and ſhe ſtraitly charged them, that "none ſhould preach, or expound "Scripture, or print any Books, or "Plays, without her Special Licence: "And required her Subjects, that none "of them ſhould preſume to puniſh "any, on Pretence of the late Rebelli"on, but as they ſhould be authorized "by her: Yet ſhe did not thereby re"ſtrain any from informing againſt "ſuch Offenders. She would be moſt "ſorry to have Cauſe to execute the "Severity of the Law, but ſhe was "reſolved not to ſuffer ſuch Rebellious "Doings to go unpuniſhed, but hoped "her Subjects would not drive her to "the Extream Execution of the Laws.

WHEN this was publiſhed, which was the firſt Thing that was ſet out in her Name ſince ſhe had come to the Crown, it was much diſcanted on. The Profeſſion ſhe made of her Religion to be the ſame it had been from her Infancy, ſhewed it was not her Father's Religion, but entire Popery, that ſhe intended to reſtore. It was alſo obſerved, That whereas before ſhe had ſaid plainly ſhe would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till publick Order ſhould be taken in it, which was, till they could ſo frame a Parliament, that it ſhould concur with the Queen's Deſign. The equal forbidding of Aſſemblies, or ill Names, on both Sides, was thought intended to be a Trap for the Reformed, that they ſhould be puniſhed, if they offended, but the others were ſure to be rather encouraged. The Reſtraint of Preaching without Licence, was pretended to be copy'd from what had been done in King Edward's Time; Yet then there was a Liberty left for a long Time to all, to preach in their own Churches, only they might preach no where elſe without a Licence: And the Power of Licenſing was alſo lodged at firſt with Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſes, and at laſt with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as well as with the King; whereas now, at one Stroke, all the Pulpits of England, that were in the Hands of the Reformed, were brought under an Interdict; for they were ſure to obtain no Licences. But the cunningeſt Part of theſe Inhibitions, was, the Declaring that the Queen would proceed with Rigour againſt all that were guilty of the late Rebellion, if they ſhould provoke her; many about London had ſome Way or other expreſſed themſelves for it, and theſe were the hotteſt among the Reformed:

So

So that here was a ſharp Threatning hanging over them, if they ſhould expreſs any more Zeal about Religion.

WHEN this was put out, the Queen underſtanding, that in Suffolk, thoſe of that Profeſſion took a little more Liberty than their Neighbours, preſuming on their great Merit, and the Queen's Promiſes to them; there was a ſpecial Letter ſent to the Biſhop of Norwich's Vicar, himſelf being at Bruſſels, to ſee to the Execution of theſe Injunctions, againſt any that ſhould preach without Licence. Upon this, ſome came from Suffolk to put the Queen in Mind of her Promiſe. This was thought inſolent; and ſhe returned them no other Anſwer, But that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear Rule over it. One of theſe had ſpoken of her Promiſe with more Confidence than the reſt; his Name was Dobbe; ſo he was ordered to ſtand three Days in the Pillory, as having ſaid that which tended to the Defamation of the Queen. And from hence all ſaw what a ſevere Government they were to come under, in which the Claiming of former Promiſes, that had been made by the Queen when ſhe needed their Aſſiſtance, was to be accounted a Crime: But there was yet a more unreaſonable Severity ſhewed to Bradford and Rogers, who had appeaſed the Tumult the Sunday before, and reſcued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was ſaid, that their appeaſing it, ſo eaſily, ſhewed what Intereſt they had with the People, and was a Preſumption that they had ſet it on; ſo without any further Proof, the one was put in the Tower, and the other confined to his Houſe.

BUT now the deprived Biſhops, who were, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Tonſtall of Dureſm, Heath of Worceſter, and Day of Chicheſter, were to be reſtored to their Sees. The Commiſſion for Bonner bearing Date the 22d of Auguſt was directed to ſome Civilians, ſetting forth, That he had petitioned the Queen to examine the Appeal he had made from the Delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the Sentence againſt him being unjuſt and illegal, he deſired it might be declared to be of no Effect. Upon which, theſe did, without any great Heſitation, return the Sentences void, and the Appeals good. So thus they were reſtored to their Sees. But becauſe the Biſhoprick of Dureſm was by Act of Parliament diſſolved, and the Regalities of it, which had been given to the Duke of Northumberland, were now by his Attainder fallen into the Queen's Hand, ſhe granted Tonſtall Letters Patents, erecting that Biſhoprick again of new; making Mention that ſome wicked Men, to enrich themſelves by it, had procured it to be diſſolved.

ON the 29th of Auguſt Commiſſion was granted to Gardiner to give Licenſes under the Great Seal to ſuch grave, learned and diſcreet Perſons, as he ſhould think meet and able to preach GOD's Word. All who were ſo licens'd, were qualify'd to preach in any Cathedral or Parochial Church, to which he ſhould think it convenient to ſend them. By this the Reformers were not only out of Hope to obtain any Licenſes, but likewiſe ſaw a Way laid down for ſending ſuch Men as Gardiner pleaſed into all their Pulpits, to infect their People. Upon this they conſidered what to do. If there had been only a particular Inderdiction of ſome private Perſons, the Conſiderations of Peace and Order being of a more publick Nature than the Conſequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be ſubmitted to; but in ſuch a Caſe, when they ſaw this Interdiction was general, and on Deſign to ſtop their Mouths till their Enemies ſhould ſeduce the People, they did not think they were bound in Conſcience to give Obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, inſtead of Preaching in Churches, were contented to have only the Prayers and other Service there; but for inſtructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council hearing that their Orders had been diſobeyed by ſome in London, two in Coventry, and one in Amerſham, they were ſent for, and put in Priſon. And Coverdale Biſhop of Exeter, and Hooper of Gloceſter, being cited to appear before the Council, they came and preſented themſelves on the 29th and 30th of Auguſt; and on the 1ſt of September, Hooper was ſent to the Fleet, and Coverdale appointed to wait their Pleaſure.

AT this Time the Popiſh Party, growing now inſolent over England, began to be as forward in making

Changes

Changes, before the Law warranted them, as theſe of the Reformation had been in King Edward's Time: So that in many Places they ſet up Images, and the Latin Service, with the old Rites again. This was plainly againſt Law; but the Council had no Mind to hinder it; but on the other Hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which Judge Hales, who thought he might with the more Aſſurance ſpeak his Mind, having appeared ſo ſteadily for the Queen, did, at the Circuits in Kent, give a Charge to the Juſtices to ſee to the Execution of King Edward's Laws, which were ſtill in Force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any Regard to his former Zeal, put firſt into the Marſhalſea; from thence he was removed to the Compter, and after that to the Fleet; where the good old Man was ſo diſordered with the Cruelties that the Warden told him were contriving againſt all that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, ſo that he endeavoured to have killed himſelf with a Pen-Knife. He was after that, upon his Submiſſion, ſet at Liberty; but never came to himſelf again: So he, not being well looked to, drowned himſelf. This, with the Uſage of the Suffolk Men, was much cenſured; and from thence it was ſaid, that no Merits or Services could ſecure any from the Cruelties of that Religion. And it appeared in another ſignal Inſtance, how the Actions of Men were not ſo much conſidered as their Religion. The Lord Chief Juſtice Montagu, who had very unwillingly drawn the Letters Patents for the Lady Jane's Succeſſion, was turned out of his Place, kept ſix Weeks in Priſon, fin'd in 1000 l. and ſome Lands that had been given him by King Edward, taken from him; tho' he had ſent his Son with 20 Men to declare for the Queen, and had a great Family of 17 Children, ſix Sons and eleven Daughters; whereas Judge Bromley was a Papiſt in his Heart, and Montagu was for the Reformation.

IN many other Places, where the People were Popiſhly affected, they drove their Paſtors. At Oxford, Peter Martyr was ſo ill uſed, that he was forced to fly for his Safety to Lambeth, where he could not look for any long Protection, ſince Cranmer himſelf was every Day in Expectation of being ſent to Priſon. He kept himſelf quiet, and was contriving how to give ſome publick and noble Teſtimonies to the Doctrine that he had ſo long profeſſed, and indeed had been the chief Promoter of in this Church. But his quiet Behaviour was laid hold on by his Enemies, and it was given out, that he was reſolved to comply with every thing the Queen had a Mind to. So Bonner wrote to his Friend Mr. Lechmore on the 6th of September. "He "gives him Notice that the Day before "he had been reſtored to his Biſhop-"rick, and Ridley repulſed; for which "he is very witty. Ridley had a "Steward for two Manors of his, "whoſe Name was Shipſide, his Bro-"ther-in-Law; upon which he plays "as if he had been Sheepſhead. He "orders Lechmore to look to his Eſtate "and he ſhould take Care at the next "Parliament that both the Sheepſheads "and the Calveſheads ſhould be uſed as "they deſerved. He adds, that Cran-"mer, whom in Scorn he calls Mr. "Canterbury, was become very hum-"ble and ready to ſubmit himſelf in "all Things; but that would not ſerve "his Turn; and it was expected that "he ſhould be ſent to the Tower that "very Day." Theſe Reports being brought to Cranmer, ſome adviſed him to fly beyond Sea; he ſaid he would not diſſuade others from that Courſe, now that they ſaw a Perſecution riſing; but conſidering the Station he was in, and the Hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it ſo indecent a thing for him to fly, that no Entreaties ſhould overperſuade him to it. So he, by Peter Martyr's Advice, drew up a Writing, (in Latin as it was at that Time tranſlated.) The Subſtance of it was to this Effect; "That as the Devil had at all Times "ſet on his Inſtruments by Lies to de-"fame the Servants of GOD, ſo he "was now more than ordinarily buſy. "For whereas King Henry had begun "the Correcting of the Abuſes of the "Maſs, which his Son had brought to "a further Perfection; and ſo the "LORD's Supper was reſtored to its "firſt Inſtitution, and was celebrated "according to the Pattern of the Pri-"mitive Church; now, the Devil in-"tending to bring the Maſs again into "its Room, as being his own Inven-"tion, had ſtirred up ſome to give out "that it had been ſet up in Canterbury "by his the ſaid Cranmer's Order; and "it was ſaid, that he had undertaken "to ſing Maſs to the Queen's Majeſty,

"both

" both at King Edward's Funeral, at " Paul's, and other Places; and though " for theſe twenty Years he had diſ- " piſed all ſuch vain and falſe Reports, " as were ſpread of him; yet now he " thought it not fit to lye under ſuch " Miſrepreſentations. Therefore he " proteſted to all the World, that the " Maſs was not ſet up at Canterbury " by his Order; but that a fawning " Hypocritical Monk (this was Thorn- " ton, Suffragan of Dover,) had done " it without his Knowledge; and for " what he was ſaid to have undertaken " to the Queen, her Majeſty knew " well how falſe that was: Offering " if he might obtain Leave for it, to " maintain, that every thing in the " Communion Service that was ſet out " by their moſt innocent and good " King Edward, was according to " Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Practice " of the Apoſtles, and the antient " Church for many Ages: To which " the Maſs was contrary, being full of " Errors and Abuſes; and although " Peter Martyr was by ſome called an " ignorant Man, he with him or other " four or five, ſuch as he ſhould " chooſe, would be ready to defend " not only their Book of Common " Prayer, and the other Rites of their " Service, but the whole Doctrine and " Order of Religion, ſet forth by the " late King, as more pure, and more " agreeable to the Word of GOD, than " any Sort of Religion, that had been " in England for a thouſand Years be- " fore it: Provided that all Things " ſhould be judged by the Scriptures, " and that the Reaſonings on both " Sides ſhould be faithfully written " down.

THIS he had drawn, with a Reſolution to have made a publick Uſe of it; but Scory, who had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, coming to him, he ſhewed him the Paper, and bad him conſider of it. Scory indiſcreetly gave Copies of it; and one of theſe was publickly read in Cheapſide, on the 5th of September. So on the eighth of that Month he was called before the Star Chamber, and asked, Whether he was the Author of that Seditious Bill, that was given out in his Name? and if ſo, Whether he was not ſorry for it? He anſwered, That the Bill was truly his; but he was very ſorry it had gone from him in ſuch a Manner; for he had reſolved to have enlarged it in many Things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of Paul's, and of the other Churches in London, with his Hand and Seal to it. He was at that Time, contrary to all Mens Expectation, diſmiſſed. Gardiner plainly ſaw he could not expect to ſucceed him, and that the Queen had deſigned that See for Cardinal Pool; ſo he reſolved to protect and preſerve Cranmer all he could. Some moved that he ſhould be only put from his Biſhoprick, and have a ſmall Penſion aſſigned him, with a Charge to keep within a Confinement, and not to meddle with Matters of Religion. He was generally beloved for the Gentleneſs of his Temper; ſo it was thought that proceeding ſeverely with him, might alienate ſome from them, and embroil their Affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, That if he, who had been the chief Promoter of Hereſy, was uſed with ſuch Tenderneſs, it would encourage the reſt to be more obſtinate. And the Queen who had forgot the Services he did her in her Father's Time, remembering rather that he had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce againſt her Mother, was eaſily induced to proceed ſeverely. So on the 13th of September both he and Latimer were called before the Council; Latimer was that Day committed; but Cranmer was reſpited till next Day, and then he was ſent to the Tower, both for Matters of Treaſon againſt the Queen, and for Diſperſing ſeditious Bills. Tylor of Hadlee, and ſeveral other Preachers, were alſo put in Priſon; and upon an Information brought againſt Horn, Dean of Dureſm, he was ſent for.

THE Foreigners, that were come over upon publick Faith and Encouragement, were better uſed: For Peter Martyr was preſerved from the Rage of his Enemies, and ſuffered to go beyond Sea. There was alſo an Order ſent to John à Laſco and his Congregation, to be gone; their Church being taken from them, and their Corporation diſſolved: And an hundred ſeventy five of them went away in two Ships to Denmark, on the 17th of September, with all their Preachers; except two, who were left to look to thoſe few, which ſtayed behind, and being engaged in Trade, reſolved to live in England, and follow their Conſciences in the Matters of Religion in private, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Teachers. But à Laſco, after a long

and hard Paſſage, arriving at Denmark, was as ill received there, as if it had been a Popiſh Country, when they underſtood that he and his Company were of the Helvetian Confeſſion, ſo that, though it was December, and a very ſevere Winter, they were required to be gone within two Days, and could not obtain ſo much as Liberty to leave their Wives or Children behind them, till they could provide a Place for them. From thence they went, firſt to Lubeck, then to Wiſmar, and Hamburgh, where they found the Diſputes about the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, had raiſed ſuch violent Animoſities, that after much barbarous Uſuage, they were baniſhed out of all thoſe Towns, and could find no Place to ſettle in, till about the End of March, that they came to Friſeland, where they were ſuffered to plant themſelves.

MANY in England, ſeeing the Government was ſet on ſevere Courſes ſo eaſily, did infer that this would ſoon grow up to an extreme Perſecution; ſo that above a thouſand Perſons fled beyond Sea: Moſt of them went in the Company, and as the Servants of French Proteſtants, who having come over in King Edward's Time, were now required, as the Germans had been, to return to their own Country. The Council underſtanding this, took Care that no Engliſhman ſhould eſcape out of their Hands; and therefore ſent an Order to the Ports, that none ſhould be ſuffered to go over as Frenchmen, but thoſe who brought Certificates from the French Ambaſſador. Among thoſe that had got over, ſome eminent Divines went; who, either having no Cures, or being turned out of their Benefices, were not under ſuch Ties to any Flock, ſo that they judged themſelves diſengaged and therefore did not, as Hirelings, leave their Flock to the Perſecution then imminent, but rather went to look after thoſe who had now left England. The chief of theſe that went at firſt were Cox, Sanders, Grindal, and Horn. Cox was without any good Colour turned out, both of his Deanary of Chriſt-Church, and his Prebendary at Weſtminſter. He was put into the Marſhalſea, but on the 19th of Auguſt was diſcharged. Sands was turned out for his Sermon before the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge: On what Account Grindal was turned out, is uncertain: Horn, ſoon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for his leaving his Country: He tells that he heard that there was ſome Crimes againſt the State, objected to him, which made him come up from Dureſm to clear himſelf: It was ſaid, that three Letters had been written to him in the Queen's Name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were reſolved to charge him with Contempt, and other Points of State. He proteſted, that he had never receiv'd but one, which was given him on the Road; but ſeeing how he was like to be uſed, he withdrew out of England: Upon which he takes Occaſion in that Diſcourſe to vindicate the Preachers in King Edward's Time, againſt whom it was now objected, That they had neglected Faſting and Prayer, and had allowed the People all Sorts of Liberty: This he ſaid was ſo falſe, that the Ruling Men in that Time were much offended at the great Freedom which the Preachers then took, ſo that many of them would hear no more Sermons; and he ſays for himſelf, that tho' Tonſtal was his great Enemy, he had refuſed to accept of his Biſhoprick, and was ill uſed, and threatned, for denying to take it.

ALL theſe things tended much to inflame the People. Therefore great Care was taken, firſt, to oblige all thoſe Noblemen who had aſſiſted the Queen at her coming to the Crown; ſince a grateful acknowledgement of paſt Services is the greateſt Encouragement, both to the ſame Perſons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new Occaſions. The Earl of Arundel was made Lord Steward; Sir Edward Haſtings was made Maſter of the Horſe, and afterwards Lord Haſtings; Sir John Gage, Lord Chamberlain; Sir John Williams, who had proclaimed the Queen in Oxfordſhire, was made Lord Williams; and Sir Henry Jerningham, that firſt gathered the Men of Norfolk about her, was made Captain of her Guard: But Ratcliff Earl of Suſſex had done the moſt conſiderable Service of them all; for to him ſhe had given the chief Command of her Army, and he had managed it with that Prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her Aſſiſtance; ſo an unuſual Honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his Head in her Preſence; Which paſſed under the Great Seal the ſecond of October; he being the only

Peer

Peer of England on whom this Honour was ever conferred. The like was granted to the Lord Courcy, Baron of Kingſale in Ireland, whoſe Poſterity enjoy it to this Day. The Queen having ſummoned a Parliament to the 10th of October, was Crowned on the firſt of that Month, by Gardiner, who with ten other Biſhops, all in their Mitres, Coaps, and Croſiers, perſormed that Ceremony with great Solemnity; Day Preaching the Coronation Sermon; who, it ſeems, was accounted the beſt Preacher among them; ſince he was ordered to preach both at the late King's Funeral, and now again at the Coronation.

BUT Gardiner had prepared a Largeſs of an extraordinary Nature for the Queen to diſtribute that Day among her People; beſides her general Pardon; he cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, which did ſet forth, " That " whereas the good Subjects of Eng- " land had always exhibited Aid to " their Princes, when the Good of the " Publick, and Honour of the Realm " required it; and though the Queen, " ſince her coming to the Crown, found " the Treaſury was marvellouſly ex- " hauſted, by the evil Government of " late years, eſpecially ſince the Duke " of Northumberland bare Rule; " though ſhe found herſelf charged " with diverſe great Sums of her Fa- " ther's and Brother's Debts, which for " her own Honour, and the Honour " of the Realm, ſhe determined to pay " in Times convenient and reaſonable; " yet having a ſpecial Regard to the " Welfare of her Subjects, and account- " ing their loving Hearts and Proſperi- " ty the chiefeſt Treaſure which ſhe " deſired, next to the Favour and Grace " of GOD; therefore, ſince in her " Brother's laſt Parliament, two Tenths, " two Fifteenths, and a Subſidy both " out of Lands and Goods, were given " to him for paying his Debts, which " were now due to her; ſhe of her " great Clemency did fully pardon and " diſcharge theſe Subſidies; truſting " her ſaid good Subjects will have " loving Conſideration thereof for their " Parts, whom ſhe heartily requires, " to bend themſelves wholly to GOD, " to ſerve him ſincerely, and with con- " tinual Prayer, for the Honour and " Advancement of the Queen, and the " Commonwealth.

AND thus Matters were prepared for the Parliament; which was open'd the 10th of October: In the Writ of Summons, and all other Writs, the Queen retained ſtill the Title of Supream Head. Taylor Biſhop of Lincoln, and Harley Biſhop of Hereford came thither, reſolving to juſtify their Doctrine. Moſt of the other reformed Biſhops were now in Priſon; for beſides theſe formerly mentioned, on the 4th of October the Archbiſhop of York was put in the Tower, no Cauſe being given, but heinous Offences only nam'd in general. When the Maſs begun, it is ſaid, that thoſe two Biſhops withdrew, and were upon that never ſuffered to come to their Places again. But one Beal, the Clerk of the Council in Queen Elizabeth's Time, reports this otherwiſe, and more probably; that Biſhop Taylor took his Place in his Robes, but refuſing to give any Reverence to the Maſs, was violently thruſt out of the Houſe. He ſays nothing of Harley, ſo it is probable that he followed the other. The ſame Writer alſo informs us, that in many Places of the Country, Men were choſen by Force and Threats; in other Places thoſe employed by the Court, did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to chuſe; in many Places falſe Returns were made; and that ſome were violently turned out of the Houſe of Commons: Upon which Reaſons he concludes that it was no Parliament, ſince it was under a Force; and ſo might be annulled, as the Parliament held at Coventry in the 33d Year of King Henry VI. was, upon Evidence of the like Force, declared afterwards to be no Parliament. The Journals of the Houſe of Lords in this Parliament are loſt; ſo there is no Light to be had of their Proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

ON the ſecond Day of the Seſſion, one moved in the Houſe of Commons for a Review of King Edward's Laws. But that being a while argued, was at this Time laid aſide, and the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage was put in. Then followed a Debate upon Dr. Nowell's being returned from Loo in Cornwall, Whether he being a Predendary of Weſtminſter could ſit in that Houſe? and the Committee being appointed to ſearch for Precedents, it was reported, that he being repreſented in the Convocation-Houſe, could not be a Member of that Houſe; ſo he was caſt out. The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was ſent up to the Lords, who ſent it down

to

to the Commons to be reformed in two Proviſo's that were not according to former Precedents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now ſay that the Lords cannot alter a Bill of Money, Dr. Burnet ſaith he is not able to determine. The only publick Bill that paſſed in this ſhort Seſſion was for a Declaration of Treaſons and Felonies; by which it was ordained that nothing ſhould be judged Treaſon, but what was within the Statute of Treaſons in the 25th of Edward III. and nothing ſhould be ſo judged Felony, that was not ſo before the 1ſt Year of King Henry VIII. excepting from any Benefit of this Act, all ſuch as had been in Priſon before the laſt of September; who were alſo excepted out of the Queen's Pardon at her Coronation. Two private Bills alſo paſſed: The one for the Reſtoring of the Wife of the late Marquis of Exeter, who had been attainted in the 32d Year of King Henry's Reign; and the other for her Son Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire. And ſo the Parliament was prorogued from the 21ſt to the 24th of October, that there might be a Seſſion of Parliament conſiſting only of Acts of Mercy; tho' this Repeal of additional Treaſons and Felonies, was not more than what had paſſed in the Beginning of King Edward's Reign, without the Clogg of ſo ſevere a Proviſo, by which many were cut off from the Favour deſigned by it.

SOME have thought, that ſince Treaſons had been reduced by the ſecond Act of Edward VI. to the Standard of the 25th of Edward III. that therefore there was ſomewhat elſe deſigned by this Act, than barely the Repealing ſome late ſevere Acts, which being done the 1ſt of Edward VI. needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And ſince this Act as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, thoſe Treaſons that are declared and expreſſed in the 25th of Edward III. they have inferred that the Power of Parliaments declaring of Treaſons ex poſt Facto, which was reſerved by that Statute, is hereby taken away; and that nothing is now to be held Treaſon, but what is enumerated in that Statute. Yea this is ſtill liable to Debate; ſince the one may be thought to be declared and expreſſed in general Words, as well as the other Specialties are in more particular Words; and is alſo ſtill in Force. So nothing ſeems comprehended within this Repeal, but the Acts paſſed in King Edward's Reign, declaring other Crimes to be Treaſon: Some are added in the ſame Act, and others in that of the 3d and 4th of his Reign, Chap. 5. Nor is it likely, that if the Parliament had intended to have delivered the Subjects from the Apprehenſions of all Acts of Attainder, upon a Declaration of new Treaſons, they would not have expreſſed it more plainly, ſince it muſt have been very grateful to the Nation, which had groaned heavily under Arbitrary Attainders of late Years.

WHEN the Parliament met again, the firſt Bill the Commons entered on, was that of Tonnage and Poundage, which they paſſed in two Days. Then was the Bill about King Henry's Marriage with the Queen's Mother ſent down on the 26th by the Lords, and the Commons paſſed it on the 28th: So ſtrangely was the Stream turned, that a Divorce that had been for ſeven Years much deſired by the Nation, was now repealed upon fewer Days Conſultation. In the Preamble it was ſaid, "That Truth, how much ſoever obſcured and born down, will in the "End break out; and that therefore "they declared that King Henry VIII. "being lawfully married to Queen "Catharine by the Conſent of both "their Parents, and the Advice of the "wiſeſt Men of the Realm, and of "the beſt and notableſt Men of Learning in Chriſtendom, did continue that "State 20 Years, in which GOD bleſs'd "them with her Majeſty and other "Iſſue, and a Courſe of great Happineſs; but then a very few malicious "Perſons did endeavour to break that "happy Agreement between them, and "ſtudied to poſſeſs the King with a "Scruple in his Conſcience about it; "and to ſupport that, caus'd the Seals "of ſome Univerſities to be got againſt "it, a few Perſons being corrupted "with Money for that End. They "had alſo by ſiniſtrous Ways, and ſecret Threatnings procured the Seals "of the Univerſities of this Kingdom, "and finally Thomas Cranmer did "moſt ungodlily, and againſt Law, "judge the Divorce, upon his own unadviſed Underſtanding of the Scriptures, upon the Teſtimonies of the "Univerſities, and ſome bare and moſt "untrue Conjectures; and that was "afterwards confirmed by two Acts of "Parliament,

" Parliament, in which was contained " the Illegitimacy of her Majeſty; but " that Marriage not being prohibited " by the Law of GOD, and lawfully " made, could not be ſo broken; ſince " whom GOD hath join'd together, no " Man cou'd put aſunder: All which " they conſidering, together with the " many Miſeries that had fallen on the " Kingdom ſince that Time, which " they did eſteem Plagues ſent from " GOD for it; therefore they declare " that Sentence given by Cranmer to " be unlawful, and of no Force from " the Beginning; and do alſo repeal " the Acts of Parliament that had con- " firmed it.

BY this Act, Gardiner had perform'd his Promiſe to the Queen, of getting her Illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Pope's Authority. But in the drawing of it, he ſhewed that he was paſt all Shame: When he could frame ſuch an Act, of a Buſineſs which himſelf had ſo violently and ſeverely promoted. The Falſehood of that Pretence of corrupting Univerſities is ſhewn in the former Part of this Work; but it was all they had now to ſay. The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a Pitch of Malice and Impudence as could be deviſed; for as Gardiner had been ſetting it on, long before Cranmer was known to King Henry; ſo he had been joined with him in the Commiſſion, and had given his Aſſent to the Sentence which Cranmer gave. Nor was the Divorce grounded meerly upon Cranmer's Underſtanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fulleſt and moſt ſtudied Arguments, that had perhaps been in any Age brought together in one particular Caſe; and both Houſes of Convocation had condemned the Marriage before his Sentence. But becauſe in the Right of his See he was Legate to the Pope, therefore to make the Sentence ſtronger, it went only in his Name, tho' he had but a ſmall Share in it, compared to what Gardiner had.

BY this Act, there was alſo a ſecond Illegitimation brought on the Lady Elizabeth, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, uſing her on all Occaſions with the Tenderneſs of a Siſter; but from this Time forwards ſhe handled her more ſeverely. It was perhaps occaſion'd by this Act, ſince before they ſtood both equally illegitimated; but now the Act that legitimated the Queen, making her moſt certainly a Baſtard in Law, the Queen might think it now too much to uſe her as ſhe had done formerly. Others ſuggeſt a more ſecret Reaſon of this Diſtaſt. The new Earl of Devonſhire was much in the Queen's Favour, ſo that it was thought ſhe had ſome Inclinations to marry him; but he, either not preſuming ſo high, or really having an Averſion to her, and an Inclination to her Siſter, who of that moderate Share of Beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was 19 Years younger, made his Addreſſes with more than ordinary Concern to the Lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them both in Trouble, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn.

THE next Bill that was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the Repealing King Edward's Laws about Religion. It was ſent down on the 31ſt of October, and argu'd ſix Days in the Houſe of Commons; but in the End it was carried, and ſent back to the Lords. The Preamble of it ſet forth the great Diſorders that had fallen out in the Nation by the Changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-Fathers had left them by the Authority of the Catholick Church: Thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King Edward's Time about Religion were now repealed; and it was enacted that, from the 20th of December next, there ſhould be no other Form of Divine Service, but what had been uſed in the laſt Year of King Henry VIII. leaving it free to all 'till that Day, to uſe either the Books appointed by King Edward, or the old ones at their Pleaſure.

ANOTHER Act was paſſed, which the Commons ſent up to the Lords, againſt all thoſe who by any Overt Act ſhould moleſt or diſquiet any Preacher, becauſe of his Office, or for any Sermon that he might have preached; or ſhould any Way diſturb them when they were in any Part of the Divine Offices, that either had been in the laſt Year of King Henry, or ſhould be afterwards ſet forth by the Queen; or ſhould break or abuſe the Holy Sacrament, or break Altars, Crucifixes, or Croſſes, thoſe that did any of theſe Things ſhould be preſented to the Juſtices of Peace, and be by them put in Priſon, where they ſhould lie three Months, or till they were penitent for their Offences; and if any reſcued them, they ſhould be liable to the

ſame Puniſhment. But to this a Proviſo was added by the Lords, that this Act ſhould no way derogate from the Authority of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Courts, who might likewiſe proceed upon ſuch Offences; and a Certificate from the Ordinaries, that ſuch Offenders were puniſhed by them, being brought to the Juſtices of Peace, they were to proceed no further: Or if the Juſtices made a Certificate that they had puniſhed them according to Law, the Ordinary might not puniſh them a ſecond Time. But the Commons were now ſo heated, that they ſent up another Bill to the Lords, againſt thoſe who came not to Church, nor to Sacraments, after the old Service ſhould be again ſet up: The inflicting of the Puniſhments in theſe Caſes being left to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. This fell in the Houſe of Lords, not ſo much from any Oppoſition as that was made, that they were afraid of allarming the Nation too much, by many ſevere Laws at once.

ANOTHER Law was made for ſecuring the publick Peace againſt unlawful and rebellious Aſſemblies: That if any, to the Number of twelve or above, ſhould meet to alter any thing of Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, and being required by any, having the Queen's Authority, to diſperſe themſelves, ſhould continue after that, an Hour together, it ſhould be Felony; or if that Number met to break Hedges or Parks, to deſtroy Deer, Fiſh, &c. and did not diſperſe upon Proclamation, it ſhould be Felony; or if any, by ringing of Bells, Drums, or firing of Beacons, gathered the People together, and did the Things before-mentioned, it was Felony; if the Wives or Servants of Perſons ſo gathered, carried Meat, Money, or Weapons to them, it ſhould be Felony; and if any above the Number of two, and within twelve, ſhould meet for theſe Ends, they ſhould ſuffer a Year's Impriſonment, empowering the Sheriffs or Juſtices to gather the Country for the Reſiſtance of Perſons ſo offending, with Penalties on all, between 18 and 60, that, being required to come out againſt them, ſhould refuſe to do it. When this Act was known, the People then ſaw clearly how they had been deceived by the former Act, that ſeemed ſo favourable, repealing all Acts of new Treaſons and Felonies; ſince there was ſo ſoon after it an Act paſs'd that renew'd one of the ſevereſt Laws of the laſt Reign, in which ſo many Things, that might flow from ſudden Heats, were made Felonies, and a great many new and ſevere Proviſo's were added to it. The Queen's Diſcharge of the Subſidy was confirmed by another Act.

THERE followed two private Acts, which occaſioned more Debate than the publick ones had done: The one was, the Repeal of the Act that had confirmed the Marquis of Northampton's Marriage: It was much argued in the Houſe of Commons, and on the 28th of November it was agreed to. It contains, that the Act of confirming the Divorce, and the ſecond Marriage, was procured more upon untrue Surmiſes and private Reſpects, than for any publick Good, and Increaſe of Virtue: And that it was an Encouragement for ſenſual Perſons, to practiſe by falſe Allegations, that they might be ſeparated from their Wives, rather than a Precedent to induce People to live with their Wives in a godly Sort: Thereupon the Act was repealed, and declared void and of no Effect. In this, it ſeems, the Arguments that were againſt it in the Houſe of Commons had ſo moderated the Stile of it, that it was not repealed as an Act ſinful in itſelf, but it was only declared that in that Particular Caſe the Divorce was unlawfully made: For it is reaſonable to believe, that the Biſhops had put in the firſt Draught of the Bill, a ſimple Repeal of it, and of all ſuch Divorces, founded on the Indiſſolubleneſs of the Marriage Bond.

THE other Act was about the Duke of Norfolk, for declaring his Attainder void. The Patentees that had purchaſed ſome Parts of his Eſtate from the Crown, deſired to be heard to plead againſt it: But the Seſſion of the Parliament being near at an End, the Duke came down himſelf to the Houſe of Commons on the 4th of December; and deſired them earneſtly to paſs his Bill; and ſaid, That the Difference between him and the Patentees was referred to Arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the Queen. It was long argued after that, but in the End it was agreed to. It ſets forth, that the Act, by which he was attainted, had no ſpecial Matter in it, but only Treaſons in general, and a Pretence that out of the Parliament's Care for the King, and his Son

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the Prince, it was neceſſary to attaint him: That the Reaſons they pretended, were, his uſing Coats of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors had and might lawfully uſe. It further ſays, That the King died the next Night after the Commiſſion was given for paſſing the Bill; and that it did not appear, that the King had given his Aſſent to it: That the Commiſſion was not Signed by the King's Hand, but only by his Stamp; and that was put to the nether End, and not to the upper Part of the Bill, which ſhewed it was done in Diſorder; and that it did not appear that thoſe commiſſioned for it had given the Royal Aſſent to it. Upon which Conſiderations, that pretended Act is declared void and null by the common Laws of the Land. And it is further declared, That the Law was, and ever hath been, that the Royal Aſſent ſhould be given, either by the King being preſent, or in his Abſence, by a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, ſigned with his Hand, and publickly notified to the Lords and Commons.

THE laſt Act that Biſhop Burnet gives an Account of, was the Confirmation of the Attainders that had been made. On the 3d of November, Archbiſhop Cranmer, the Lord Guilford Dudley, and the Lady Jane his Wife, with two other Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, (which were all, except the Lord Robert, who was reſerved for greater Fortunes,) were brought to their Trial. Theſe all confeſſed their Indictments, only Cranmer appealed to thoſe that judged him, how unwillingly he had conſented to the Excluſion of the Queen; that he had not done it, till thoſe whoſe Profeſſion it was to know the Law had ſigned it: Upon which he ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen's Mercy; but they were all attainted of High-Treaſon, for levying War againſt the Queen, and conſpiring to ſet up another in her Room. So theſe Judgments, with thoſe that had paſſed before, were now confirmed by Act of Parliament.

AND now Cranmer was legally diveſted of his Archbiſhoprick, which was hereupon void in Law, ſince a Man that is attainted can have no Right to any Church Benefice; his Life was alſo at the Queen's Mercy: But it being now deſigned to reſtore the Eccleſiaſtical Exemption and Dignity to what it had been antiently, it was reſolved, that he ſhould be ſtill eſteemed Archbiſhop, till he were ſolemnly degraded, according to the Canon Law. The Queen was alſo inclined to give him his Life at this Time, reckoning, that thereby ſhe was acquitted of all the Obligations ſhe had to him; and was reſolved to have him proceeded againſt for Hereſy, that ſo it might appear ſhe did not act out of Revenge, or on any perſonal Account. So all that followed on this, againſt Cranmer, was a Sequeſtration of all the Fruits of his Archbiſhoprick; himſelf was ſtill kept in Priſon; nor were the other Priſoners proceeded againſt at this Time. The Queen was deſirous to ſeem willing to pardon Injuries done againſt herſelf, but was ſo heated in the Matters of Religion, that ſhe was always inexorable on that Head.

Cardinal Dandino, that was then the Pope's Legate at the Emperor's Court, ſent over Commendone (afterwards a Cardinal) to bring him a certain Account of the Queen's Intentions concerning Religion; he gave him in Charge, to endeavour to ſpeak with her in private, and to perſuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. This was to be managed with great Secreſy; for they did not know whom to truſt in ſo important a Negotiation: It ſeems, they neither confided in Gardiner, nor in any of the other Biſhops. Commendone, being thus inſtructed, went to Newport, where he gave himſelf out to be the Nephew of a Merchant, that was lately dead at London; and hired two Servants, to whom he was unknown, and ſo he came over unſuſpected to London. There he was ſo much a Stranger, that he did not know to whom he ſhould addreſs himſelf. By Accident he met with one Lee, a Servant of the Queen's, that had fled beyond Sea during the former Reign, and had been then known to him; ſo he truſted him with the Secret of his Buſineſs in England. He procured him a ſecret Audience of the Queen, in which ſhe freely owned to him her Reſolution of reconciling her Kingdom to the See of Rome, and ſo of bringing all Things back to the State in which they had been before the Breach made by her Father; But ſhe ſaid, It was abſolutely neceſſary to manage that Deſign with great Prudence and Secreſy, leſt in that Confuſion of Affairs, the Diſcovery of it might much diſturb her Government, and obſtruct her Deſign,

ſign. She writ by him to the Pope, giving him Aſſurance of her filial Obedience, and ſo ſent Commendone to Rome. She alſo writ by him to Cardinal Pool, and ordered Commendone to move the Pope, that he might be ſent over with a Legantine Power. Yet he that writ that Cardinal's Life inſinuates, that the Queen had another Deſign in deſiring that Pool might be ſent over; for ſhe aſked him, Whether the Pope might not diſpence with the Cardinal to marry, ſince he was only in Deacon's Orders? Before Commendone left England, he ſaw the Duke of Northumberland executed, and ſoon after he made all the Haſte that was poſſible to carry thoſe acceptable Tidings to Rome; and by his Dexterity in in this Negotiation, he laid the Foundation of thoſe great Fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no ſmall Joy in the Conſiſtory, when the Pope and the Cardinals underſtood, that a Kingdom, from which they had drawn ſo much Wealth in former Times, was now to become again tributary to them. So there was a publick Rejoicing for three Days, in which the Pope ſaid Maſs himſelf, and diſtributed his ordinary Largeſs of Indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, becauſe he hoped they ſhould come in Credit again, and be purchaſed at the Rates at whic hthey had been formerly ſold. Yet in the Conſiſtory, Commendone did not poſitively ſay he was ſent by the Queen, that being only communicated to the Pope: All he told the Cardinals, was, That he underſtood from very good Hands, that the Queen was very well diſpoſed to that See, and that ſhe deſired, that a Legate might be ſent over with full Powers. Many of the Cardinals thought that this was too bare a Meſſage; and that it was below the Papal Dignity, to ſend a Legate, till the Pope was earneſtly deſired to do it, by an expreſs Meſſage, and an Embaſſy ſent by the Queen. But it was ſaid, that Commendone had ſaid nothing but by the Queen's expreſs Orders, who was yet in ſo unſettled a Condition, that till ſhe held a Seſſion of Parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in ſuch a Matter: They were to remember, how England had been loſt by too much Stiffneſs formerly; and they were to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who left his ninety-nine Sheep, to ſeek the one that was ſtray'd. So it was granted, that Pool ſhould go Legate, with a full Power. But Gardiner coming to know this, ſent to the Emperor to ſtop his Journey; aſſuring him, that Things were going well on, and that his coming over would ſpoil all. At this Time the Emperor began to think of marrying his Son Philip to the Queen, who, tho' ſhe was above nine Years older than he, yet being but Thirty-ſeven Years old, was not out of Hopes of having Children. The Emperor ſaw, that if England were united to the Spaniſh Crown, it would raiſe that Monarchy to a great Heighth; they ſhould have all the Trade in the World in their Hands, and ſo encloſe France, that it ſeemed as probable a Step to the Univerſal Monarchy, as that he had lately loſt in Germany. When this Match was firſt propoſed, Dr. Burnet ſaith he doth not know; but hath read ſome Parts of a Letter concerning it (for it is not all legible) which was written by the Queen of Hungary, and ſigned by the Emperor, in the Beginning of November; this, tho' it was not the firſt Propoſition, yet ſeems to have followed ſoon after it. The Queen entertained the Motion eaſily, not truſting to the Affections of her People, nor thinking it poſſible to have the Papal Authority ſet up, nor the Church-Lands reſtored, without a Foreign Force to aſſiſt her. It's ſaid, that ſhe had ſome Inclinations to Cardinal Pool; and that the Emperor fearing that might be an Hinderance to his Deſign, therefore the Cardinal's coming over was ſtopped, 'till the Queen was married to his Son Philip. But of this there are no certain Footſteps. On the Contrary, Gardiner, whoſe Eye was chiefly upon the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, would rather have promoted Pool's Pretenſions to the Queen; ſince her marrying a Subject, and not a Stranger, would have made the Government much eaſier, and more acceptable to the People; and it would have been the beſt Thing he could do for himſelf, if he could have perſuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to ſtand between him and that Dignity.

THE true Account of it is, The Emperor preſſed her, firſt to ſettle the State, and conſummate her Marriage; and that would more eaſily make Way for what was to follow: For Gardiner had aſſured him, the bringing in of the Papal Power, and making up the Marriage,

riage, both at once, would be Things of ſuch ill Digeſtion, that it would not be eaſy to carry them together; and therefore it was neceſſary to let a conſiderable Interval go between. This being reſolved on, it was apparent the Marriage ought to go firſt, as that which would give them more Strength to conclude the other; and this was the true Reaſon of ſtopping Cardinal Pool at Dilling; which the Emperor at firſt did by his own Authority, but afterwards got the Queen to ſend one to him to the ſame Purpoſe. She ſent Goldwell (afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph) to him, with the two Acts that were paſſed, for the Juſtifying of her Mother's Marriage, and for Bringing all things back to the State in which they were at her Father's Death. Thereby ſhe let him ſee, that ſhe was going forward in the Buſineſs for which he was ſent; but withal ſhe told him, That the Commons, in paſſing thoſe Acts, had expreſſed great Averſion to the taking the Supremacy from the Crown, or the reſtoring of the Pope's Power; and that they were much allarmed, to hear he was coming over Legate; and it prejudiced her Affairs, that the Meſſage ſhe had ſent by Commendone, had been publiſh'd in the Conſiſtory. Therefore ſhe deſired him to keep out of England, till he were further adverti's'd. But to let him ſee how much ſhe depended on his Counſels, ſhe deſired he would ſend her a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as ſhould be made Biſhops; for many were now to be turned out. To this (beſides the Anſwer which he might have writ to herſelf) he writ a copious Anſwer, in a tedious Paper of Inſtructions, which he gave to Goldwell.

THE Subſtance of it was this: "He rejoiced much at the two Acts "that were paſſed, but yet he cen- "ſures them both, becauſe he obſerv'd "ſome Defects in them: In the Act "for confirming her Mother's Marri- "age, he found Fault that there was "no Mention made of the Pope's Bulls, "by the Authority of which only it "could be a lawful Marriage. In the "other, he did not like it, that the "Worſhip of GOD, and the Sacra- "ments, were to be as they were in "the End of her Father's Reign; for "then the People were yet in a State "of Schiſm, and Schiſmaticks have no "Right to the Sacraments; the Pope's "Interdict ſtill lay on the Nation, "and till that were taken off, none "could, without Sin, either adminiſ- "ter or receive them. He told her, "that Commendone had ſaid nothing "in her Name to the Conſiſtory; but "ſpoken to them only on the Reports "which, he ſaid, he had heard of her "from good Hands; and it was neceſ- "ſary to ſay ſomewhat, in order to "the ſending a Legate: That many in "the Conſiſtory had oppoſed the ſend- "ing of him, becauſe there was no "expreſs Deſire ſent about it; but it "was carried, that he ſhould come "over with very full Graces, and "Power to reconcile the Kingdom on "very eaſy Terms. He alſo told her, "he was affraid, that when the Pope "and Cardinals ſhould hear that he "was ſtopp'd, they would repent their "Benignity, and take this as an Af- "front, and recall him and his Powers, "and ſend another, that would not be "ſo tender of the Nation, or bring "with him ſuch Powers: That to "prevent this, he had ſent one to the "Pope and Cardinals, to mitigate their "Diſpleaſure, by letting them know, "he was only ſtopp'd for a little "while, till the Act of Attainder that "ſtood againſt him was repealed; and "to make Shew of going forward, "he had ſent his Houſhold-ſtuff to "Flanders, but would ſtay where he "was, till he had further Orders. He "ſaid, he knew this flowed chiefly "from the Emperor, who was for "uſing ſuch Political Courſes, as him- "ſelf had followed in the Buſineſs of "the Interim, and was earneſt to have "the State ſettled, before ſhe meddl'd "with Religion; ſhe had ſpoke with "his Confeſſor about it, and had con- "vinced him of the Impiety of ſuch "Courſes, and ſent him to work on "him. He alſo told the Queen, he "was affraid carnal Policy might go- "vern her too much, and that ſhe "might thereby fall from her Simpli- "city in Chriſt, in which ſhe had hi- "therto lived: He encouraged her "therefore to put on a Spirit of Wiſ- "dom and Courage, and to truſt in "GOD, who had preſerved her ſo long, "and had ſettled her on the Throne "in ſo unlook'd for a Manner. He "deſired, ſhe would ſhew as much "Courage in rejecting the Supremacy, "as her Father had done in acquiring "it. He confeſſed, he knew none in "neither Houſe of Parliament fit to "propoſe that Matter: The Spiritu- "alty

" alty had all complied ſo far, and " written and declared for it ſo much, " that it could not flow from them " decently, and the Temporalty be- " ing poſſeſſed of the Church-Lands, " would not willingly move it: There- " fore he thought it beſt for herſelf " to go to the Parliament, having be- " forehand acquainted ſome of the Spi- " ritualty and Temporalty with her " Deſign; and that ſhe ſhould tell " both Houſes, ſhe was touched in her " Conſcience; that ſhe and her People " were in a Schiſm from the Catholick " Church and the Apoſtolick See; " and that therefore ſhe had deſired a " Legate to come over and treat about " it; and ſhould thereupon propoſe " that the Attainder might be taken off " from him, that he might be capa- " ble to come on that Meſſage. And " he proteſted, that he had never acted " againſt the King, or Kingdom, but " only with Deſign to reduce them to " the Unity of the Church, neither " before nor after the Attainder; and " whereas ſome might apprehend a " Thraldom from the Papacy, ſhe might " give them Aſſurance that they ſhould " ſee all things ſo well ſecured, that " there ſhould no Danger come to the " Nation from it; and he aſſured them, " that he, for his Part, ſhould take as " much Care of that, as any of all the " Temporalty could deſire. What Re- " commendations he ſent, for the Sees " that were to be declared vacant, Dr. " Burnet ſays he knows not.

WHEN this Diſpatch of his was brought into England, Gardiner, by the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor, convinced the Queen that his Method was unpracticable, and that the Marriage muſt be firſt diſpatched: And now Gardiner and he did declare open Enmity to one another. Gardiner thought him a weak Man, that might have ſome ſpeculative Knowledge of abſtracted Ideas, but underſtood not the World, nor the Genius of the Engliſh Nation. Pool on the other hand, thought him a falſe Man, that made Conſcience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Diſſimulation, than the Government of the Church. But the Emperor ſaw Gardiner had ſo prudently managed this Parliament, that he concluded his Meaſures were rather to be followed than the Cardinal's.

IN the Houſe of Commons it was given out, that it was neceſſary to gain the Queen to the Intereſt of the Nation, and to turn her from foreign Councils and Aid, by being eaſy to her in the Matter of Religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the Divorce, and King Edward's Laws. But when they ſaw the Deſign of the Marriage, and Uniting with ROME, was ſtill carried on, they were all much alarm'd; ſo they ſent their Speaker, and twenty of their Houſe with him, with an earneſt and humble Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger. This had ſo inflamed the Houſe, that the Court ſaw more could not be expected from them, unleſs they were ſatisfied in that Point. So on the 6th of December the Parliament was diſſolved. Upon that Gardiner ſent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with ſuch Oppoſition, that unleſs extraordinary Conditions were offered, which all ſhould ſee were much to the Advantage of the Engliſh Crown, it could not be carried without a general Rebellion. He alſo aſſured him, that if great Sums of Money were not ſent over to gratify the chief Nobility and leading Men in the Country, both for Obliging them to his Intereſt, and Enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the Oppoſition would be ſuch, that the Queen muſt lay down all Thoughts of Marrying his Son. Upon this, the Emperor and his Son reſolved to offer what Conditions the Engliſh would demand; for Philip reckoned, if he once had the Crown on his Head, it would be eaſy for him, with the Aſſiſtance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all theſe ſignify little. And for Money the Emperor borrowed twelve hundred thouſand Crowns (which in Engliſh Money was four hundred thouſand pounds, for a Crown was then a Noble) and promiſed to ſend it over to be diſtributed as Gardiner and his Ambaſſadors thought fit; but made his Son bind himſelf to repay him that Sum, when he had once attained the Crown of England. And this the Emperor made ſo little a Secret, that when, a Year after, ſome Towns in Germany, that had lent Part of this Money, deſired to be repaid; he anſwered them, that he had lent his Son 1200000 Crowns to marry him to the Queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300000 Crowns, but he had good Security for the reſt, and the Merchants were bound to pay him 100000 lib. Sterling, and therefore he

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demanded a little more Time of them. All this was Printed ſoon after at Strasburgh by the Engliſh there, in a Book which they ſent over to England; in which, both the Addreſs made by the Commons in Parliament, and this Anſwer of the Emperor's to the Towns, are mention'd. And the whole Diſcourſe, (which is in the Form of an Addreſs to the Queen, the Nobility, and the Commons,) is written with ſuch Gravity and Simplicity of Stile, that, as it is much the beſt, Dr. Burnet ſays, that he had ſeen in his Time; ſo in theſe publick Tranſactions, there is no Reaſon to think it untrue. For the Things which it relates are credible of themſelves; and though the Sum there mentioned was great, yet he that conſiders that England was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary Price. In that Diſcourſe, it is further ſaid, That as Gardiner corrupted many by Bribes, ſo in the Court of Chancery, Common Juſtice was denied to all but thoſe who came into theſe Deſigns.

HAVING thus given an Account of what was done in the Parliament, the Doctor next ſhews how the Convocation proceeded. Bonner being to preſide in it, as being the firſt Biſhop of the Province of Canterbury, appointed John Harpsfield, his Chaplain, to preach; who took his Text out of the 20th of the Acts (verſe 20) Feed the Flock; he run out in his bidding Prayers, moſt profuſely on the Queen's Praiſes, comparing her to Deborah and Eſther, with all the ſervileſt Flatteries he could invent; next he bid them pray for the Lady Elizabeth; but when he came to mention the Clergy, he enlarged in the Praiſes of Bonner, Gardiner, Tonſtal, Heath, and Day, ſo groſly, that it ſeems the Strains of flattering Churchmen at that Time were very coarſe; and he run out ſo copiouſly in them, as if he had been to deliver a Panegyrick, and not to bid the Beads. In his Sermon he inveighed againſt the late Preachers, for not obſerving Faſts, nor keeping Lent, and for their Marriages; which he ſeverely condemned.

Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, was preſented Prolocutor by the Lower Houſe, and approved of by Bonner. Whether any of the Biſhops that had been made in King Edward's Time ſat among them, Dr. Burnet ſaith he does not know. But in the Lower Houſe there was great Oppoſition made. There had been Care taken that there ſhould be none returned to the Convocation, but ſuch as would comply in all Points: But yet there came Six Non-compliers, who being Deans, or Archdeacons, had a Right to ſit in the Convocation. Theſe were Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter, Philips Dean of Rocheſter, Haddon Dean of Exeter, Cheyney Archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer Archdeacon of Stow, and Young Chanter of St. David's. Weſton, the Prolocutor propoſed to them, on the 18th of October, that there had been a Catechiſm printed in the laſt Year of King Edward's Reign, in the Name of that Synod; and, as he underſtood, it was done without their Conſents, which was a peſtiferous Book, and full of Hereſies: There was likewiſe a very abominable Book of Common-Prayer ſet out; it was therefore the Queen's Pleaſure that they ſhould prepare ſuch Laws about Religion, as ſhe would ratify with her Parliament: So he propoſed that they ſhould begin with condemning thoſe Books, particularly the Articles in them contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar; and he gave out two Queſtions about it: Whether in the Sacrament, upon the Sanctification of the Bread and Wine, all their Subſtance did not vaniſh, being changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt? and, Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was not corporally preſent in the Euchariſt, either by the Tranſubſtantiation of the Elements in his Body and Blood, or by the Conjunction of Concomitance, as ſome expreſſed it? The Houſe was adjourned till the 20th, on which Day every Man was appointed to give his Anſwer to theſe Queſtions. All anſwered and ſubſcribed in the Affirmative, except the Six before-mentioned. Philpot ſaid, Whereas it was given out that the Catechiſm was not approved by the Convocation, though it was printed in their Name, it was a Miſtake; for the Convocation had authorized a Number of Perſons to ſet forth Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to whom they had committed Synodal Authority; ſo that they might well ſet out ſuch Books in the Name of the Convocation. He alſo ſaid, That it was againſt all Order, to move Men to ſubſcribe in ſuch Points, before they were examined; and ſince the Number of theſe on the one Side, was ſo unequal to thoſe on the other Side; he deſired that Dr. Ridley, Mr. Rogers, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the

Convocation. This ſeemed very reaſonable: So the Lower Houſe propoſed it to the Biſhops. They anſwered, that theſe Perſons being Priſoners, they could not bring them; but they ſhould move the Council about it. A Meſſage alſo was ſent from ſome great Lords, that they intended to hear the Diſputation; ſo the Houſe adjourned till the 23d.

THERE was then a great Appearance of Noblemen and others. The Prolocutor began with a Proteſtation, that by this Diſpute they did not intend to call the Truth in doubt, to which they had all ſubſcribed; but they did it only to ſatisfy the Objections of thoſe few who refuſed to concur with them. But it was deny'd to let any Priſoners, or others, aſſiſt them; for it was ſaid, that that being a Diſpute among thoſe of the Convocation, none but Members were to be heard in it. Haddon, and Ailmer, foreſeeing they ſhould be run down with Clamour and Noiſe, refus'd to diſpute: Young went away: Cheyney being next ſpoke to, did propoſe his Objections, That St. Paul calls the Sacrament Bread after the Conſecration: That Origen ſaid, It went into the Excrement; and Theodoret ſaid, The Bread and Wine did not in the Sacrament depart from their former Subſtance, Form, and Shape. Moreman was call'd on to anſwer him; he ſaid, That St. Paul calling it Bread, was to be underſtood thus, the Sacrament or Form of Bread. To Origen's Authority he anſwered nothing; but to Theodoret he ſaid, the Word they render Subſtance, ſtood in a more general Signification, and ſo might ſignify accidental Subſtance. Upon this, Ailmer, who had reſolved not to diſpute, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid the Greek Word, οὐσία could not be ſo underſtood; for the following Words of Form and Shape belonged to the Accidents, but that only belonged to the Subſtance of the Elements. Upon this there follow'd a Conteſt about the Signification of that Word. Then Philpot ſtruck in, and ſaid, the Occaſion of Theodoret's Writing, plainly ſhewed, that was a vain Cavil; for the Diſpute was with the Eutychians, Whether the Body and humane Nature of Chriſt had yet an Exiſtence diſtinct from the Divine Nature? The Eutychians ſaid, it was ſwallowed up by his Godhead; and argued from ſome Expreſſions uſed concerning the Sacrament, as if the Preſence of Chriſt in it had ſwallowed up the Elements: Againſt which, Theodoret, according to the Orthodox Doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Chriſt, a humane Nature, not ſwallowed up; and ſaid, that as in the Sacrament, notwithſtanding the Union of Chriſt with the Elements, they did not depart from their Subſtance, Form, and Shape; ſo the humane Nature of Chriſt, was not abſorbed by its Union to the Godhead; ſo it plainly appeared, this Word Subſtance ſtood for the Nature of the Elements. Moreman being ſtraitned in anſwering this, Philpot ſaid, if he had not an Anſwer ready, he would deſire him to think on one againſt their next Meeting; upon this the Prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too ſoon. He inſiſted on his Argument, but was commanded to be ſilent. Haddon upon that propoſed another Argument, from theſe Words of our Saviour, "The Poor you have always with "you, but me you have not always"; Therefore that his Body was not in the Sacrament. To this the Prolocutor anſwered, that Chriſt was not to be always with us as to receive our Alms; which is all that was intended by that Place; but Haddon brought a copious Citation out of St. Auſtin, applying that very Place to prove that Chriſt's natural Preſence was no more on Earth, after his Aſcenſion into Heaven. To this Dr. Watſon oppoſed another Place of St. Auſtin, and ſome Diſpute was about thoſe Places: After that, Haddon read Authorities of Fathers, aſſerting that Chriſt was in Heaven and not on Earth; the Word of the Inſtitution did plainly expreſs it, both becauſe the Sacrament was to be in Remembrance of Chriſt, and becauſe it was to continue until his Coming again. But to this they ſaid, he was not on Earth in a bodily Manner; and they endeavoured to take away the Force of the Argument from the Words, until his coming again, by ſome other Acceptions of the Word [Until] but Haddon aſk'd them, Whether they thought Chriſt did eat his own natural Body, when he was inſtituted and took the Sacrament? They ſaid he did. Upon that he anſwered, That that was ſo abſurd, that he thought it needleſs to argue more with thoſe who could yield it; and ſo he ſate down. Philpot argued, that Chriſt could not receive his own Body in the Sacrament, ſince it was given

for

for the Remiſſion of Sins, of which he was not capable, having no Sin; Weſton anſwered, He might receive it, as well as be baptiſed; but Philpot anſwered, he was baptized, as he ſaid himſelf, to be an Example to others. So ended this Day's Diſpute.

ON the 25th, Philpot, who was ordered to begin that Day, had prepared a long Diſcourſe in Latin; but Weſton interrupted him, and ſaid, He muſt make no Speech, he was only to propoſe his Arguments, and that in Engliſh; tho' it had been before that the Diſpute ſhould be in Latin, then Philpot went to explain what Sort of Preſence he would diſpute againſt, and what he allowed. Here Weſton again interrupted him, and bid him form his Argument. Upon that he fell down on his Knees, and begged of the Lords, and Privy Counſellors that were preſent, That he might have Leave to ſpeak his Mind; which they granted him; ſo, he ſaid, For their Sacrifice of the Maſs, he would prove that it was no Sacrament at all, and that Chriſt was no Way preſent in it; which if he ſhould not do, before the Queen and her Council, againſt any ſix that would maintain the contrary, he ſhould be willing to be burnt before the Court Gates. Upon this there was great Out-crying, that he was mad, and talked idely; and Weſton threatned to ſend him to Priſon. But this Noiſe being laid, and he claiming the Privilege of the Houſe for the Freedom of Speech, was required to go on to an Argument. Then he proved that Chriſt was in Heaven; for himſelf ſaid, I leave the World, and go to the Father: And to prove there was no Ambiguity in theſe Words, he obſerved that his Diſciples ſaid upon this, Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, without any Parable. It was anſwered, by Dr. Chedſey, That thoſe Words were only meant of his viſible Aſcenſion, but did not exclude his inviſible Preſence; and he cited ſome Words of Chryſoſtom's, That Chriſt took his Fleſh with him, and alſo left his Fleſh behind him. Weſton, and the reſt ſaid, That Authority was unanſwerable; and for a while would not hear his Anſwer. But Philpot ſhewed him, That Chryſoſtom's Words muſt be underſtood in a large Senſe, as Believers are ſaid to be Fleſh of his Fleſh; for that Father applies that alſo to Baptiſm, from theſe Words, As many as are baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt; ſo the Fleſh that Chriſt left on Earth, according to him, is not the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. Upon this, Pye, Dean of Chicheſter, whiſpered ſomewhat to the Prolocutor; who thereupon ſaid to Philpot, That he had diſputed enough. He anſwered, That he had a Dozen of Arguments, and they were enjoining him Silence, before he had got through one of them. They threatned to ſend him to Priſon if he ſpoke more. He ſaid, That was far from the Promiſe they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached laſt Sunday at St. Paul's, That all things ſhould be anſwered in this Diſputation. But Pye ſaid, He ſhould be anſwered another Way. Philpot reply'd, There was a Company of them now got together, who had heretofore diſſembled with GOD and the World; and were now to ſuppreſs GOD's Truth, and to ſet forth falſe Devices, which they were not able to maintain. After this Ailmer ſtood up and brought many Authorities out of Greek Authors, to prove that σὠμα in Theodoret, could only be underſtood of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine: and Moreman deſired a Day's Time to conſider of them. Then Perce, though he had ſubſcribed with the reſt, brought ſome Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; for which the Prolocutor chid him, ſince he had before ſubſcribed. Ailmer anſwered, That it was againſt the Freedom of the Houſe, for any to be ſo chid for delivering his Conſcience. It was now become late, ſo they adjourned to the 27th.

THEN they again diſputed about Theodoret's Words, where Haddon ſhewed that he ſaid the Symbols retained the ſame Subſtance that they had before. After that, Cheyney fell to argue about thoſe Words; he acknowledged a real Preſence, but denied Tranſubſtantiation, preſſed Theodoret's Authority ſo cloſe, that Watſon ſaid he was a Neſtorian; and if Theodoret, who was but one, was of their Side, there was above a hundred Fathers againſt him. Upon this Cheyney quoted Ireneus, who had ſaid, that our Fleſh was nouriſhed by the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament: He alſo cited Heſychius, who ſaid, That in the Church of Jeruſalem, the Symbols that were not conſumed in the Communion, were burnt afterwards; he deſired to know whether the Aſhes were the Body of Chriſt, or what it was that was

burnt? To all this Harpsfield made a lon Anſwer concerning GOD's Omnipotence, and the Weakneſs of Mens Underſtandings that could not comprehend Divine Myſteries. But Cheyney ſtill asked what it was that was burnt? Harpsfield replied, It was either the Subſtance of Bread, or the Body of Chriſt; and afterwards ſaid it was a Miracle: At that Cheyney ſmiled, and ſaid, Then he could ſay no more. Weſton asked, Whether there was not enough ſaid in Anſwer to theſe Mens Objections? Many of the Clergy cried out, Yes, Yes? But the Multitude, with repeated Cries, ſaid, No, No: Weſton ſaid, He ſpake to thoſe of the Houſe, and not to the rude Multitude. Then he asked thoſe Divines, Whether they would now, for three Days, anſwer the Arguments that ſhould be put to them? Haddon, Cheyney, and Ailmer, ſaid they would not; but Philpot offered to do it.

Weſton ſaid, He was a mad Man, and fitter to be ſent to Bethlem. Philpot ſaid, He that had carried himſelf with ſo much Paſſion, and ſo little Indifferency, deſerved a Room there much better. Weſton neglecting him turned to the Aſſembly, and ſaid, They might ſee what Sort of Men theſe were, whom they had now anſwered three Days; but tho' they had promiſed it, and the Order of Diſputation did require it, that they ſhould anſwer in their Turn three Days, they now declined it. Upon that, Ailmer ſtood up and anſwered, that they made no ſuch Promiſe, nor had undertaken any ſuch Diſputation; but being required to give their Reaſons, why they would not ſubſcribe with the reſt, they had done it, but had received no Anſwer to them, and therefore would enter into no further Diſputation before ſuch Judges, who had already determined and ſubſcribed thoſe Queſtions. So the Houſe was adjourned to the 30th, and then Philpot appeared to anſwer, but firſt deſired Leave to proſecute his former Argument, and urged that ſince Chriſt as Man, is like us, in all Things without Sin, therefore as we are reſtrained to one Place at a Time, ſo is Chriſt but in one Place, and that is in Heaven; for St. Peter ſays, The Heavens muſt contain him 'till the Reſtitution of all Things. To this it was anſwered, That Chriſt being GOD, his Omnipotence was above our Underſtanding: And that to ſhut him in one Place, was to put him in Priſon. Philpot ſaid, He was not ſpeaking of his Divine Nature, but that as he was Man he was like us: And for their ſaying that Chriſt was not to be impriſoned in Heaven, he left to all Men to judge whether that was a good Anſwer or not. Much Diſcourſe following upon this, the Prolocutor commanded him to come no more to the Houſe. He anſwered, He thought himſelf happy to be out of their Company. Others ſuggeſting to the Prolocutor, that it would be ſaid the Meeting was not free, if Men were put out of the Houſe for ſpeaking their Minds: He ſaid to him he might come, ſo he was decently habited, and did not ſpeak but when he commanded him. To this he anſwered, that he had rather be abſent altogether. Weſton concluded all, by ſaying, You have the Word, but we have the Sword, truly pointing out wherein the Strength of both Cauſes lay. This was the Iſſue of that Diſputation, which was ſoon after printed in Engliſh, and in Latin by Volerandus Polanus, and is inſerted at large in Fox's Acts and Monuments. What Account the other Side gave of it, Dr. Burnet ſaith he does not find: But upon all ſuch Occaſions, the prevailing Party, when the Inequality was ſo diſproportioned, uſed to carry Things with ſo much Noiſe and Diſorder, that it was no Wonder the Reformers had no Mind to engage in this Diſpute. And thoſe who reflected on the Way of proceeding in King Edward's Time, could not but confeſs Things had been managed with much more Candor and Equality: For in this very Point, there had been, as was formerly ſhewn, Diſputes for a Year together, before there was any Determination made; ſo that all Men were free at that Time to deliver their Opinions without any Fear; and then the Diſputes were in the Univerſities, where, as as there were a great Silence, and Collection of Books, ſo the Auditors were more capable of being inſtructed by them: But here the Point was firſt determined, and then diſputed: And this was in the Mideſt of the Diſorder of the Town, where the Privy Council gave all poſſible Encouragement to the prevailing Party.

THE laſt Thing done this Year, was the reſtoring Veiſey to the Biſhoprick of Exeter, which was done on the 28th of December. In his Warrant for it

it under the Great Seal, it is ſaid, that he, for ſome juſt Troubles, both in Body and Mind, had reſign'd his Biſhoprick to King Edward, to which the Queen now reſtored him. And thus ended this Year.

IN the Beginning of the next Year, the Emperor ſent over the Count of Egmont, and ſome other Ambaſſadors, to make the Propoſition and Treaty of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the Queen. In the Managing of this Treaty, Gardiner had the chief Hand; for he was now the Oracle at the Council-board; he had thirty years Experience in Affairs, a great Knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendom, and of the State of England, and had great Sagacity, with a marvelous Cunning, which was not always regulated by the Rules of Candor and Honeſty. He in drawing the Articles of the Marriage had a double Deſign, the one was, to have them ſo framed that they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; and the other was, to exclude the Spaniards from having any Share in the Government of England, which he intended to hold in his Hands. So the Terms on which it was agreed were theſe:

"THE Queen ſhould have the "whole Government of England, with "the giving of Offices and Benefices, "in her own Hands: So that tho' "Philip was to be called King, and "his Name was to be on the Coin, "and the Seals, and in Writs, yet "her Hand was to give Force to every "Thing without his. Spaniards ſhould "not be admitted into the Govern-"ment, nor any Offices at Court. The "Laws ſhould not be altered, nor the "Pleadings put into any other Tongue.

THE Queen ſhould not be made to go out of England, but upon her own Deſire. The Children born in the Marriage ſhould not go out of England, but by the Conſent of the Nobility. If the Queen outlived the Prince, ſhe ſhould have 60000 l. a Year out of his Eſtate, 40000 out of Spain, and 20000 of it out of the Netherlands. If the Queen had Sons by him, they ſhould ſucceed both to her own Crowns and the Netherlands, and Burgundy: And if the Archduke Charles, Philip's only Son died, they ſhould ſucceed to all Her and His Dominions: If they had only Daughters, they ſhould ſucceed to her Crowns, and the Netherlands, if they married by their Brother's Conſent: Or otherwiſe, they ſhould have ſuch Portions, as was ordinarily given to thoſe of their Rank: But if the Queen had no Iſſue, the King was not to pretend to any Part of the Government after her Death; but the Crown was to deſcend according to the Laws of England to her Heirs. There was to be a perpetual League betwixt England and Spain; but this was not to be in Prejudice of their League with France, which was ſtill to continue in Force. Theſe were the Conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament; by which it appears the Spaniards were reſolved to have the Marriage on any Terms; reckoning that if Prince Philip were once in England, he could eaſily enlarge his Authority, which was hereby ſo much reſtrained.

IT was now apparent, the Queen was to marry the Prince of Spain; which gave an univerſal Diſcontent to the whole Nation. All that loved the Reformation ſaw, that not only their Religion would be changed, but a Spaniſh Government and Inquiſition would be ſet up in its Stead. Thoſe who conſidered the Civil Liberties of the Kingdom, without great Regard to Religion, concluded that England would become a Province to Spain; and they ſaw how they governed the Netherlands, and heard how they ruled Milan, Naples, and Sicily: But above all, they heard the moſt Inhumane Things that ever any Age produced, had been acted by them in their new Conqueſt in the Weſt-Indies.

IT was ſaid, What might they expect, but to lye at the Mercy of ſuch Tyranical Maſters, who would not be long kept within the Limits, that were now preſcribed? All the great Conditions now talked of, were but the Gilding the Pill, but its Operation would be fatal, if they once ſwallowed it down. Theſe Things had Influence on many; but the cheif Conſpirators were the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wiat, and Sir Peter Carew: The one was to raiſe the Midland Counties, the other to raiſe Cornwal, and Wiat was to raiſe Kent: Hoping by riſing in ſuch remote Places, ſo to diſtract the Government, that they ſhould be able to engage the Commons, who were now as much diſtaſted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

BUT as Carew was carrying on his Deſign in the Weſt, it came to be diſcovered; and one that he had truſted much in it, was taken: Upon that

Carew

Carew fled over into France. Wiat was in Kent when he heard this; but had not yet laid his Buſineſs as he intended. Therefore fearing to be undone by the Diſcovery that was made, he gathered ſome Men about him, and on the 25th of January, went to Maidſtone. There he made Proclamation, that he intended nothing, but to preſerve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers; which, he ſaid, all the Council, one or two excepted, were againſt; and aſſured the People, that all the Nobility, and chief Men of England would concur with them. He ſaid nothing of Religion, but in private aſſured thoſe that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One Roper came and declared him and his Company Traitors; but he took him, and ſome Gentlemen that were gathering to oppoſe him. From thence he went to Rocheſter, and writ to the Sheriff of Kent, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the Strangers, for there were already, as he ſaid, an hundred arm'd Spaniards landed at Dover. The Sheriff ſent him Word, That if he, and thoſe with him, had any Suits, they were to make them to the Queen on their Knees, but not with Swords in their Hands; and required them to diſperſe, under Pain of Treaſon. Wiat kept his Men in good order, ſo that they did no Hurt, but only took all the Arms they could find.

AT the ſame Time, one Iſley and Knevet gathered People together about Tunbridge, and went to join with Wiat. The Queen ſent down a Herald to him with a Pardon, if he would diſperſe his Company in 24 Hours; but Wiat made him deliver his Meſſage at the End of Rocheſter-Bridge, and ſo ſent him away. The High-Sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and ſhew'd them how they were abus'd by Lies; there was no Spaniards landed at all; and thoſe that were to come, were to be their Friends and Confederates againſt their Enemies. Thoſe that he brought together, went to Graveſend to meet the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Henry Jerningham, who were come thither with 600 Men from London; and they hearing that Knevet was in his Way to Rocheſter, went and intercepted, and routed him; 60 of his Men were kill'd, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods.

THE News of this diſheartned Wiat much; who was ſeen to weep, and called for a Coat, which he ſtuffed with Angels, deſigning to have eſcaped. But the Duke of Norfolk marching to Rocheſter, with 200 Horſe, and 600 Foot, commanded by one Bret, they were wrought on, by a pretended Deſerter, Harper, who ſeemed to come over from Wiat: He perſuaded the Londoners, that it was only the Preſervation of the Nation from the Spaniards that they deſigned; and it was certain, none would ſuffer under that Yoke more than they. This had ſuch an Effect on them, that they all cry'd out, We are all Engliſhmen; and went over to Wiat. So the Duke of Norfolk was forced to march back. And now Kent was all open to Wiat, who thereupon ſent one to the Duke of Suffolk, preſſing him to make Haſte and raiſe his Country: But the Bearer was intercepted. Upon that, the Earl of Huntington was ſent down with ſome Horſe to ſeize on him. The Duke was at all Times a mean-ſpirited Man, but it never appeared more than now: For after a faint Endeavour to raiſe the Country, he gave it over, and concealed himſelf in a private Houſe; but was betrayed by him to whom he truſted himſelf, into the Hands of the Earl of Huntington; and ſo was brought to the Tower.

Wiat's Party increaſing, they turned towards London. As they came to Deptford, Sir Edward Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, came to them, in the Queen's Name, to aſk what would content him? Wiat deſired that he might have the Command of the Tower, that the Queen might ſtay under his Guard, and the Council might be changed. Upon theſe extravagant Propoſitions, there paſſed high Words, and the Privy-Counſellors returned to the Queen. After this ſhe went into Guildhall, and there gave an Account of her Meſſage to Wiat, and his Anſwer: And for her Marriage, ſhe ſaid, She did nothing in it but by Advice of her Council, and ſpoke very tenderly of the Love ſhe bore to her People, and to the City. On the 31ſt, Wiat was become 4000 ſtrong, and came near Southwark. On the 2d of Feb. he fell into Southwark. Some of his Company had a Mind to have broken into Wincheſter-Houſe and robbed it; but he threatned to hang any that ſhould

ſhould do it. He was put in Hope, that upon his coming to Southwark, London would have declared for him; but in that he was deceived. The Bridge was fortified, ſo that he found it was not poſſible to force it. Here he held a Council of War with his Officers; ſome were for turning back into Kent, to diſperſe a Body of Men that the Lord Abergavenny had gathered together; but he ſaid, That was a ſmall Game. The Strength of their Party was in London, and therefore it was neceſſary for him to be there as ſoon as he could: For tho' they could not open the Bridge to him, yet he was aſſured, if they were on the other Side, many would come out to him. Some were for croſſing over to Eſſex, where they heard the People were well affected to them; but they had not Boats enough, ſo he marched to get over at Kingſton-Bridge.

ON the 24th they came to Kingſton, where the Queen had ordered the Bridge to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſſed the River that Night; and though he loſt much Time, by the Mending of his Carriages, that broke by the Way, he was at Hyde-Park by Nine of the Clock next Morning, it being Aſh-Wedneſday.

THE Earl of Pembroke had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen on him; for his Men were now in great Diſorder; but they look'd on, to let him caſt himſelf into their Hands. He did not march by Holbourn, as ſome adviſed, but came down to Charing-Croſs. There the Lord Clinton fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and diſperſed them ſo, that he had not 500 left about him: But with thoſe that remained, he paſſed through the Strand, and Fleet-ſtreet, to Ludgate, where he ſtopp'd, in Hopes to have found the Gates opened to him. That Hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all Heart, was taken at Temple-Bar by an Herald. All this while the Queen ſhewed great Courage; ſhe would not ſtir out of Whitehall, nor go by Water to the Tower, as ſome adviſed her; but went with her Women and Prieſts to her Devotions.

THIS was a Rebellion, both raiſed and diſperſed, in as ſtrange a Manner as could have been imagined. Wiat was a popular and ſtout Man, but had not a Head for ſuch an Undertaking; otherwiſe the Government was ſo feeble, that it had not been a difficult Thing to have driven the Queen to great Straits. It was not at all raiſed upon Pretence of Religion; which according to the Printed Account ſet out by the Queen's Order, was not ſo much as once named; and yet ſome of our own Writers ſay, That Poinet, the late Biſhop of Wincheſter, was in it: But this is certainly falſe; for ſo many Priſoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and publiſhed, to make that Religion more odious, and we cannot think but Gardiner would have taken Care that he ſhould have been attainted in the following Parliament.

Chriſtopherſon ſoon after writ a Book againſt Rebellion, in which he ſtudies to faſten this Riſing on the Preachers of the New Religion, as he calls it; and gives ſome Preſumptions, that amount to no more but little Flouriſhes of his Wit, but never names this, which had been a deciſive Proof. So that it is but a groundleſs Fiction, made by thoſe who have either been the Authors, or at leaſt have laid down the Principles of all the Rebellions in the Chriſtian World, and yet would caſt that Blame on others, and exempt themſelves from it; as if they were the ſureſt Friends of Princes, while they deſign to enſlave them to a Foreign Power, and will neither allow them to reign, nor to live, but at the Mercy of the Head of that Principality, to which all other Powers muſt bend, or break, if they meet with an Age that is ſo credulous and ſuperſtitious, as to receive their Dictates.

THIS raw and ſoon-broken Rebellion, was as lucky to Gardiner, and thoſe who ſet on the Marriage, as if they had projected it; for now, the People were much diſheartned, and their own Deſigns as much fortified: Since as ſome Fevers are Critical, and caſt out thoſe latent Diſtempers, which no Medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, muſt in the End corrupt the whole Maſs of Blood; ſo in a weak Government, to which the People are ill affected, ill digeſted Rebellions raiſe the Prince higher, and add as much Spirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction againſt him, and give a Handle to do ſome Things, for which otherwiſe it were not eaſy either to find Colours or Inſtruments.

ONE Effect of this was, the Proceedings ſeverely againſt the Lady

Jane, and her Husband the Lord Guilford, who both ſuffered on the 12th of February. The Lady Jane was not much diſordered at it; for ſhe knew, upon the firſt Jealouſy, ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice; and therefore had now lived ſix Months in continual Meditations of Death. Fecknam, afterwards Abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſent to her by the Queen, three days before to prepare her to die. He had a long Converſation with her: But ſhe anſwered him with that Calmneſs of Mind, and Clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was an aſtoniſhing Thing to hear ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, look on Death, ſo near her, with ſo little Diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly, both of Faith, and Holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. Fecknam left her, ſeeing he could work nothing on her: But procured, as it is ſaid, the Continuance of her Life three Days longer, and waited on her on the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death (which muſt needs have been great, ſince Folly had occaſioned it;) ſhe expreſſed "her "Senſe of her Sin, in aſſuming the "Royal Dignity, though he knew how "unwillingly ſhe was drawn to it; "and that in her Royal Eſtate, her en-"forced Honour had never defiled her "innocent Heart. She rejoiced at her "approaching End, ſince nothing could "be to her more welcome, than to be "delivered from that Valley of Miſery "into that Heavenly Throne, to which "ſhe was to be advanced, where ſhe "prayed that they might meet at laſt.

THERE was one Harding, that had been her Father's Chaplain, and that was a zealous Preacher in King Edward's Days; before whoſe Death, he had animated the People much to prepare for Perſecution, and never to depart from the Truth of the Goſpel; but he had now fallen away himſelf. To him ſhe writ a Letter full of ſevere Expoſtulations, and Threatnings, for his Apoſtacy; but it had no Effect on him. It is of an extraordinary Strain, full of Life in the Thoughts, and of Zeal, if there is not too much in the Expreſſions. The Night before her Execution, ſhe ſent her Greek Teſtament, which ſhe had always uſed, to her Siſter; with a Letter in the ſame Language, in which, in moſt Pathetick Expreſſions, ſhe ſets out the Value that ſhe had for it, and recommended the Study and Practice of it earneſtly to her. She had alſo compoſed a very devout Prayer for her Retirements, and thus had ſhe ſpent the laſt Moments of her Life. She expreſſed great Tenderneſs, when ſhe ſaw her Husband led out firſt; but ſoon overcame it, when ſhe conſidered how cloſely ſhe was to follow him. He had deſired to take Leave of her before he died, but ſhe declined it, ſince it would be rather an Increaſe of Grief, than any Addition of Comfort to them. She ſaid, She hoped they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier State; and with a ſettled Countenance, ſhe ſaw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chapel, where it was to be buried. When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, which was raiſed for her within the Tower, to prevent the Compaſſion which her dying more publickly might have raiſed, ſhe confeſſed, ſhe had ſinned in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her; ſhe acknowledged the Act was unlawful, as was alſo her conſenting to it; but, ſhe ſaid it was neither procured nor deſired by her. She declared, that ſhe died a true Chriſtian, and hoped to be ſaved only by the Mercy of GOD in the Blood of Chriſt; ſhe acknowledged that ſhe had too much neglected the Word of GOD, and had loved herſelf and the World two much, for which that Puniſhment had come juſtly to her from GOD: But ſhe bleſſed him that had made it a Means to lead her to Repentance. Then having deſired the Peoples Prayers, ſhe kneeled down, and repeated the 51ſt Pſalm: Then ſhe undreſſed herſelf, and ſtretched out her Head on the Block, and cried out, LORD, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; and ſo her Head was cut off.

ALL People lamented her ſad and untimely End, which was not eaſily conſented to, even by the Queen herſelf. Her Death had a moſt violent Operation on Judge Morgan, that had pronounced the Sentence: Soon after he fell mad, and in all Ravings, ſtill called to take away the Lady Jane from him. Indeed the Blame of her Death was generally caſt on her Father, rather than on the Queen, ſince the Rivalry of a Crown is a Point of ſuch Niceneſs, that even thoſe who bemoaned her Death moſt, could not but excuſe the Queen, who ſeemed to be driven to it, rather from Conſiderations of State, than any Reſentment of her own. On the 17th of February, was

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the Duke of Suffolk tried by his Peers, and condemned: He ſuffered on the 21ſt. He would have died more pitied for his Weakneſs, if his Practices had not brought his Daughter to her End. Next, Wiat was brought to his Trial, where in moſt abject Words he begg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage, if they would ſpare him; but for all that he was beheaded. Bret was hanged in Chains at Rocheſter. In all fifty-eight were executed in ſeveral Places, whoſe Attainders were confirmed by an Act of the following Parliament. 600 of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives, which ſhe granted them; and ſo was this Storm diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood after it, was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on Gardiner, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; which has been always much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad Spectacles.

THE Earl of Devonſhire, and the Lady Elizabeth, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the Riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with Deſign, if it had ſucceeded, to have married the Lady Elizabeth, and put her in the Queen's Room. Wiat did at his Death clear them of being any Way concerned in his Confederacies. Yet the Queen who was much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was willing to find a Pretence for uſing her ill; ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner: And the Earl of Devonſhire had, upon the Account formerly mentioned, offended the Queen, who thought her Kindneſs ill requited, when ſhe ſaw he neglected her, and preferred her Siſter; ſo he was again put into Priſon. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was alſo charged with the ſame Guilt, and brought to his Trial, which laſted ten Hours; but was acquitted by the Jury: Upon which they were caſt into Priſon and ſeverely fined, ſome in 2000 l. ſome in 1000 Marks. This was fatal to his Brother Sir John, who was caſt by the Jury, upon the ſame Evidence that his Brother had been acquitted: But he proteſted his Innocence to the laſt. Sir John Cheek had got beyond Sea, finding he was alſo ſuſpected and ſought after; and both Sir Peter Carew, and he, hoping that Philip would be glad, at his firſt Admiſſion to the Crown of England, to ſhew Acts of Favour, went into Flanders; where they, upon Aſſurances given of Pardon and Mercy, ſurrendered themſelves. Upon their coming into England, they were both put into the Tower. Carew made his Eſcape, and was afterwards employed by Queen Elizabeth in her Affairs in Ireland. Cheek was at this Time diſcharged; but upon ſome new Offence, he was again taken in Flanders, in May 1556, and was prevailed upon to renounce his Religion, and then he was ſet at Liberty; but was ſo ſadly affected at the Unworthineſs of that Action, that it was believed to have caſt him into a Languiſhing, of which he ſoon after died. There was a baſe Impoſtor ſet up at this Time, of one that ſeemed to ſpeak from a Wall with a ſtrange Sort of Voice. Many ſeditious Things were uttered by that Voice, which was variouſly judged of: Some called it the Spirit of the Wall: Some ſaid it was an Angel that ſpoke: And many marvellous Things were reported of it; but the Matter being narrowly inquired into, it was found to be one Elizabeth Crofts, a Girl, who from a private Hole in the Wall, with the Help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe Words. She was made to do Penance openly at St. Paul's for it; but by the Account then Printed of it, there were not any Accomplices found, except one Drake, to whom no particular Character is added: So it ſeems the Trick was laid betwixt theſe two.

THE Nation being now ſettled, the Queen did next give Inſtructions to the Biſhops to proceed to viſit the Clergy, according to ſome Articles which ſhe ſent them. In theſe, after a long and invidious Preamble of the Diſorders that had been in the Time of King Edward, ſhe commanded them to execute all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Laws as had been in Force in her Father's Reign: That the Biſhops ſhould in their Courts proceed no more in the Queen's Name: That the Oath of Supremacy ſhould be no more exacted of any of the Clergy: That none ſuſpected of Hereſy ſhould be admitted to Orders: That they ſhould endeavour to repreſs Hereſy and puniſh Hereticks: That they ſuppreſs all naughty Books, and Ballads: That they ſhould remove all married Clergymen and ſeparate them from their Wives; but for thoſe that renounced their Wives, they might put them into ſome other Cure, or reſerve a Penſion out of their Benefice for them: That

no Religious Man who had profeſſed Chriſtianity ſhould be ſuffered to live with his Wife: That Care ſhould be taken of vacant Churches: That 'till they were provided, the People ſhould go to the Neighbouring Churches: That all the Ceremonies, Holy-days, and Faſts, uſed in King Henry's Time, ſhould be again obſerved: That thoſe who were Ordained by the new Book in King Edward's Time, not being Ordained in very Deed, the Biſhop, if they were otherwiſe ſufficient, ſhould ſupply what was wanting before, and ſo admit them to miniſter: That the Biſhops ſhould ſet forth an uniform Doctrine of Homilies; and compel the People to come to Church, and hear Divine Service: That they ſhould carefully look to all School-maſters and Teachers of Children. And that the Biſhops ſhould take Care to ſet forth the Premiſes, with all Kind of Virtue, godly Living, and good Example; and endeavour to keep down all Sorts of Vice.

THESE were ſigned the 4th of March, and printed, and ſent over the Kingdom. But to make the married Biſhops Examples of the Severity of their Proceedings, the Queen gave a ſpecial Commiſſion to Gardiner, Tonſtall, Bonner, Parfew, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, Day, and Kitchin of Landaff, making mention, That with great Grief of Heart ſhe had heard that the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of St. David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, had broken their Vows, and defiled their Function, by contracting Marriage; therefore thoſe, or any three of them, are impowered to call them before them; and if the Premiſes be found to be true, to deprive, and turn them out of their Biſhopricks. Thus were Seven Biſhops, all at a Daſh, turned out of their Biſhopricks. It was much cenſured, that there having been Laws made allowing Marriage to the Clergy, the Queen ſhould by her own Authority, upon the Repealing of the Laws, turn out Biſhops for Things that had been ſo well warranted by Law: For the Repeal was only an Annulling of the Law for the future, but did not void it from the Beginning: So that, however it might have juſtified Proceedings againſt them for the future, if they had lived with their Wives; yet it could not warrant the puniſhing them for what was paſt; and even the ſevereſt Popes, or their Legates, who had preſſed the Cælibate moſt, had always before they proceeded to deprive any Prieſts for Marriage, left it to their Choice, Whether they would quit their Wives, or their Benefices? but had never ſummarily turn'd them out for being married; and for the other Biſhops, it was an unheard-of Way of Proceedure, for the Queen before any Proceſs was made, to empower Delegates to declare their Sees void, as they were indeed already. This was to give Sentence before Hearing. And all this was done by Virtue of the Queen's Supremacy; for ſhe thought, that a ſinful and ſchiſmatical Power, yet ſhe was eaſily perſuaded to uſe it againſt the Reformed Clergy, and to turn them out of their Benefices upon ſuch unjuſt and illegal Pretences. So that now the Proceedings againſt Gardiner and Bonner, in which were the greateſt Stretches made that had been in the laſt Reign, were far outdone by thoſe new Delegates. For the Archbiſhop of York, tho' he was now turn'd out, yet he was ſtill kept Priſoner, till King Philip, among the Acts of Grace he did at his coming over, procured his Liberty. But his See was not filled till February next; for then Heath had his Conge d'Elire. On or before the 18th of March this Year, were thoſe other Sees declared vacant. For that Day did the Conge d'Elire go out to the Deans and Chapters of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Cheſter, Gloceſter, and Briſtol, for Morgan, White, Parfew, Coats, Brooks and Hollyman. Goodrick of Ely died in April this Year. He ſeems to have complied with the Time, as he had done often before: For he was not at all caſt into any Trouble, which it cannot be imagined he could have eſcaped, ſince he had put the Great Seal to the Patents for the Lady Jane, if he had not redeemed it by ready conſenting to the Changes that were to be made. He was a buſy ſecular-ſpirited Man, and had given himſelf up wholly to Factions and Intrigues of State: So that, tho' his Opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no Wonder if a Man ſo tempered, would prefer the Keeping of his Biſhoprick before the Diſcharge of his Conſcience. Thirleby of Norwich was tranſlated to Ely, and Hopton was made Biſhop of Norwich: But Story, that had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, though upon Day's being reſtored, he was turned out of

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his Biſhoprick, did comply meerly. He came before Bonner and renounced his Wife, and did Penance for it, and had his Abſolution under the Seal, the 14th of July this Year: But it ſeems this was out of Fear; for he ſoon after fled out of England, and lived beyond Sea until Queen Elizabeth's Days; and then he came over; but it was judged indecent to reſtore him to his former See, where it is likely this Scandal he had given, was known; and ſo he was made Biſhop of Hereford. The Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Barlow, was alſo made to reſign, as appears by the Conge d'Elire for Bourn to ſucceed him, dated the 19th of March. Therein it is ſaid, That the See was vacant by the Removal or Deprivation of their former Biſhop: But I incline to believe it truer, that he did reſign; ſince he is not mentioned in the Commiſſions formerly ſpoken of: But that was not all, for at this Time a Book was ſet out in his Name, whether written by him or forged and laid on his Name, is not known, in which he retracts his former Errors, and ſpeaks of Luther and Œcolampadius, and many others, with whom he ſays he had famliarly converſed: With great Bitterneſs he alſo accuſes the Goſpellers in England, of Gluttony, Hypocriſy, Pride, and Ill-Nature; and indeed it is one of the moſt virulent Invectives againſt the Reformation, that was written at that Time: But it is not likely, if he had turned ſo heartily as the Strain of that Book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; eſpecially, ſince he had never married; he fled beyond Sea, where he lived till the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and then it ſeems there was ſome Offence taken at his former Behaviour; for he was not reſtored to Bath and Wells, but put into Chicheſter, that was a much meaner Biſhoprick. The two Archbiſhops Cranmer, and Holgate; the Biſhops Ridley, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Harvey, Bird, Buſh, Hooper, Ferrar, and Barlow, were all removed; Rocheſter was void, and Griffin was put into it this April. Goodrick dying now, Thirlby ſucceeded him; and Sampſon of Coventry and Litchfield dying ſoon after, Bayn ſucceeded him. So here were ſixteen new Biſhops brought in, which made no ſmall Change in the Church.

WHEN this was done, the Biſhop went about executing of the Queen's Injunctions. The new Service was every where caſt out, and the old Ceremonies and Service were again ſet up. In this Buſineſs, none was ſo hot as Bonner; for the Act that repealed King Edward's Laws, being agreed to by the Commons to whom the Lords had ſent it; he, without ſtaying for the Royal Aſſent, did that very Night ſet up the old Worſhip at St. Paul's, on St. Catharine's-Day; and it being the Cuſtom, that on ſome Holidays, the Choir went up to the Steeple to ſing the Anthems, that fell to be on that Night; which was an Antick Way of Beginning a Form of Worſhip, to which the People had been long diſuſed; and the next Day, being St. Andrew's, he did officiate himſelf, and had a ſolemn Proceſſion.

THE moſt eminent Preachers in London, were either put in Priſon, or under Confinement; and as all their Mouths had been ſtopt, by the Prohibiting of Sermons, unleſs a Licence were obtained; ſo they were now to be fallen on for their Marriages. Parker eſtimates it, that there were now about 16000 Clergymen in England; and of theſe 12000 were turned out upon this Account; ſome, he ſays, were deprived without Conviction, upon common Fame; ſome were never cited to appear, and yet turned out; many that were in Priſon were cited to appear, and yet turned out for not appearing; tho' it was not in their Power: Some were induced to ſubmit, and quit their Wives for their Livings: They were all ſummarily deprived, and were alſo forced to leave their Wives; which Piece of Severity was grounded on the Vow, that (as was pretended) they had made: Tho' the Falſhood of this Charge was formerly demonſtrated.

TO juſtify this Severity of Procedure, many were ſet to write againſt the Marriage of the Clergy. Smith who had ſo humbly recanted and ſubmitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his Book, with many Additions. But the moſt ſtudied Work was ſet out by Martin, a Doctor of Laws. It was certainly, for the moſt Part, Gardiner's Work. This Martin had made his Court to Cranmer in former Times. He had ſtudied the Law at Bruges, where Francis Baldwin, one of the celebrated Lawyers of that Time, had publickly noted him for his Lewdneſs, as being not only over-run himſelf with the French-Pox; but as being a Corrupter of all the Univerſity, which

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BUT the Matters of the Convocation are next to be related. Thoſe of the Reformation complained ever where, that the Diſputes of the laſt Convocation had not been fairly carried; that the moſt eminent Men of their Perſuaſion were detained in Priſon, and not admitted to it; that only few of them, that had Right to be in the Houſe, were admitted to ſpeak, and that theſe were much interrupted. So that it was now reſolved to adjourn the Convocation for ſome Time, and to ſend the Prolocutor with ſome of their Number to Oxford, that the Diſputations might be in the Preſence of that whole Univerſity. And ſince Cranmer and Ridley were eſteemed the moſt learned Men of that Perſuaſion, they were, by a Warrant from the Queen, removed from the Tower of London, to the Priſons at Oxford. And tho' Latimer was never accounted very Learned, and was then about 80 Years of Age, yet he having been a celebrated Preacher, who had done the Reformation no leſs Service by his Labours in the Pulpit, than others had done by their able Pens; he was alſo ſent thither to bear his Share in the Debates.

THOSE who were ſent from the Convocation, came to Oxford on the 13th of April, being Friday. They ſent for thoſe Biſhops on Saturday, and aſſigned them Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, every one of them his Day, for the defending of their Doctrine; but ordered them to be kept a-part; and that all Books and Notes ſhould be taken from them. Three Queſtions were to be diſputed:

I. Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was really in the Sacrament?

II. Whether any other Subſtance did remain, but the Body and Blood of Chriſt?

III. Whether in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?

WHEN Cranmer was firſt brought before them, the Prolocutor made an Exhortation to him, to return to the Unity of the Church. To which he anſwered, with ſuch Gravity and Modeſty, that many were obſerved to weep: He ſaid, He was as much for Unity as any, but it muſt be an Unity in Chriſt, and according to the Truth. The Articles being ſhewed him, he aſked, Whether by the Body of Chriſt they meant an Organical Body? They anſwering, It was the Body that was born of the Virgin: Then he ſaid, He would maintain the Negative of theſe Queſtions.

ON the 16th, when the Diſpute with Cranmer was to begin, Weſton, that was Prolocutor, made a Stumble in the Beginning of his Speech; for he ſaid, "Ye are this Day aſſembled "to confound the deteſtable Hereſy of "the Verity of the Body of Chriſt in "the Sacrament." This Miſtake ſet the whole Aſſembly a laughing; but he recovered himſelf, and went on: He ſaid, "It was not lawful to call theſe "Things in doubt, ſince Chriſt had ſo "expreſly affirmed them, that to doubt "of them, was to deny the Truth "and Power of GOD." Then Chedſey urged Cranmer with the Words, This is my Body: To which he anſwered,

ſwered, That the Sacrament was effectually Chriſt's Body, as broken on the Croſs; that is, His Paſſion effectually apply'd. For the Explanation of this, he offered a large Paper containing his Opinion: Of which nothing need be ſaid, ſince it is a ſhort Abſtract of what he writ on that Head formerly; and of that a full Account was given in the former Book. There followed a long Debate about theſe Words. Ogletſhorp, Weſton, and others, urged him much, That Chriſt making his Teſtament, muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak Truth, and plain Truth; and they ran out largely on that. Cranmer anſwered, That figurative Speeches are true; and when the Figures are clearly underſtood, they are then plain likewiſe. Many of Chryſoſtom's high Expreſſions about the Sacrament were alſo cited; which Cranmer ſaid, were to be underſtood of the Spiritual Preſence received by Faith. Upon this much Time was ſpent, the Prolocutor carrying himſelf very undecently towards him, calling him, an unlearned, unſkilful, and impudent Man. There were alſo many in the Aſſembly that often hiſs'd him down, ſo that he could not be heard at all; which he ſeemed to take no Notice of, but went on as often as the Noiſe ceaſed. Then they cited Tertullion's Words, The Fleſh is fed by the Body and Blood of Chriſt, that ſo the Soul may be nouriſhed by GOD. But he turned this againſt them, and ſaid, Hereby it is plain, the Body as well as the Soul received Food in the Sacrament; therefore the Subſtance of Bread and Wine muſt remain, ſince the Body could not be fed by that Spiritual Preſence of the Body of Chriſt. Treaſham put this Argument to him, Chriſt ſaid, As he lived by the Father, ſo they that eat his Fleſh ſhould live by him; but he is by his Subſtance united to his Father, therefore Chriſtians muſt be united to his Subſtance? To this Cranmer anſwered, That the Similitude did not import an Equality, but a Likeneſs of ſome Sort; Chriſt is eſſentially united to his Father; but Believers are united to him by Grace; and that in Baptiſm as well as in the Euchariſt. Then they talked long of ſome Words of Hilary's, Ambroſe's, and Juſtin's. Then they charged him, as having miſ-tranſlated ſome of the Paſſages of the Fathers in his Book; from which he vindicated himſelf, ſaying That he had all his Life, in all Manner of Things, hated Falſhood.

AFTER the Diſpute had laſted from Morning till Two o'Clock, it was broke up; and there was no ſmall Triumph, as if Cranmer had been confounded in the Opinion of all the Hearers, which they had expreſſed by their Laughter and Hiſſing. There were Notaries that took every thing that was ſaid; from whoſe Books Fox did afterwards print the Account of, that is in his Volume.

THE next Day Ridley was brought out; and Smith, who was ſpoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the Prejudice which that Compliance was like to be to him in his Preferment: So he undertook to diſpute this Day. Ridley began with a Proteſtation, declaring, That whereas he had formerly been of another Mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly Conſideration, but merely for the Love of the Truth, which had gathered out of the Word of GOD, and the Holy Fathers; but becauſe it was GOD's Cauſe he was then to maintain, he proteſted that he might have Leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better Conſideration he ſhould ſee Cauſe for it. He alſo deſired he might have Leave to ſpeak his Mind without Interruption; which tho' it was promiſed him, yet he was often ſtopp'd as he went on explaining his Doctrine. He argued againſt the Corporal Preſence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that ſpoke of Chriſt's leaving the World; as being againſt the Article of his ſeting at the Right Hand of GOD; and againſt the Nature of the Sacrament, which is a Remembrance; he ſhewed that by it the Wicked receive Chriſt no leſs than the Godly; that it is againſt Nature to ſwallow down a living Man; that this Doctrine introduced many extraordinary Miracles, without any Neceſſity; and muſt have given Advantage to the Hereticks, who deny'd Chriſt had a real Body, or a true humane Nature; and that it was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers: He acknowledged that it was truly the Communion of his Body, that is, of Chriſt's Death, and of the Heavenly Life given by him; and did, in a ſtrong nervous Diſcourſe, gather together the chief Arguments for his Opinion. Smith argued, That notwithſtanding Chriſt's being at the Right Hand of GOD, he was ſeen on Earth: Ridley ſaid, He did not deny but he might come and ap-

pear on Earth, but that was for a Moment to convince ſome, and comfort others, as St. Paul, and St. Stephen; though he ſaid, it might be they ſaw him in Heaven; but he could not be, at the ſame Time both in Heaven and on Earth, they returned often to Chryſoſtome's Words, and preſſed him with ſome of Bernard's; but as he anſwered the Sayings of the former, that they were Rhetorical and Figurative; ſo he excepted againſt the Judgment of the latter, as living in an Age when their Opinion was generally received. The Diſpute held till Weſton grew weary, and ſtopp'd all; ſaying, You ſee the obſtinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconſtant Mind of this Man; but you ſee alſo the Force of Truth cannot be ſhaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the Victory. This being ecchoed again by the Audience, they went away with great Triumph; and now they reckoned the hardeſt Part of their Work was over, ſince Latimer only remained. Latimer being next Day brought forth, told them, he had not uſed Latin theſe 20 Years, and was not able to Diſpute, but he would declare his Faith, and they might do as they pleaſed. He declared, that he thought the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, to be only Spiritual, ſince it is that by which we obtain Eternal Life, which flows only from Chriſt's abiding in us by Faith; therefore it is not a bare naked Sign; but for the Corporal Preſence, he looked on it as the Root of all the other Errors in the Church: He enlarged much againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs; and lamented that they had changed the Communion into a private Maſs; that they had taken the Cup away from the People; and inſtead of Service in a known Tongue, were bringing a Nation to a Worſhip that they did not underſtand. He perceived they laugh'd at him; but he told them they were to conſider his great Age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They preſſed him much to anſwer their Arguments: He ſaid, his Memory was gone, but his Faith was grounded on the Word of GOD; he was fully convinced by the Book which Doctor Cranmer had written on that Subject.

IN this whole Diſputation, as Ridley wrote it, there was great Diſorder, perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, and Reproaches; ſo that it looked liker a Stage than a School of Divines; and the Noiſe and Confuſions, with which he had been much offended when he was in the Surbone, were modeſt, compared to this. On April the 28th, they were again brought to St. Mary's, where Weſton told them, They were overcome in the Diſputation, therefore he required them to ſubſcribe with the reſt. Cranmer objected againſt their Way of Diſputing; he ſaid, they would not hear any one argue againſt their Errors, or defend the Truth; that oftentimes four or five of them were ſpeaking at once, ſo that it was impoſſible for any to hear or to anſwer all theſe: In Concluſion, he refuſed to ſubſcribe. Ridley and Latimer made the ſame Anſwers, ſo they were all judged Hereticks, and Fautors of Hereſy. Then they were asked, Whether they intended to turn? They anſwered, That they would not turn: So they were judged obſtinate Hereticks, and declared to be no more Members of the Church. Upon which Cranmer anſwered, From this your Judgment and Sentence, I appeal to the juſt Judgment of Almighty GOD, truſting to be preſent with him in Heaven, for whoſe Preſence on the Altar I am thus condemned.

Ridley anſwered, Altho' I be not of your Company, yet I doubt not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this Sentence will ſend us ſooner than we ſhould by the Courſe of Nature have come.

Latimer anſwered; I thank GOD moſt heartily that he hath prolonged my Life to this End, that I may in this Caſe glorify GOD with this Kind of Death.

To them Weſton anſwered, If you go to Heaven, with this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſuaded.

AFTER this there was a ſolemn Proceſſion in Oxford, the Hoſt being carried by Weſton the Prolocutor, who had been, (as himſelf ſaid) in the Diſputation ſix Years in Priſon, in King Edward's Time. This gave him now great Repute, tho' he was known to be a conſtant Drunkard. Ridley wrote to him, deſiring to ſee what the Notaries had written, and that he might have Leave to add, in any Part, as had been promiſed him; but he had no Anſwer. On the 23d of April, the Commiſſioners ſent from the Convocation returned to London. Cranmer ſent a Petition, ſealed by Weſton, to be delivered to the Council; in which he earneſtly

begged

begged their Favour with the Queen, that he might be pardoned for his Treaſon, ſince they knew how unwillingly he conſented to the Patents for excluding her: He alſo complained of the Diſorder in the Diſputes lately had, ſaying, "That he was not heard, nor "ſuffered to propoſe his Arguments; "but all was ſhuffled up in a Day, "tho' he had Matter on that Subject "for twenty Days Work; that it look-"ed like a Deſign to ſhut up all Things "in haſte, and make a Triumph, and "ſo to condemn them to Hereſy." He left it to their Wiſdom to conſider, if this was not an indifferent Way of handling ſuch a Matter. Weſton carried this Petition half-way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he ſent it back, and ſaid, he would deliver no ſuch Petition. Cranmer was ſo kept, that tho' Ridley and Latimer could ſend to one another, yet it was not eaſy for them to ſend to him, without giving Money to their Keepers. In one of Ridley's Letters to Cranmer, he ſaid, He heard they intended to carry down Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, to Cambridge, and to make ſuch a Triumph there, as they had lately made of them at Oxford: He truſted, the Day of their Deliverance out of all their Miſeries, and of their Entrance into perpetual Reſt, and perpetual Joy and Felicity, drew nigh. He prayed God to ſtrengthen them in the mighty Spirit of his Grace. He deſired Cranmer to pray for him, as he alſo did for Cranmer. As for the Letters which theſe and other Priſoners writ in their Impriſonment Fox gathered the Originals from all People that had them, and Sir Walter Mildmay, the Founder of Emanuel-College procured them from him, and put them into the Library of that College where Doctor Burnet ſaith, he has ſeen them, but they are all printed by Fox, ſo that the Reader who deſires to ſee them, may find them in his Acts and Monuments of them all, Ridley writ with the greateſt Connexion and Force, both in the Matter, and in the Way of Expreſſion.

THIS being now over, there was great Boaſting among all the Popiſh Party, as if the Champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The Priſoners in London hearing they intended to inſult over them, as they had done over thoſe at Oxford, ſet out a Paper, to which the late Biſhops of Exeter, St. David's, and Gloceſter, with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Grome, Sanders, Rogers, and Lawrence, ſet their Hands, on the 8th of May.

THE Subſtance of it was: "That "they, being Priſoners, neither as "Rebels, Traitors, nor Tranſgreſſors "of any Law, but meerly for their "Conſcience to GOD and his Truth, "hearing it was intended to carry them "to Cambridge to diſpute, declared "they would not diſpute, but in "Writing, except it were before the "Queen and her Council, or before "either of the Houſes of Parliament: "And that for theſe Reaſons:

"It was clear, that the Determina-"tions of the Univerſities were alrea-"dy made; they were their open Ene-"mies, and had already condemned "their Cauſe before they had heard it, "which was contrary both to the "Wordof GOD, and the Determina-"tions they had made in King Ed-"ward's Time.

"They ſaw the Prelates and Cler-"gy were ſeeking neither to find out "the Ttuth, nor to do them good, "otherwiſe they would have heard "them, when they might have de-"clared their Conſciences without "Hazard; but that they ſought only "their Deſtructinon, and their own "Glory.

"They ſaw that thoſe who were to "be the Judges of theſe Diſputes, "were their inveterate Enemies; and "by what paſs'd in the Convocation-"Houſe laſt Year, and lately at Ox-"ford, they ſaw how they muſt expect "to be uſed.

"They had been kept Priſoners, "ſome nine or ten Months, with-"out Books, Papers, or convenient "Places of Study.

"They knew they ſhould not be "heard to ſpeak their Minds fully, "but ſhould be ſtopt as their Judges "pleaſed.

"They could not have the Nomi-"nation of their Notaries, who would "be ſo choſen, that they would write "and publiſh what their Enemies had "a Mind to do; therefore they would "not engage in publick Diſputes, ex-"cept by Writing; but they would "give a Summary of their Faith, for "which they would be ready to offer "up their Lives to the Halter, or the "Fire, as GOD ſhould appoint.

"They declared, that they believ'd "the Scriptures to be the true Word of

"GOD

" GOD, and the Judge of all Contro-
" verſies in the Matters of Religion;
" and that the Church is to be obeyed
" as long as ſhe follows this Word.
" That they believed the Apoſtles
" Creed, and thoſe Creeds ſet out by
" the Councils of Nice, Conſtantino-
" ple, Epheſus, and Chalcedon; and
" by the firſt and fourth Councils of
" Toledo, and the Symboles of Atha-
" naſius, Ireneus, Tertullian, and Da-
" maſcus. That they believed Juſti-
" fication by Faith; which Faith was
" not only an Opinion, but a certain
" Perſuaſion wrought by the HOLY
" GHOST, which did illuminate the
" Mind, and ſupplied the Heart to
" ſubmit itſelf unfeignedly to GOD.
" That they acknowledged an inherent
" Righteouſneſs, yet Juſtification, and
" the Pardon of Sins, they believed
" came only by Chriſt's Righteouſneſs
" imputed to them. They thought
" the Worſhip of GOD ought to be
" in a Tongue underſtood by the Peo-
" ple, That Chriſt only, and not the
" Saints, were to be pray'd to; that
" immediately after Death, the Souls
" paſs either to the State of the Bleſ-
" ſed, or of the Damned, without any
" Purgatory between. That Baptiſm
" and the LORD's Supper are the Sa-
" craments of Chriſt, which ought to
" be adminſtered according to his In-
" ſtitution; and therefore they con-
" demned the Denying the Chalice,
" Tranſubſtantiation, the Adorati-
" on, or the Sacrifice of the Maſs;
" and aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of Mar-
" riage to every Rank of Men. Theſe
" Things they declared they were rea-
" dy to defend, as they often had be-
" fore offered: And concluded, charg-
" ing all People to enter into no Re-
" bellion againſt the Queen, but to
" obey her in all Points, except where
" her Commands were contrary to the
" Law of GOD.

IN the End of this Month, the Lady Elizabeth was taken out of the Tower, and put into the Cuſtody of the Lord Williams; who waited on her to Woodſtock, and treated her with great Civility and all the Reſpect due to her Quality; but this not being ſo acceptable to thoſe who governed, ſhe was put under the Charge of Sir Henry Benefield, by whom ſhe was more roughly handled.

Prince Philip lands.

ON the 20th of July, Prince Philip landed at Southampton, where he ſet his Foot to land firſt, he preſently drew his Sword, and carried it a great Way, naked, in his Hand. Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country, I know not (ſays Dr. Burnet); but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to rule England with the Sword; tho' others ſaid, it ſhew'd, he intended to draw his Sword in Defence of the Nation. The Mayor of Southampton brought him the Keys of the Town, an Expreſſion of Duty always paid to our Princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without ſpeaking a Word, or expreſſing by any Sign that he was pleaſed with it. His Stiffneſs amazed the Engliſh, who uſed to be treated by their Kings with great Sweetneſs on ſuch Occaſions; and ſo much Gravity in ſo young a Man, was not underſtood, but was looked on as a Sign of vaſt Pride and Moroſeneſs. The Queen met him at Wincheſter; where, on the 25th of July, Gardiner married them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27th and the Queen in the 38th Year of her Age. They were preſented from the Emperor by his Ambaſſador, with a Reſignation of his Titular Kingdom of Jeruſalem, and his more valuable one of Naples, which were Pledges of that total Reſignation that followed not long after.

And is married to the Queen.

SO on the 27th of July they were proclaimed by their new Titles; Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, and Ireland; Princes of Spain, and Sicily, Defenders of the Faith; Archdukes of Auſtria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Habſpurg, Flanders, and Tirol: Spain having always delighted in a long Enumeration of pompous Titles.

IT was obſerved, how happy Marriages had been to the Auſtrian Family; who, from no extraordinary Beginnings had now, in eighty Years Time, been raiſed by two Marriages; firſt, with the Heir of Burgundy and the Netherlands, and then with the Heir of Spain, to be the greateſt Family in Chriſtendom; and the Collateral Family, by the Marriage of the Heir of Bohemia and Hungary, was now the greateſt in the Empire. And ſurely if Iſſue had followed this Marriage, the moſt extraordinary Succeſs poſſible would have ſeemed to be intailed on them: But there was no great Appearance of that; for as the Queen was now far advanced in Years, ſo ſhe

was

was in no good State of Health; a long Courſe of Diſcontent, had corrupted both the Health of her Body, and the Temper of her Mind: nor did the Matter alter much by her Marriage, except for the Worſe. The King's wonderful Gravity and Silence, gained nothing upon the Engliſh; but his Magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him a vaſt Maſs of Wealth; twenty ſeven Cheſts of Bullion, every Cheſt being a Yard and ſome Inches long; which were drawn in 20 Carts to the Tower; after which came ninety-nine Horſes, and two Carts loaded with Coin'd Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be diſtributed among the Engliſh; for it is not improbable, that tho' he empow'red his Ambaſſadors, and Gardiner, to promiſe great Sums to ſuch as ſhou'd promote his Marriage, yet that he would not part with ſo much Money till it was made ſure; and therefore he ordered this Treaſure to be brought after him: He made his Entery into London with great State.

AT his firſt Settling in England, he obtained of the Queen, that many Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty; among whom, the Chief were the Archbiſhop of York, and ten Knights, with many other Perſons of Quality. Theſe very likely had been committed, either for Wiat's Rebellion, or the Buſineſs of the Lady Jane; for Doctor Burnet ſays, he does not believe, that any were diſcharged who had been impriſoned on the Account of Religion. As for this Archbiſhop, tho' he went along in the Reformation, there is no great Character left of him.

THE Interceſſions that Philip made for the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonſhire, did gain him the Hearts of the Nation, more than any Thing elſe that he ever did. Gardiner was much ſet againſt them and ſtudied to bear down the Declaration that Wiat had made of their Innocency, all that he could; but it was made ſo openly on the Scaffold, that it was not poſſible to ſuppreſs it. Before, in his Examinations, Wiat had accuſed them, hoping to have ſaved himſelf by ſo baſe an Action; but he redeemed it all he could at his Death. This had broken Gardiner's Deſign, who thought all they did about Religion, was but half Work, unleſs the Lady Elizabeth was deſtroyed. For he knew, that tho' ſhe complied in many Things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed; and which was more to him, who judged all People by their Intereſt, he reckoned that Intereſt muſt make her declare againſt the Papacy, (ſince otherwiſe ſhe was a Baſtard) if ever ſhe ſhould out-live her Siſter.

Philip oppoſed this, at firſt, upon a generous Account, to recommend himſelf, by obtaining ſuch Acts of Favour to be done by the Queen. But afterwards, when the Hopes of Iſſue failed him by his Marriage, he perceived her out of Intereſt of State; for if ſhe had been put out of the Way, the Queen of Scotland (that was to be married to the Dauphin), was to ſucceed; which would have made too great an Acceſſion to the French Crown; and beſides as it afterwards appeared, he was not without Hopes of perſuading her to marry himſelf, if her Siſter ſhould die without Iſſue. For the Earl of Devonſhire more eaſily obtained his Freedom, tho' not till ſome Months had paſſed. That Earl being ſet at Liberty, finding he was to lie under perpetual Diſtruſts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the firſt Diſorder, again put into the Tower, to which his Stars ſeemed to condemn him, reſolved to go beyond Sea; but died within a Year after, as ſome ſay of Poiſon.

FOR the reſt of the Behaviour of Philip, it was no Way acceptable to the People, for as he engaged the Nation in all his Intereſts, ſo that henceforth during this Reign, England had no Share in the Conſultations of Europe, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the Concluſion, by the ignominious Loſs of Calais; ſo his Temper and Way of Deportment ſeemed moſt ridiculous, and extravigantly formal to the Engliſh Genius, which naturally loves the Mean between the exceſſive Jollity and Talkativeneſs of the French, and the ſullen Staidneſs of the Spaniard; rather inclining more to the Briſkneſs of the one, than the Superciliouſneſs of the other; and indeed his Carriage was ſuch here, that the Acting him and his Spaniards, was one of the great Diverſions of Queen Elizabeth's Courts. The Hall of the Court was almoſt continually ſhut all this Time, and none could have acceſs, unleſs it were firſt demanded with as much Formality as Ambaſſadors

in aſking Audience: ſo that moſt of the Nobility left the Court, few ſtaying but the Officers of the Houſhold.

Gardiner had now the Government put intirely into his Hands; and he, to make his Court the better with the new King, preached at St. Paul's the 30th of September, where, after he had inveighed long Time againſt the Preachers in King Edward's Time, which was the common Subject of all their Sermons, he ran out much in Commendation of the King; affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate as any Prince that ever was in England; and if he did not prove ſo, he was Content that all his Hearers ſhould eſteem him an impudent Lyar. The State of the Court continued in this Poſture till the next Parliament.

BUT great Diſcontents did now appear every where. The ſevere Executions after the laſt Riſing, the Marriage with Spain, and the Over-turning of Religion, concurred to alienate the Nation from the Government. This appeared no where more confidently than in Norfolk, where the People, reflecting on their Services, thought they might have the more Leave to ſpeak.

THERE were ſome malicious Rumours ſpread, that the Queen was with Child before the King came over. This was ſo much reſented at Court, that the Queen writ a Letter to the Juſtices there, to enquire into theſe falſe Reports, and to look to all that ſpread falſe News in the Country. The Earl of Suſſex, upon this examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it, it flowed from the Officiouſneſs of Hopton, the new Biſhop of Norwich; who thought to expreſs his Zeal to the Queen, whoſe Chaplain he had long been, by ſending up the Tales of the Country to the Council-Table; not conſidering how much it was below the Dignity of the Government, to look after all vain Reports.

THIS Summer the Biſhops went to their Viſitations, to ſee every Thing executed according to the Queen's Injunctions. Bonner went his with the reſt. He had ordered his Chaplains to draw a Book of Homilies, with an Expoſition of the Chriſtian Religion. He ſays, in his Preface to it, that he and his Chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the Name of it, and that his Chaplains compoſed it. Yet the greateſt and indeed the beſt Part of it was made to their Hands, for it was taken out of, The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, ſet out by King Henry; only varied in thoſe Points, in which it differed from what they were now about to ſet up: So that concerning the Pope's Power, ſince it was not yet eſtabliſhed, he ſays nothing, for, or againſt it. In the Preface to the Articles upon which he made his Viſitation, he proteſts, he had not made his "Articles out of any ſecret Grudge or "Diſpleaſure to any, but meerly for the "Diſcharge of his Conſcience towards "GOD and the World. The Articles "were: Whether the Clergy did ſo "behave themſelves in Living, Teach-"ing, and Doing, that in the Judgment "of indifferent Men, they ſeemed to "ſeek the Honour of GOD, of the "Church, and of the King and Queen: "Whether they had been married, or "were taken for married, and whether "they were divorced, and did no more "come at their Wives: Whether they "did defend their Marriages: Whether "they did reſide, keep Hoſpitality, pro-"vide a Curate in their Abſence: "Whether they did devoutly celebrate "the Service and uſe Proceſſions: "Whether they were ſuſpected of He-"reſy: Whether they did haunt Ale-"houſes, and Taverns, Bowling-Al-"leys, or ſuſpect Houſes: Whether "they favoured, or kept Company with "any ſuſpected of Hereſy: Whether "any Prieſt lived in the Pariſh, that "abſented himſelf from Church: Whe-"ther theſe kept private Conventicles: "Whether any of the Clergy was "vicious, blaſphemed GOD or his "Saints, or were guilty of Symony: "Whether they exhorted the People "to Peace and Obedience: Whether "they admitted any to the Sacrament, "that was ſuſpected of Hereſy, or "was of an ill Converſation, an Op-"preſſor, or Evil-doer: Whether they "admitted any to preach that were "not licenſed, or refuſed ſuch as were: "Whether they did officiate in Eng-"liſh: Whether they did uſe the Sa-"crament aright: Whether they viſied "the Sick and adminiſtred the Sacra-"ments to them: Whether they did "marry any without aſking the Banes "three Sundays: Whether they ob-"ſerved the Faſts and Holidays: Whe-"ther they went in their Habits and "Tonſures: Whether thoſe that were "ordained Schiſmatically, did officiate "without being admitted by the Or-"dinary: Whether they ſet Leaſes

"for

" for many Years of their Benefices: " Whether they followed Merchandize " or Uſury: Whether they carried " Swords or Daggers, in Times and " Places not convenient: Whether " they did once every Quarter expound " to the People in the vulgar Tongue, " the Apoſtles Creed, the Ten Com- " mandments, the Two Command- " ments of Chriſt for loving GOD and " our Neighbour, the Seven Works of " Mercy, Seven deadly Sins, Seven " principal Virtues, and the Seven Sa- " craments; theſe were the moſt con- " ſiderable Heads on which he viſi- " ted.

ONE Thing is remarkable, that it appears, both by theſe and the Queen's Injunctions, that they did not pretend to re-ordain thoſe that had been ordained by the New Book in King Edward's Time; but to reconcile them, and add thoſe Things that were wanting, which were the Anointing, and giving the Prieſtly Veſtments, with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. In this Point of Re-ordaining ſuch as were ordained in Hereſy or Schiſm, the Church of Rome has not gone by any ſteady Rule: For tho' they account the Greek Church to be guilty both of Hereſy and Schiſm, they receive their Prieſts without a new Ordination. Yet after the Time of the Conteſts between Pope Nicholas and Photius, and much more after the outragious Heats at Rome, between Sergous and Formoſus, in which the dead Bodies of the former Popes were raiſed and dragged about the Streets by their Succeſſors, they annulled the Ordinations which they pretended were made irregularly.

AFTERWARDS again, upon the great Schiſm between the Popes of Rome and Avignon, they did neither annul nor renew the Orders that had been given them: But now, in England, though they only ſupplied at this Time the Defects which, they ſaid, were in their former Ordination: Yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old Maxim, That Orders given in Schiſm were not valid; ſo they did not eſteem Hooper nor Ridley Biſhops; and therefore only degraded them from Prieſthood, tho' they had been ordained by their own Forms, ſaving only the Oath to the Pope; but to thoſe who were ordained by the New Book, they did not at all degrade them, ſuppoſing now they had no true Orders by it.

Bonner, in his Viſitation, took great Care to ſee all Things were every where done according to the old Rules, which was the main Thing intended; other Points being put in for Form. When he came to Hadham, he prevented the Doctor, who did not expect him ſo ſoon by two Hours, ſo that there were no Ringing of Bells, which put him into no ſmall Diſorder; and was much increaſed, when he went into the Church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a Rood ſet up, thereupon he fell a Railing, ſwearing moſt intemperately, calling the Prieſt an Heretick, an Knave, with many other ſuch goodly Words. The Prieſt ſaid, all theſe Things ſhould be amended ſpeedily; and knowing that a good Dinner was the beſt Way to temper Biſhop Bonner, he deſired him to go and dine at his Houſe: But Bonner took it ſo ill, that Hadham, which was one of his own Churches, was an ill Example to thoſe about it, that he loſt all Patience; and reaching at Dr. Bricket, [that was the Parſon's Name] to beat him, he miſguided the Stroke, which fell on Sir Thomas Joſſelin's Ear with great Force. Fecknam, then Dean of St. Paul's, in Dr. May's Room, ſtudied to appeaſe Joſſelin, and ſaid to him, That the Biſhop's being ſo long in the Marſhalſea, had ſo diſordered him, that in his Paſſion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himſelf, he wou'd be ſorry for what he had done. Joſſelin anſwered, He thought, now that he was taken out of the Marſhalſea, he ſhould be carry'd to Bethlem. But Bonner continued in his Fury, and tho' he had purpoſed to ſtay at his Houſe ſome Days, and had ordered Proviſions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, tho' it diſordered the reſt of his Viſitations, for he came to every Place ſooner then he intended or had given Notice.

THE Carvers, and Makers of Statues, had now a quick Trade for Roods and other Images, which were to be provided for all Places. Bonner had obſerved, that in moſt Churches the Walls were painted with Places of Scripture; and in many Places there were Paſſages written, that either favoured the Marriage of the Clergy, or were againſt the Corporal Preſence, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the Multiplicity of the Ceremonies of the Church; ſo he did at his Return ſend out Eſpiſcopal Letters on the 24th of Oct. to raiſe all thoſe Paintings. UP-

UPON this it was generally ſaid, That the Scriptures muſt be daſht out to make Way for the Images, ſince they were ſo contrary one to another, that they could not decently ſtand together. There were many ludicrous Things every where done in deriſion of the old Forms, and of the Images: Many Poems were printed, with other ridiculous Repreſentations of the Latin Service, and the Pageantry of their Worſhip. But none occaſioned more Laughter, than what fell out at St. Paul's the Eaſter before; the Cuſtom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre, at the Even-Song on Good-friday, and to take it out by Break of Day on Eaſter Morning: At the Time of the Taking of it out the Choir Sung theſe words, Surrexit non eſt hic, He is riſen, he is not here; but then the Prieſt looking for the Hoſt, found it was not there indeed, for one had Stolen it out, which put them all in no ſmall Diſorder, but another was preſently brought in its ſtead. Upon this a Ballad followed, that their God was Stolen and loſt, but a new one was made in his Room. This Railery was ſo Salt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large Rewards to diſcover him that had Stolen the Hoſt, or had made the Ballad, but could not come to the Knowledge of it. But they reſolved e're long, to turn their Mirth and Pleaſantneſs of the Hereticks, into ſevere Mourning.

AND thus Matters went on to the 11th of November, when the third Parliament was Summoned. In the Writ of Summons, the Title of Supream Head of the Church was left out, though it was ſtill by Law united to the other Royal Titles; and therefore this was urged, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, as a good Reaſon for Annulling that Parliament, ſince it was not called by a lawful Writ. Now was Cardinal Pool allowed to come into England. The Emperor had this Summer brought him to Flanders, where, to make a mends for the Rudeneſs of ſtopping him on his Way, he deſired him to mediate a Peace between France and him, but that had no Effect. It ſoon appeared that all Things were ſo well prepared by Gardiner's Policy, and the Spaniſh Gold, that it would be an eaſy Matter to carry every Thing in this Seſſion. The Lord Paget, and the Lord Haſtings, were ſent from the King and Queen to bring the Cardinal over. At the Opening of the Parliament, it was an unuſual Sight to ſee both King and Queen ride in State, and come into it with two Swords of State, and two Caps of Maintenance carried before them: The Swords were carried, one by the Earl of Pembroke, the other by the Earl of Weſtmoreland and the Caps, by the Earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury.

THE firſt Bill put into the Lords Houſe, was the Repeal of the Attainder of Cardinal Pool; it began on the 17th, and was ſent down to the Commons on the 19th, who read it three Times in one Day, and ſent it up. This Bill being to be paſſed before he could come into England, it was queſtioned, in the Houſe of Commons, Whether the Bill could be paſſed without making a Seſſion, which would neceſſitate a Prorogation, it was reſolved it might be done: So on the 22d the King and Queen came and paſſed it. It ſet forth, that the only Reaſon of his Attainder, was becauſe he would not conſent to the unlawful Seperation and Divorce between King Henry, and his moſt godly, and virtuous, and lawful Wife Queen Catharine; therefore they conſidering the true and ſincere Conſcience of the Cardinal in that Point, and his other many godly, Virtues and Qualities, did repeal that Act.

ON the 24th he came to London, but without the Solemnities of a Legate's Entry, becauſe the Pope's Authority was not yet ſet up by Law. What Cardinal Pool's Inſtructions were is uncertain: Nor is it fully Underſtood, by learned Men, what was the Power of a Legat [a Latere] in thoſe Days, but Dr. Burnet ſays he found, in the King's Paper Office, the Original Bull of Cardinal Beaton's Legatine Power in Scotland, which it ſeems was intercepted by ſome of the King's Ships, in the Paſſage by Sea thither; or was ſent up to London by thoſe who killed him, and poſſeſſed themſelves of his Caſtle and Goods: He ſuppoſes Cardinal Pool's Bull was in the ſame Form, and ſays in that it is clearly to be perceived what Authority was lodged in the Legates, to overthrow and diſpence with almoſt all the Rules and Canons of the Church; only ſome peculiar Things, (which were more conſpicuouſ-

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ly ſcandalous) were ſtill reſerved to the Apoſtolick See itſelf; whoſe ſingular Priviledge it hath been always eſteemed to diſpenſe with the beſt Things, and allow of the Worſt; ſo the Pretenders to thoſe Graces, paid proportionably for them; this Authority was too ſacred to be truſted, even to a Legate, it being the Prerogative of the Popes themſelves, to be the moſt eminent Tranſgreſſors of all Canons and Conſtitutions.

THE Cardinal firſt declared what his Deſigns and Powers were to the King and Queen; and then on the 27th a Meſſage was ſent to the Parliament to come and hear him deliver his Legation, which they doing, he made them a long Speech, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, from whence he was ſent by the Common Paſtor of Chriſtendom to reduce them, who had long ſtrayed from the Incloſure of the Church. This made ſome Emotion in the Queen which ſhe fondly Thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: This redoubled the Joy, ſome not ſparing to ſay, that as John Baptiſt leap'd in his Mother's Belly at the Salutation of the Virgin, ſo here a happy Omen followed on this Salutation from Chriſt's Vicar. In this, her Women, ſeeing that ſhe firmly believed herſelf with Child, flattered her ſo far, that they fully perſuaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the Council, who that Night writ a Letter to Bonner about it, ordering a Te Deum to be ſung at St. Paul's, and the other Churches of London, and that Collects ſhould be conſtantly uſed for bringing this to a happy Perfection. All that Night, and the next Day, there was great Joy about the Court and City.

ON the 29th, the Speaker reported to the Commons the Subſtance of the Cardinal's Speech; and a Meſſage coming from the Lords for a Conference of ſome of their Houſe, with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Biſhops, and four Lords, to prepare a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of Rome, it was conſented to; and the Petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and Approved of by both Houſes. It contained an Addreſs to the King and Queen, "That whereas they had been guilty "of the moſt horrible Defection and "Schiſm from the Apoſtolick See, they "did now ſincerely repent of it; and "in Sign of their Repentance, were "ready to Repeal all the Laws made "in Prejudice of that See; therefore "ſince the King and Queen had been "no way defiled by their Schiſm, they "pray them to be Interceſſors with "the Legate to grant them Abſolution, and to receive them again into "the Boſom of the Church.

SO this being preſented by both Houſes on their Knees, to the King and Queen, they made their Interceſſion with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himſelf in a long Speech:

"He thanked the Parliament for re"pealing the Act againſt him, and "making him a Member of the Nati"on, from which he was by that Act "cut off: In Recompence of which he "was now to reconcile them to the "Body of the Church." He told them, "The Apoſtolick See cheriſhed "Britain moſt tenderly, as the firſt "Nation that had publickly received "the Chriſtian Faith. The Saxons "were alſo afterwards converted, "by the Means of that See, and "ſome of their Kings had been ſo de"voted to it, that Offa, and others, "had gone to viſit the Threſholds of "the Apoſtles. That Adrian IV. an "Engliſh Pope had given Ireland to "the Crown of England; and that "many mutual Marks of reciprocal "Kindneſs had paſſed between that "common Father of Chriſtendom, and "our Kings, their moſt beloved Sons; "but none more eminent than the be"ſtowing on the late King, the Title "of Defender of the Faith. He told "them, that in the Unity with that "See, conſiſted the Happineſs and "Strength of all Churches: That ſince "the Greeks had ſeparated from them, "they had been abandoned by GOD, "and were now under the Yoke of "Mahometans. That the Diſtractions "of Germany did further demonſtrate "this; but moſt of all, the Confuſi"ons themſelves had felt, ever ſince "they had broken that Bond of Per"fection. That it was the Ambition "and Craft of ſome, who for their "private Ends began it, to which the "reſt did too ſubmiſſively comply; "and that the Apoſtolick See might "have proceeded againſt them for it, "by the Aſſiſtance of other Princes; "but had ſtayed looking for that Day, "and for the Hand of Heaven. He "run out much on the Commendation "of the Queen, and ſaid, GOD had

" ſignally preſerved her, to procure " this great Bleſſing to the Church. " At laſt he enjoined them for Pen- " ance, to repeal the Laws they had " made; and ſo, in the Pope's Name, " he granted them a full Abſolution, " which they received on their Knees; " and he alſo abſolved the whole Realm " from all Cenſures.

THE reſt of the Day was ſpent with great Solemnity and Triumph; all that had been done, was publiſhed next Sunday at St. Paul's. There was a Committee appointed, by both Houſes, to prepare the Statute of Repeal, which was not finiſhed before the 25th of December, and then, the Biſhop of London only proteſting againſt it, becauſe of a Proviſo put in for the Lands which the Lord Wentworth had out of his Biſhoprick, it was agreed to, and ſent to the Commons. They made more Haſte with it, for they ſent it back the 4th of January, with a Deſire that twenty Lines in it, which concerned the See of London, and the Lord Wentworth, might be put out, and two new Proviſo's added. One of their Proviſo's was not liked by the Lords, who drew a new one; to which the Viſcount Montague, and the Biſhops of London, and Coventry, Diſſented, the twenty Lines of the Lord Wentworth's Proviſo were not put out; but the Lord Chancellor took a Knife and cut them out of the Parchment, and ſaid, now I do truly the Office of a Chancellor; the Word being Ignorantly derived by ſome from Cancelling, it is not mentioned in the Journal that this was done by the Order of the Houſe, but that muſt be ſuppoſed, otherwiſe it cannot be thought the Parliament would have conſented to ſo unlimited a Power in the Lord Chancellor, as to raiſe, or cut out Proviſo's at his Pleaſure.

BY this Act is ſet forth, " Their for- " mer Schiſm from the See of Rome " and their Reconcilation to it now, " upon which all Acts paſſed ſince the " 20th of King Henry VIII. againſt " that See, were eſpecially enumera- " ted and repealed: There it's ſaid, " that for the removing of all Grudges " that might ariſe, they deſired that " the following Articles might, thro' " the Cardinal's Interceſſion, be eſta- " bliſhed by the Pope's Authority.

I. " THAT all Biſhopricks, Cathe- " drals, or Colleges, now eſtabliſhed " might be confirmed for ever.

II. " THAT Marriages, made within " ſuch Degrees as are not contrary to " the Law of GOD, but only to the " Laws of the Church, might be con- " firmed, and the Iſſue by them de- " clared Legitimate.

III. " THAT all Inſtitutions into Be- " nefices might be confirmed.

IV. " THAT all Judicial Proceſſes " might be alſo confirmed.

" AND Finally, That all the Set- " tlements of the Lands, of any Bi- " ſhopricks, Monaſtries, or other Re- " ligious Houſes, might continue as " they were, without any Trouble " by the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures or " Laws.

" AND to make this paſs the bet- " ter, a Petition was procured from " the Convocation of Canterbury, ſet- " ting forth, That whereas they, being " the Defenders and Guardians of the " Church, ought to endeavour, with " all their Strength to recover thoſe " Goods to the Church, which in the " Time of the late Schiſm had been " alienated; yet having conſidered " well of it, they ſaw how difficult, " and indeed impoſſible, that would " prove, and how much it would en- " danger the publick Peace of the " Realm, and the Unity of the Church, " therefore they preferring the publick " Welfare, and the Salvation of Souls, " to their own private Intereſts, did " humbly pray the King and Queen " to intercede with the Legate, that " according to the Powers given him " by the Pope, he would ſettle and " confirm all that had been done in " the Alienation of the Church and " Abbey-Lands, to which they, for " their Intereſts, did conſent: And " they added an humble Deſire, That " thoſe Things which concerned the " Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Liber- " ty, might be re-eſtabliſh'd, that ſo " they might be able to diſcharge the " Paſtoral Curé committed to them. " Upon this, the Cardinal granted a " full Confirmation of thoſe Things; " ending it, with a heavy Charge on " thoſe who had the Goods of the " Church in their Hands, that they " would conſider the Judgments of " GOD that fell on Baltſhazar, for his " prophane uſing the Holy Veſſels, " though they had not been taken a- " way by himſelf, but by his Father. " And he moſt earneſtly exhorted " them, that at leaſt they would take " Care, that out of the Tithes of Par-

ſonages,

" ſonages, or Vicarages, thoſe who " ſerved the Cures, might be ſuffici- " ently maintain'd and encouraged. " This was confirmed in Parliament " where alſo it was declared, That all " Suits about theſe Lands, were only " to be in the Queen's Court, and not " in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: And if " any ſhould, upon the pretence of " any Eccleſiaſtical Authority, diſturb " the Subjects in their Poſſeſſion, they " were to fall into a Premunire. It " was alſo declared, that the Title of " Supreme Head, never of right be- " longed to the Crown; yet all Writ- " ings, wherein it was uſed, were ſtill " to continue in Force; but that here- " after, all Writings ſhould be of Force, " in which, either, ſince the Queen's " coming to the Crown, or afterwards, " that Title ſhould be, or had been " omitted. It was alſo declared, that " Bulls from Rome might be executed; " that all Exemptions that had be- " longed to Religious Houſes, and had " been continued by Grants given of " them, were repealed, and theſe " Places were made ſubject to the " Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, excepting on- " ly the Privileges of the two U- " niverſities, the Churches of Weſt- " minſter and Windſor, and the Tower " of London: But for encouraging " any to beſtow what they pleaſed on " the Church, the Statutes of Mort- " main were repealed for twenty Years " to come; provided always, that no- " thing in this Act ſhould be contrary " to any of the Rights of the Crown, " or the antient Laws of England; " but that all Things ſhould be brought " to the State theywere in at the 20th " Year of her Father's Reign, and to " continue in that Condition.

" IN it they petitioned the Lords " of the Upper Houſe of Convocation, " to take Care, that by their Conſent " to the Settlement of the Church- " Lands, nothing might be done in " Prejudice of any juſt Title they had " in Law to them: As alſo, it being " ſaid in the Grant of Chantries to " King Edward, that Schools and Hoſ- " pitals were to be erected in ſeveral " Parts of the Kingdom; they deſired " that ſome Regard might be had to " that: Likewiſe, that the Statutes of " Mortmain might be repealed; and, " whereas Tithes had been at all " Times appointed for the Eccleſiaſti- " cal Miniſtry, therefore they prayed " that all Impropriations might be diſ- " ſolved, and the Tithes reſtored to " the Church. They alſo propoſed " 27 Articles of Things meet to be " conſidered for the Reformation of " the Church; viz. That all who had " preached any Heretical Doctrine, " ſhould be made openly to recant it: " That Cranmer's Book of the Sacra- " ment, the late Service Books, with " all Heretical Books, ſhould be burnt, " and all that had them, ſhould be re- " quired to bring them in, otherwiſe " they ſhould be eſteemed the Favourers " of Hereſy: That great Care ſhould " be had of the Books that were ei- " ther printed or ſold: That the Sta- " tutes made againſt Lollards, might " be received and the Church reſtor'd " to it's former Juriſdiction: That all " Statutes for Pluralities, and Non-re- " ſidence, might be repealed, that ſo " beneficed Men might attend on " their Cures: That Symonical Factions " might be puniſhed; not only in the " Clergy that made them, but in the " Patrons and in thoſe that mediated " in them: That the Liberties of the " Church might be reſtored according " to the Magna Charta; and the Cler- " gy be delivered from the heavy Bur- " thens of Firſt-Fruits, Tenths, and " Subſidies: That there might be a " clear Explanation made of all the " Articles of the Premunire; and that " none ſhould be brought under it, till " there were firſt a Prohibition iſſued " out by the Queen in that Particular; " and that Diſobedience to it ſhould " only bring them within that Guilt: " That all Exemptions ſhould be taken " away; all Uſury be forbid; all " Clergymen obliged to go in their " Habits: The laſt was, that all who " had ſpoiled Churches without any " Warrant might be obliged to make " Reſtitution.

THE next Act that was brought in, was for the Reviving of the Statutes made by Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. againſt Hereticks; of which an Account was given in the Firſt Book of the former Part. The Act began in the Houſe of Commons; who, as was obſerved in the former Parliament, were much ſet on Severities. It was brought in on the 12th of December, and ſent up to the Lords on the 15th, who paſſed it on the 18th of that Month. The Commons put in alſo another Bill, for voiding all Leaſes made by married Prieſts. It was much argued among them, and the firſt

Draught

Draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and ſent up to the Lords, on the 19th of December; but they finding it would ſhake a great Part of the Rights of the Church-Lands that were made by married Prieſts, or Biſhops, laid it a-ſide. Thus did the ſervile and corrupted Houſe of Commons run ſo faſt, that the Biſhops themſelves were forced to moderate their Heats.

THEY all underſtood how much the Queen was ſet upon having the Church raiſed as high as could be, and ſaw there was nothing ſo effectual to recommend any to her Favour as to move high in theſe Matters; and tho' their Motions were thought too violent, and rejected, yet their Affections were thereby diſcovered; ſo that they knew they ſhould be looked on as Men deeply engaged in theſe Intereſts.

AFTER this the Bill of Treaſons was brought in. This was alſo argued for ſome Days in the Houſe of Commons, but at laſt agreed to. By it, any who denied the King's Right to the Title of the Crown with the Queen's, or endeavoured to put him from it, together with them that did ſeveral other Offences, were to forfeit all their Goods, and to be impriſoned during Life; and Clergymen were to be deprived by their Ordinaries; In theſe Caſes, the ſecond Offence was to be Treaſon; but if any ſhould compaſs the King's Death, and utter it by any Overt Deed, during his Marriage to the Queen, the firſt Offence of this Kind ſhould be Treaſon. It was alſo enacted, That the Parliament having petitioned the King, that if the Queen died with any Iſſue, he would take on him the Government of them till they came of Age; to which he had aſſented, therefore if the Queen died before her Children came to Age, the Government of the Kingdom ſhould be in the King's Hands; if it were a Son, till he was Eighteen; or if a Daughter, till ſhe was Fifteen Years of Age; and in all that Time the conſpiring his Death was to be Treaſon. The Witneſſes were to be brought before the Parties; and none were to be try'd for any Words, but within ſix Months after they were ſpoken.

ANOTHER Act paſſed, upon a Report made of ſome Heretical Preachers, who had, as was informed, pray'd in their Conventicles, that GOD would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or elſe ſhorten her Days, and take her quickly out of the Way: All therefore that ſo prayed for taking away the Queen's Life were to be judged Traitors; but if they ſhewed themſelves penitent for ſuch Prayers, they were not to be condemned of Treaſon, but put to any Corporal Puniſhment, other than Death, at the Judges Direction. This was paſs'd in great Haſte, for it was thrice read in the Houſe of Lords, and paſs'd on the 16th of January, in which the Parliament was diſſolved.

THERE was another Act paſſed, againſt thoſe that ſpread lying Reports of any Noblemen, Judges, or great Officers; that ſuch as ſpread them ſhould be impriſoned till they brought their Authors, according to former Acts. If any ſpread ſuch Reports of the King and Queen, they were to be ſet on a Pillory, and pay 100 l. or have their Ears cut off and be three Months Priſoners, and they were to pay 100 Marks, and ſuffer one Month's Impriſonment, tho' they had Authors for them, if they reported them maliciouſly; but if their Reports tended to the Stiring of any Inſurrection, they were to loſe their Right Hand; and upon a ſecond Offence to ſuffer Impriſonment during their Lives; but they were to be proceeded againſt within three Months after the Words ſo ſpoken.

ALL the Bills being ended, the Parliament was diſſolved on the 16th of January, to Gardiner's no ſmall Joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the Queen, or Emperor, upon which he had the Reputation that he was formerly in, of a great Stateſman, and a dexterous Manager of Affairs, much confirmed and raiſed, ſince he had brought about, in ſo ſmall a Time, ſo great a Change, where the Intereſts of thoſe who conſented to it, ſeemed to lead them another Way. To thoſe who had apprehended the Tyranny of Rome, he had ſaid, That as our former Kings had always kept it under in a great Meaſure; ſo there was leſs Danger of that now, ſince they ſaw that all Princes had agreed to preſerve their own Rights entire, againſt the Pope's Pretenſions. He ſhewed them, that therefore all the old Laws againſt Proviſions from Rome, were ſtill kept in force: And ſo upon Cardinal Pool's being called over, there was a Commiſſion ſent him under the Great Seal, bearing Date the 10th of November, authorizing him to exerciſe his Legatine Power in England. By this he

ſhew'd

ſhewed them that no Legate ſhould ever come into England to execute any Power, till his Faculties were ſeen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain Imagination; for, if the Papacy were once fully eſtabliſhed, and People brought again under the old Superſtition, of eſteeming the Popes Chriſt's Vicars, and the infallible Heads of the Church, it would not be poſſible to retain the People in their Obedience, ſince all the Aſſiſtance that the Princes of Chriſtendom of this Time, had from their Subjects in their Wars with the Popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more ſubmit implicitly to their Prieſts. But if once that blind Obedience were reſtored, it would be eaſy for the Prieſts, by their private Dealings in Confeſſion, to overturn Governments as they pleaſed.

BUT that which ſtuck moſt was, That the Church-Lands were, by the Canon-Law, ſo indiſſolubly annexed to the Church, that they could not be ſeparated from it. To this it was anſwered, that they ſhould ſecure it by a Law at Rome; and ſhould confirm all the Alienations that had been made, both by the Conſent of the Clergy, and by the Pope's Authority committed to the Legate. Yet even that did not ſatisfy many, who found ſome Laws in the Canon ſo ſtrict, that the Pope himſelf could not diſpenſe with them: If the Legate did it, the Pope might refuſe to confirm it, and then it was nothing, and what one Pope did, another often recalled. So it was ſaid, that this Confirmation was but an Artifice, to make it paſs the more eaſily; beſides all obſerved, that in the Cardinal's Confirmation of thoſe Lands, there was a Charge given to all, to be afraid of the Judgments of GOD, that fell on Balſhazar for uſing the Holy Veſſels; which was, to pardon the Thing, and yet to call it a Sacrilege, for which they might look for the Vengeance of GOD. So that the Cardinal did, at the ſame Time, both bind and looſe; and it was plain, both by that Clauſe, and the Repeal of the Statute of Mortmain, that it was deſigned to poſſeſs People with the Opinion of the Sin of retaining Church-Lands. It was thought this Confirmation, was rather an Indemnity, and Permiſſion to keep them, than declaring the Poſſeſſors had any lawful Title to them: So that Men were near Death, and could no longer enjoy thoſe Lands themſelves, it was not to be doubted, but the Terrors of Sacrilege, and the Puniſhments due to it, with the Hope of that Relief and Comfort that Soul Maſſes might bring them in Purgatory, would prevail with many of them, to make at leaſt great, if not entire Reſtitutions.

THIS Point being carried by thoſe who did not underſtand what future Danger their Eſtates were in, but conſidered the preſent Confirmation, and the other Advantages which they were to have for conſenting to this Act; all the reſt paſſed with no Oppoſition. The Act about the Proceeding againſt Hereticks, paſſed more eaſily than any Thing that had been propoſed; ſo it ſeems the Oppoſition that was made to other Acts, came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwiſe this would have found ſome Reſiſtance. But now it was the only Way to the Queen's Favour, and to Preferment, to run down that which was called Hereſy.

AFTER the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the firſt Thing taken into Conſideration was, what way to proceed againſt the Hereticks. Cardinal Pool had been ſuſpected to favour the Proteſtants, but ſeemed now to be much alienated from them: And therefore when Tremellius, who had declared himſelf a Proteſtant, came to him at Bruſſels, he would not ſee him, though he was his God-Father. He came over into England, much changed from that Freedom of Converſation he had formerly practiſed, he was in reſerve to all People, ſpoke little and had put on an Italian Temper, as well as Behaviour: He brought over two Italians, Priuli and Ormaneto who were his only Confidents. He was a Man of a generous and good Diſpoſition; but knew how jealous the Court of Rome would be of him, if he ſeemed to favour Hereticks; therefore he expreſſed great Deteſtation of them. Nor did he converſe much with any that had been of that Party, but the late Secretary Cecil, who, though he lived for the moſt part privately at his Houſe near Stamford, where he afterwards built a moſt ſumptuous Houſe; and was known to favour the Reformation ſtill in his Heart; yet in many things he complied with the Time, and came to have more of his Confidence than any Engliſh Man.

THE Cardinal profeſſed himſelf an Enemy to extream Proceedings. He ſaid, Paſtors ought to have Bowels, even to their Straying Sheep: Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that erred, as their Sick Children, and not for that, to Kill them; he had ſeen, that ſevere Proceedings did rather inflame than cure that Diſeaſe: There was a great difference to be made between a Nation uninfected, where ſome few Teachers came to ſpread Errors; and a Nation that had been over run with them, both Clergy and Laity. The People were not ſo violent as to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of thoſe Errors, into which they had been led by the Compliance and Writings of their Prelates. Therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a ſtrict Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy, carried on, he had obſerved in every Country of Chriſtendom, that all the beſt and wiſeſt Men acknowledged, that the Scandals and Ignorance of the Clergy, had given the Enterance to Hereſy: So he moved, that there might be a Reviving of the Rules of the Primitive Church; and then within a little Time Men might by Degrees be brought over: But it does not appear that he propoſed the receiving the Council of Trent; which is the more ſtrange, ſince he had been himſelf one of the Legates at the firſt Seſſion of it; but it ſeems, it was not thought ſeaſonable to propoſe it, till the Council were firſt ended and diſſolved.

ON the other Hand, Gardiner, who had no great Senſe of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but as they ſerved Intrigues of State; and being himſelf of ſuch a Temper, that very ſevere Proceedings wrought much on him; judged that the executing the Laws againſt the Lollards was that in which they were chiefly to truſt. He was confident, the Preachers then in Priſon, were Men of ſuch Tempers, that, if they ſaw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they ſtood out, and were burnt, that would ſo terrify the reſt, that the whole Nation would ſoon change. He remembered well how the Lollards grew in England, only upon Cardinal Wolſey's ſlackning the Execution of the Laws againſt them: And upon the paſſing of the Statute of the ſix Articles, many ſubmited; ſo that if K. Hen. had not diſcouraged the vigorous Execution of that Act, all had turned. He did not deny but a Reformation of the Clergy was a good and fit Mean; but ſaid, that all Times could not bear ſuch Things; and if they went to reform their Manners, the Hereticks would from thence take Advantage of raiſing Clamours againſt a ſcandalous Clergy; which would increaſe, rather than leſſen the Averſion the People had to their Paſtors. So Gardiner complained, that Pool, by his Intention of coming over too haſtily, had almoſt precipitated all Things; and now by his gentle Proceedings, would as much prejudice them another Way. All theſe Reaſonings, were ſuch as became a Man of Gardiner's Temper, which being ſervile and abject, made him meaſure others by himſelf.

HE was alſo at this Time highly provoked by the Reprinting of his Books of True Obedience, which he had writ in the Time of King Henry, and to which Bonner had made the Preface. In theſe Books, Gardiner had not only argued againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the King's, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen Catharine, calling it often, "Inceſtuous, and unlawful, and had "juſtify'd the King's Divorcing her, "and marrying his moſt godly and "virtuous Wife, Queen Anne'." This being reprinted in Straſburg, was now conveyed into England; and it was acknowledged to be a handſome Piece of Spite in the Reformed, thus to expoſe him to the World. But tho' this netled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excuſed himſelf, that he had erred through Fear and Weakneſs, as St. Peter had done; tho' it was an unreaſonable Thing, to compare an Error of near thirty Years Continuance, to the ſudden Denial of St. Peter, that was preſently expiated with ſo true and ſincere a Repentance.

BETWEEN theſe two Councils, the Queen would have a mean Way taken, to follow both in Part. She encouraged Pool to go on in the Correcting the Manners of the Clergy; and likewiſe preſſed Gardiner to proceed againſt the Hereticks.

SHE alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome who were the Viſcount Montagu, the Biſhop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carn, one to repreſent every State of the Kingdom; to make her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain a Confirmation of all thoſe Graces Cardinal Pool had granted in his Name.

ON

ON the 23d of January, all the Biſhops went to Lambeth, to receive the Cardinal's Bleſſing and Directions. He wiſhed them to return to their Cures, and treat their Flocks with all Gentleneſs, and to endeavour rather to gain them that Way, than to uſe Extremity and Rigour: And on the 25th there was a ſolemn Proceſſion throughout London; there went firſt 160 Prieſts, all in their Copes, eight Biſhops next and laſt of all came Bonner himſelf carrying the Hoſt; to thank GOD for reconciling them again to his Church; and Bonfires were burning all the Night. And to keep up a conſtant Remembrance of it, it was ordered, That St. Andrew's Day ſhould be ſtill obſerved as the Anniverſary of it, and be called, The Feaſt of the Reconcilation; and Proceſſions with all the higheſt Solemnities, they at any Time uſe, were to be on that Day.

BUT now they turned wholly to the Proſecution of the Hereticks. There had been thirty of them taken at a Meeting near Bow Church, where one Roſe, a Miniſter gave them the Communion, according to the Engliſh Book of Service; ſo they were all put in Priſon. On the 22d of January, Rogers with others, were brought before the Council; he had been a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in a Sermon, after the Queen had come to London, had zealouſly aſſerted the Doctrine he had formerly preached; and as it hath been ſhewn, was confined to his Houſe, upon the Tumult that had been at St. Paul's. He was much preſſed to fly over into Germany, but he would not hearken to it, tho' the Neceſſities of ten Children were great Temptations. He was eſteemed one of the moſt learned of the Reformers, ſo that when thoſe of the Convocation were requir'd to diſpute, they deſired that Ridley and he might be ſuffered to come and join with them. It was reſolved to begin with him, and ſome others, at the Council-Board, to ſee if they could be eaſily brought over.

HE was accordingly brought before the Council, where being aſked by Gardiner, Whether he would knit himſelf to the Catholick Church and receive the Pope as the Supreme Head; he ſaid, He knew no other Head of the Church but Chriſt; and for the Pope, he had no more Authority in England, than any other Biſhop, either by the Word of GOD, or the Authority of the Church, for 400 Years after Chriſt: But they objecting, that he had acknowledged King Henry to be Supreme Head; he anſwered, He never acknowledged him to be Supreme, as to forgive Sins, beſtow the HOLY GHOST, or be a Judge above the Word of GOD. But as he was going to explain himſelf, Gardiner preſſed him to anſwer plainly. He objected to Gardiner, that all the Biſhops had for many Years preached againſt the Pope, Gardiner ſaid they were forced to it, by the Cruelty of the Times; but they would argue no more with him: Now Mercy was offered, if he rejected it, Juſtice muſt come next. Rogers ſaid, If they had been preſſed to deny the Pope's Power by Cruelty, would they now by the ſame Motives force others to acknowledge it, for his Part he would never do it. The other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the Lord Effingham's Favour, was let go upon a general Queſtion, if he would be an honeſt Man? But all the reſt anſwering reſolutely, were ſent back to Priſon, and were kept more ſtrict than formerly, none being ſuffered to come near them.

ON the 28th of January, the Biſhops of Wincheſter, London, Dureſme, Salisbury, Norwich, and Carliſle, ſat in Mary Overies in Southwark, were Hooper was firſt brought before them. It needs not to be doubted, but Bonner remembred, that he had Informed againſt him, when he was deprived in King Edward's Time. He had been ſummoned to appear before the Queen, ſoon after ſhe came to the Crown: And it was pretended, he owed her great Sums of Money: Many adviſed him not to appear, for it was but a pretence to put him, and a great many more in Priſon, where they would be kept till Laws were made to bring them to the Stake. But he would not with-draw; ſo now he and Mr. Rogers were ſingled out and begun with: They were asked whether they would ſubmit, or not, they both refuſed to ſubmit. Rogers being much preſſed, and continuing firm in his Reſolutions; Gardiner ſaid, It was vain Glory in him to ſtand out againſt the whole Church. He proteſted it was his Conſcience, and not vain Glory, that ſwayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the Antichriſtian Church of Rome. Gardiner ſaid, the Queen went before them

them in thoſe Councils, which proceeded of her own motion. Rogers ſaid, he would never believe that. The Biſhop of Carliſle ſaid, they could all bear him witneſs to it. Rogers ſaid, they would all witneſs for one another. Upon that, the Comptroller, and Secretary Bourn, being there, ſtood up in Court and atteſted it. Then they asked Rogers, what he thought of the Sacrament? He ſaid, It was known he never meddled in that Matter, and was ſuſpected by ſome to be of a contrary Opinion to many of his Brethren, but yet he did not allow of their Corporal Preſence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a Year in his Houſe, they had kept him a Year in Newgate, without any Fault; for they could not ſay he had broken any of their Laws, ſince he had been a Priſoner all the while; ſo that meerly for his Opinion they were now proceeding againſt him. They gave Hooper and him till next Morning, to conſider what they would do; but they continuing in their former reſolution; were delared obſtinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded and ſo to be delivered into the Sheriffs Hands. Hooper was only degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. Then Rogers deſired he might be ſuffered to ſpeak with his Wife, concerning his ten Children: They anſwered, ſhe was not his Wife, and ſo denied it. Upon this they were led to Newgate.

ON the 24th of February, early in the Morning, Rogers was called upon to make ready for Smithfield: He was ſo faſt a Sleep, that he was not eaſily awakened; he put on his Cloaths careleſly, being, as he ſaid, ſo ſoon to lay them off. When he was brought to Bonner to be degraded, he again renewed his Deſire to ſee his Wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to Smithfield, where he was not ſuffered, to make any Speech to the People, ſo, in a few words, he deſired them to continue in that Doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently ſuffered all the Bitterneſs and Cruelty that had been exerciſed on him, but did now moſt gladly reſign up his Life, and give his Fleſh to the conſuming Fire, for a Teſtimony to it. He repeated the 51ſt Pſalm, and ſo fitted himſelf for the Stake. A Pardon was brought, if he would Recant, but he choſe to ſubmit to that ſevere, but ſhort Puniſhment, rather than put himſelf in danger of everlaſting Burnings, by ſuch an Apoſtacy; ſo the Fire was ſet to him which conſumed him to Aſhes.

FOR Hooper, after they had degraded him, they reſolved to ſend him to Gloceſter: At which he much rejoyced, hoping by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three Days. After he came, he had one Day's intervail given him, which he ſpent in Faſting and Prayer. Some came to perſuade him to accept of the Queen's Mercy, ſince Life was ſweet, and Death was bitter. He anſwered, The Death that was to come after was more bitter, and the Life that was to follow was more ſweet. As ſome of his Friends parted with him, he ſhed ſome Tears, and told them, All his Impriſonment had not made him do ſo much.

ON the 19th he was led out to his Execution; where, being denied Leave to ſpeak, but only to pray, in the ſtrain of a Prayer, he declared his Belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being ſhewed him, he deſired them to take it away. He prayed earneſtly for Strength from GOD, to endure his Torment patiently; and undreſſed himſelf, and embraced the Reeds. When he was tied to the Stake with Iron Chains he deſired them to ſpare their Pains, for he was confident he ſhould not trouble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being Green burnt ill, and the Wind blew away the Flame off the Reeds: He prayed often, "O "Jeſus, thou Son of David, have Mer-"cy on me, and receive my Soul;" and called to the People, for the Love of GOD, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was Burning his neather Parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renewed, but the Wind ſtill blew it away from riſing up to ſtifle him, ſo that he was long in the Torment. The laſt Words he was heard to ſay were, Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit. One of his Hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to knock on his Breaſt ſome Time after; and was in all near three Quarters of an Hour Burning.

NEXT theſe, Saunders was condemned, and ſent to Coventry to be burnt, where he ſuffered on the 8th of Feb. He had been made a Priſoner for Preaching notwithſtanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refuſing

refuſing to confirm the new Laws. When he was led out to the Stake, a Pardon was likewiſe offered him; but he ſaid, He held no Hereſies, but the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; and that he would never recant. When he came to the Stake he embraced it, and ſaid, Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting Life; and ſo he was burnt.

DR. Taylor followed next, who was Parſon of Hadley. Some of his neighbouring Prieſts came to Hadley, and reſolved to ſay Maſs in his Church. He went thither, and openly declared againſt it, but was by Violence thruſt out of the Church. Gardiner being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his Friends wiſhed him to go out of the Way. He ſaid, He muſt follow Chriſt, the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but dy'd for it. He was old, and thought he ſhould never be able, at any other Time, to do his good GOD ſuch Service as he was then called to; ſo he went with much Chearfulneſs. Gardiner received him with his ordinary Civilities of Traitor, Villain, Heretick, Knave. He anſwered, He was none of theſe; and put Gardiner in Mind of the Oaths he had ſworn, both to King Henry and King Edward. Gardiner ſaid, An unlawful Oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindering Maſs to be ſaid at his Church. He ſaid, He was by Law, Parſon of Hadley, and no Man had a Right to come thither, and defile his Church and People with Idolatry. After ſome Diſcourſe on that Head, he was ſent to the King's-Bench Priſon; and being carried before the Council on the 22d of January, he refuſed to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded; and it was reſolved to ſend him to Hadley to be burnt there. All the Way he expreſſed great Chearfulneſs. When he was brought to the Stake, he ſaid to the People, He had taught them nothing but GOD's Holy Word, and was now to ſeal it with his Blood; but one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Head, and made him give over Speaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and ſo to the Stake, where he was put in a Pitch'd Barrel; as the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and fetched a great Deal of Blood; but all he ſaid was, Oh! Friend, I have Harm enough, what needeſt that! He repeated the 51ſt Pſalm in Engliſh; at which one of the Guards ſtruck him over the Mouth, and bade him ſpeak Latin. He continued in his Ejaculations to GOD, till the Fire was kindled; and one of the Guard cut him in the Head, with his Halbert, ſo that his Brains fell out. This was done the 9th of February.

Bradford was alſo at the ſame Time condemned, but his Execution was reſpited.

SOON after the Condemnation of theſe Men, ſix others were apprehended on the Account of Hereſy.

BY this Gardiner ſaw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few ſevere Inſtances would have turned the whole Nation; but finding he was diſappointed, he would meddle no more in the Condemning of them; but left the whole Matter wholly to Bonner, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally ſavage and brutal, and retaining deep Reſentments for what had befallen him in King Edward's Time.

THE whole Nation ſtood amazed at theſe Proceedings, and the Burning of ſuch Men, only for their Conſciences, without the Mixture of any other Thing, ſo much as pretended againſt them; and it was look'd upon as a horrible Cruelty, becauſe thoſe Men had acted nothing contrary to the Laws; for they were put in Priſon, at firſt, for ſmaller Matters, and there kept, till thoſe Laws were paſt, by which they were now burnt. So that, remembering Gardiner's Plea for himſelf in his Impriſonment, when he deſired to be firſt tried, and diſcharged in the Particular for which he was committed, before new Matter was brought againſt him. All Men ſaw now, how much more juſtly thoſe Men might have demanded the like at his Hands. But now the Spirit of the two Religions ſhewed itſelf. In King Edward's Time, Papiſts were only turned out of their Benefices, and at moſt impriſoned; and of thoſe there were but very few: but now, that could not ſerve Turn, but barbarous Cruelties muſt be executed, on innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One Piece of Severity was taken Notice of among the reſt: The Council ſent for thoſe who were to be burnt in the Country, and required of them a Promiſe to make no Speeches; otherwiſe they threat'ned to cut out their Tongues immediately: So they to avoid that

Butchery, promiſed to obey thoſe cruel Orders.

THE Manner of Hooper's Death, made thoſe who judged critically of Divine Providences, reflect on the Diſſention that had been raiſed by him about the Veſtments, as if he, who had kindled that Fire, had ſuffered now more than ordinary for that Reaſon: But all that Difference was at an End before this; for Ridley and he, between whom there had been the greateſt Animoſity, becoming Partners in the ſame Sufferrings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to Ridley, who writ him an Anſwer, as ſoon as he could convey it; in which he declared how entirely he was knit to him, tho' in ſome Circumſtances of Religion they had formerly jarr'd a little. It was Hooper's Wiſdom, and his own Simplicity, that had divided them, every one following the Abundance of his own Senſe; but now he aſſured him that in the Bowels of Chriſt he loved him in the Truth, and for the Truth. He encourag'd him to prepare for the Day of his Diſſolution; after which they ſhould triumph together in Eternal Glory; "He expreſſed great Joy "for what he heard of Cranmer's godly and fatherly Conſtancy, whoſe "Integrity, and Uprightneſs, Gravity, "and Innocence, was known to the "whole Nation, and he bleſſed GOD "that had given him, in his reverend "old Age, ſuch a Man to be Witneſs "of his Truth; for miſerable and "hard-hearted was he, whom the Godlineſs and conſtant Confeſſion of ſo "worthy, ſo grave, and ſo innocent a "Man, would not move to acknowledge and confeſs his Truth.

IT had been happy if the Fires that conſumed thoſe good Men, had put an End to theſe Conteſts; and if thoſe that have been ſince engaged in the like, will reflect more on the Senſe they had of them when they were now preparing for Eternity, than on the Heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps Eaſe and Plenty made their Paſſions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate Thoughts of ſuch Matters.

IF the Engliſh Nation was diſſatisfied with what was done ſince the Beginning of this Reign, it cannot be imagin'd but their Diſcontent received a great Increaſe by what was now acted. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation were awaken'd to have more ſerious Thoughts about it; ſince they ſaw thoſe that had preached it, dy'd ſo patiently and reſolutely, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater Tenderneſs to their Memories, and a more violent Averſion to their Perſecutors. The reſt of the Nation, that neither knew nor valued Religion much, yet were ſtartled, at the Severity and Strangeneſs of theſe Proceedings; and being naturally of a relenting and compaſſionate Temper, were highly diſaffected to the King, from whom they believed that this flowed. The Queen had before declared, ſhe would force nobody in theſe Points; ſo they thought it not reaſonable nor decent to charge her with it. Gardiner, with the other Biſhops and Privy-Counſellors had openly in Court purged themſelves of it; and laid it on the Queen being therein more careful of her own Credit, than of her Honour; ſo now it could fall no where but on the King; the Sorrowfulneſs of whoſe Temper, together with his Bigotry for that Religion, made it reaſonable enough to impute it to him: Beſides, he had been bred in Spain, where the Inquiſition was let looſe on all that were ſuſpected of Hereſy, without any Reſtraint; and his Father had, during his whole Reign, been always, as far as he ſafely could be, a Perſecutor of Proteſtants. Philip could not but ſee that all was caſt on him; and underſtanding that thereby he ſhould become unacceptable to the Nation, and ſo not be able to carry on his Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of England, he was ſomething concerned to clear himſelf of theſe Imputations. Therefore Alphonſus, a Franciſcan Fryar, that was his Confeſſor, in a Sermon before him on the 10th of February preached largely againſt the taking away of People's Lives for Religion; and in plain Terms, inveighed againſt the Biſhops for doing it. He ſaid, They had not learn'd it in Scripture, which taught Biſhops in the Spirit of Meekneſs to inſtruct thoſe that oppoſed them; and not to burn them for their Conſciences. This ſtartled the Biſhops; ſince it was now plain, that the Spaniards diſowned theſe extream Courſes; and hereupon there was a Stop for ſeveral Weeks put to any further Severities: But the Popiſh Clergy, being once engaged in Blood, have been always obſerved to become the moſt brutally Cruel of any Sort of Men; ſo that it was not eaſy to reſtrain them;

and

and therefore they reſolved, rather than the Hereticks ſhould not be proſecuted any further, to take the Blame of it avowedly on themſelves.

THERE was at this Time a Petition printed, and ſent over from ſome beyond Sea, to the Queen, in which they ſet before her, the Danger of her being carried away by a blind Zeal, to perſecute the Members of Chriſt, as St. Paul was before his Converſion: They put her in Mind, how Cranmer had preſerved her in her Father's Time, ſo that ſhe had more Reaſon to believe he loved her, and ſpake Truth to her, than the reſt of her Clergy, whom they compared to be Jezabel's Prophets. They gathered many Paſſages out of Gardiner's, Bonner's, and Tonſtal's Writings, againſt the Pope's Supremacy and her Mother's Marriage; and ſhewed, they were Men, that by their own Confeſſion had no Conſcience in them, but meaſured their Actions and Profeſſions by their Fears and Intereſts; and averred that it was known that many of that Faction did openly profeſs, that if they lived in Turkey, they would comply with the Religion of the Country. They ſaid, That the Turks did tolerate Chriſtians, and the Chriſtians did in moſt Places ſuffer Jews; but the Perſecution now ſet on Foot, was like that which the Scribes and Phariſees raiſed againſt the Apoſtles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their Religion, and ſo were Apoſtates, and Hereticks; they alſo ſaid, [but by a common Miſtake] That the firſt Law for Burning in England was made by King Henry IV. who to gratify the Biſhops that had helped him to depoſe King Richard II. and to advance himſelf to the Throne, as it were in Recompence of that Service; had granted them that Law, which was both againſt all Humanity, and more particularly againſt the Mercifulneſs of the Chriſtian Religion.

THEY remembered her, that in King Edward's Time, none of the Papiſts had been ſo uſed: And in Concluſion, they told her, She was truſted by GOD with the Sword, for the Protection of her People, as long as they did well; and was to anſwer to him for their Blood, if ſhe thus delivered them to the Mercy of ſuch Wolves.

FROM the Queen, the Addreſs is turned to the Nobility, warning them of the Danger, of not only loſing their Abbey-Lands, but all their Liberties; and being brought under a Spaniſh Yoke which had ruined many of the beſt Countries in the World. They are told, they muſt reſolve to come under heavy Taxes, and a General Exciſe, ſuch as was in the Netherlands, and that all this would come juſtly on them, who had joined in the Reformation for baſe Ends, to get the Church Lands; and now, thinking thoſe were ſecured to them, forſook it: But for all theſe Things they were to anſwer heartily to GOD.

FROM them it turns to the People, and exhorts them to repent of their great Sins, which had brought ſuch Judgments on them; and in the End, begs the Queen will at leaſt be as favourable to her own People, as ſhe had been to the Strangers, to whom ſhe allowed a free Paſſage to Foreign Parts.

THIS Diſcourſe is writ in a ſtrong and good Stile, much beyond the Rate of the other Books of that Time. Upon this, ſome were ſet on work to write in Defence of ſuch Proceedings; ſo a Book was ſet out about it, with divers Arguments, of which the Subſtance follows,

THEY ſaid, The Jews were commanded to put Blaſphemers to death, and thoſe Hereticks were ſuch, for they blaſphemed the Sacrament of the Altar, which was the Body of Chriſt, and called it a Piece of Bread. They noted alſo, That the Heathens had perſecuted Chriſtians; and if they had that Zeal for their falſe Religion, it became Chriſtians to be much more zealous for their's: They made Uſe of that Expreſſion in the Parable, "Compel "them to enter in," and of St. Paul's, "I would there were cut off that trou-"ble you." They alledged, that St. Peter had by a Divine Power, ſtruck Ananias and Sapphira dead; which ſeemed a good Warrant for the Magiſtrate to put ſuch Perſons to death. They ſaid that the Hereticks themſelves were for Burning, when they had Power; and that thoſe that died then by their Hands, had expreſſed as much Courage in their Deaths and Innocence in their Lives, as they had ever done: They cited St. Auſtin, who was for proſecuting the Domeſticks, and tho' he had been once of another Mind, yet finding Severities had a good Effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or baniſhing of them. Theſe were the Arguments for and againſt thoſe Proceedings.

BUT

BUT leaving them to the Reader's Judgment, Dr. Burnet proceeds in his Hiſtory, he not intending to write a pompous Martyrology afterwards, only names the Perſons who ſuffered, with the Reaſons for which they were condemned, and except in a few Inſtances, does not enlarge on the Manner of their Trials and Sufferings, which being ſo copiouſly done by Fox, has left nothing for any one to ſay that comes after him.

THE firſt Intermiſſion being over, on the 16th of March, Thomas Thompkins, a Weaver in Shoreditch, was burnt in Smithfield, only for denying the Corporal Preſence. Bonner kept him many Months in his Houſe, hoping to have wrought on him by fair Means; but thoſe having no Effect, one Day he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard; but to conceal that, made his Beard be clean ſhaved: And another Time he held his Hand in the Flame of the Candle, ſo long, till the Sinews and Veins ſhrunk and burſted, and ſpurted in Harpsfield's Face, who was ſtanding by, and who interpoſing with Bonner, got him to forbear any farther Cruelty at that Time.

THE next who ſuffered was one William Hunter, of Brentwood, an Apprentice of Nineteen Years of Age; who had been drawn on in Diſcourſe by a Prieſt, till he brought him to deny the Preſence in the Sacrament; and then was accuſed by him. His own Father was made to ſearch for him to bring him to juſtice; but he, to ſave his Father from Trouble, ſurrendered himſelf. Bonner offered him 40 l. if he would change, ſo mercenary a Thing did he think Conſcience to be: But he anſwered, If they would let him alone, he would keep his Conſcience to himſelf; but he would not change; ſo he was condemned, and burnt on the 20th of March following.

ON the ſame Day, Cauſton and Higbed, two Gentlemen of good Eſtates, and great Eſteem, were burnt near their own Houſes in Eſſex.

ON the 28th of March, William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden; and on the 29th, John Lawrence, a Prieſt, was burnt at Colcheſter.

IN all their Proceſſes, the Biſhops brought no Witneſſes againſt them; but did only exhibit Articles to them, according to the Way of thoſe Courts, called, Ex Officio; and required them to make Anſwers; and upon their Anſwers, which were judged Heretical, they condemned them; ſo that all this was ſingly for their Conſciences, without the Preſence of any other Matter.

Ferrar, that had been Biſhop of St. David's, being dealt with by Gardiner, to turn, and refuſing to do it, was ſent down to Caermarthen; where his Succeſſor, Morgan, ſat upon him; and gave him Articles about the Marriage of Prieſts, the Maſs, and ſome other Things, to which his Anſwers being found Heretical, he was condemned. He put in an Appeal to Cardinal Pool, but it was not received. Yet it ſeems that delayed the Execution till they heard from him; for tho' he was condemned on the 13th, he was not burnt before the 30th of March.

ABOUT that Time was Rawlins White, an honeſt poor Fiſherman burnt at Cardiff; it was in March, but the Day is not mentioned: He was very Antient, and was put in Priſon, only becauſe he had put his Son to School, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a Year's Impriſonment, the Biſhop of Landaff condemned him, upon Articles to which he anſwer'd as an Heretick.

ON the 24th of April, George March, a Prieſt was burnt at Cheſter, being judged as the others had been; only at his Death there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might ſcald his Head as it dropt on it.

AFTER this, one Flower, that had been in Orders, but was a raſh indiſcreet Man, went on Eaſter-Day into St. Margaret's Church in Weſtminſter, and there with a Knife, ſtruck at, and wounded the Prieſt, as he was officiating. He for ſome Time juſtified what he had done, as flowing from Zeal; but afterwards he ſincerely condemn'd it. Bonner upon this proceeding againſt him as an Heretick, condemned him to the Fire, and he was burnt on the 24th of April, in Weſtminſter Church-Yard. This Fact was condemned by all the Reformed, who knew that the Wrath of Man was not the Way to accompliſh the Righteouſneſs of GOD. In the Jewiſh Government, ſome extraordinary Perſons did execute Vengeance on notorious Offenders, but that Conſtitution was in all its Policy regulated by the Laws given by Moſes; in which

ſuch

ſuch Inſtances were propoſed as Examples, whereby they became a Part of the Law of that Land; ſo that in ſuch Caſes, it was certainly lawful to execute Puniſhment in that Way: So in ſome Kingdoms, any Man that finds an Out-law'd Perſon, may kill him; but where there is no Law, warranting ſuch Things, it is certainly againſt both Religion and the Laws of all Society and Government, for Private Perſons to pretend to the Magiſtrates Right, and to execute Juſtice upon any Account whatſoever.

THERE was at this Time a ſecond Stop put to the Execution of Hereticks; for till the End of May, more Fires were not kindled; People grew generally ſo engaged upon it, that they could not bear it.

The Queen reſolves to ſurrender up all the Church-Lands that were in her Hands.

ON the 28th of March, the Queen called for the Lord Treaſurer, Sir Robert Rocheſter, Comptroller, Sir William Petre, Secretary of State, and Sir Francis Inglefeild, Maſter of the Wards. She ſaid, ſhe had ſent for them to declare her Conſcience to them concerning the Church-Lands that continued ſtill in the Crown: She thought they were taken away in the Time of the Schiſm, and by unlawful Means, therefore ſhe could not keep them with a good Conſcience; ſo ſhe did ſurrender and relinquiſh them. If they could tell her, That her Crown was ſo poor, that ſhe could not well maintain her Dignity, if ſhe parted with them; ſhe muſt tell them, ſhe valued the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms; and thanked GOD her Husband was of the ſame Mind; and therefore ſhe was reſolved to have them diſpoſed as the Pope, or his Legate, ſhould think fit; ſo ſhe ordered them to go with the Lord Chancellor, to whom ſhe had ſpoken of it before; and wait on the Legate, and ſignify it to him, together with the Value of thoſe Lands. This flowed from the Strictneſs of the Queen's Conſcience, who then thought herſelf near the Time of her Delivery, and therefore would not have ſuch a Load lie on her; of which ſhe was the more ſenſible, by Reaſon of a Bull which Pope Julius had made, excommunicating all that kept an Abbey or Church-Lands; and all Princes, Prelates, and Magiſtrates, that did not aſſiſt in the Execution of ſuch Bulls. Some ſaid, this related to the Buſineſs of England; but Gardiner ſaid, it was only made for Germany; and that Bulls had no Authority, unleſs they were received in England. This did not ſatisfy the People much; for if it was ſuch a Sin in Germany, they could not ſee, but it was as bad in England: And if the Pope had his Authority from Chriſt and St. Peter, his Bulls ought to take Place every where.

POPE Julius died ſoon after this. On the 20th of March, and on the 6th of April after, Cardinal Mercellus Cervinus was choſen Pope; a Man of great Gravity and Innocence of Life. He continued to keep his former Name, which had not been done a great while, except by Adrian VI. between whoſe Temper, and this Man, there was a great Reſemblance: He preſently turned all his Thoughts (as Adrian had done) to a Reformation of the Corruptions of that See; and blam'd his Predeceſſors much, who had always put it off; he thought nothing could make the Papacy more reverenced, than to cut off their exceſſive and ſuperfluous Pomp; whereby they would be the more eſteem'd all the World over, and might, on ſurer Grounds, expect the Protection of GOD. He had been one of the Legates at Trent; and there obſerved what was repreſented as the Root of all Hereſy and Diſorder, that the Clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many Exemptions procured from Rome, broken all the Primitive Rules. Upon his firſt Election, he called for the Cardinal of Mantua, and having obſerved him to be a Man of great Probity, told him, He knew it was ordinary for all Popes, at their firſt coming to the Throne, to talk of Reformation; but he would talk little, being reſolved to do more, only he opened his Mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this Check upon him, that ſo honeſt a Man as he was, would know him to be a Knave, and a Hypocrite. He would ſuffer none of his Friends that were in remote Parts, to come to Rome; nor his Nephews, that were in Rome, to come within the Court: He was reſolved to have ſent all Prieſts and Biſhops Home to their Benefices, and talked of their Non-reſidence with great Deteſtation: He would not change his Table, nor his Cuſtom of making one read to him when he was ſitting at it. One Day, after a long Muſing at Dinner, he ſaid, He remembered the Words of Adrian IV. "That the Pope was "the moſt miſerable of all Men; his

" whole Life was Bitterneſs, his Chair " was full of Thorns, and his Way " of Briars, and leaning with his " Hand on the Table, he ſaid, I do " not ſee how they can be ſaved that " hold this High Dignity." Theſe Thoughts did ſo affect him, that on the 12th Day after that he was choſen Pope, he ſickned, and dy'd ten Days after. Theſe Things are reported of him by the Learned Onuphrius, who knew him well; and they will not be thought impertinent to have a Room in this Story.

As ſoon as the News of his Death came to England, the Queen writ, on the 29th Day of May, to Gardiner, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget, who were then at Calais, mediating a Peace between the French and Spaniard; which they could not effect, but only procured a Truce: She deſired them to deal with the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Conſtable, and the other French Commiſſioners, to perſuade their Maſter to ſet up Cardinal Pool, that he might ſucceed in that Chair, ſince he ſeemed every Way the fitteſt Perſon for it; adding, that ſhe had done this without his Knowledge or Conſent. This could not come in Time to Rome; where on the 23d of that Month, Caraffa was choſen Pope, who was call'd Paul the IVth; and who was as different from his Predeceſſor as any Man could be. He had put on an Appearance of great Strictneſs before; and had ſet up a Religious Order of Monks, called Theatines: But upon his coming to his Popedom, he put on the greateſt Magnificence poſſible, and was the higheſt-ſpirited, and boldeſt Pope, that had been ſince Julius the IId's Time.

Paul IV. choſen Pope.

He took it for a great Honour, that on the Day of his Election the Engliſh Ambaſſadors entered Rome, with a great Train of 140 Horſe of their own Attendance. On the 23d of June, in the firſt Conſiſtory after he was crowned, they were heard: They fell proſtrate at his Feet, and acknowledged the Steps and Faults of their Schiſm, enumerating them all; for ſo the Pope had ordered it; confeſſing they had been ungrateful for their many Benefits they had received from that Church, and humbly aſking Pardon for them. The Pope held ſome Conſultation, Whether he ſhould receive them, ſince in their Credentials, the Queen ſtiled herſelf Queen of Ireland: That Title being aſſumed by King Henry III. in the Time of Schiſm; and he pretended it belonged only to him to grant thoſe Titles. The Ambaſſadors, it ſeems, knew it was the Queen's Mind, that they ſhould ſubmit to the Pope, and ſo took that Grant from him. Their publick Audience was given in great Solemnity, in which the Pope declared, That in Token of his Pardoning the Nation, he had added the Title of the Kingdom of Ireland, by that ſupream Power which God had given him to deſtroy or to build Kingdoms at his Pleaſure: But in private Diſcourſe, he complained much that the Abbey-Lands were not reſtored. He ſaid it was beyond his Power to confirm Sacrilege, and all were obliged, under the Pains of Damnation, to reſtore to the laſt Farthing, every thing that belonged to the Church; he ſaid likewiſe, That he would ſend over a Collector to gather the Peter-Pence, for they could not expect that St. Peter would open Heaven to them, ſo long as they denied him his Rights upon Earth. Theſe were bad Tidings to one of the Ambaſſadors, the Lord Montacute, [Sir Anthony Brown] whoſe Eſtate conſiſted chiefly of Abbey-Lands: But the Pope would endure no Contradiction, and repeated this every Time they came to him.

In England Orders were ſent to the Juſtices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Hereſy, and to have ſecret Spies in every Pariſh, for giving them Information of all People's Behaviour. This was imputed to the Sowerneſs of Spaniſh Councils, and ſeemed to be taken from the baſe Practice of the Roman Emperors, who had their Informers, or Delators, that went into all Companies, and accommodated themſelves to all Mens Tempers, till they had drawn them into ſome Diſcourſes againſt the State, and thereby ruined them. People grew ſo averſe to Cruelty, that Bonner himſelf finding how odious he was become, and obſerving the Slackneſs of the other Biſhops, refuſed to meddle any farther, and burnt none in five Weeks Time: Upon which the Queen wrote to him, and required him to do the Office of a good Paſtor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or to proceed againſt them according to Law; and he quickly ſhew'd how ready he was to mend his Pace, upon ſuch an Admonition.

In the Beginning of May, the Court was in Expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Envoys were named, that were

were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts; the Tidings of it fled over England, and Te Deum was ſung upon it in ſeveral Cathedrals: But it proved to be a falſe Conception, and all Hopes of Iſſue by her vaniſh'd. This tended much to alienate King Philip from her; and he finding it more neceſſary to look after his Hereditary Crowns, than to ſtay in England, where he had no Hopes of making himſelf Maſter, left her, and that increaſed her Melancholy.

NEW Fires were kindled. Cardmaker, that had been a Prebendary at Bath, and Warne, a Tradeſman, were burnt in Smithfield, in May. The Body of one that ſuffered for Robbery, but at his Execution ſomewhat favouring of Hereſy, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in ſeveral Parts of Eſſex. They were condemned by Bonner, and ſent down to be burnt near the Places of their Abode. The Council writ to the great Men of the County to gather many togather, and aſſiſt at thoſe Spectacles; and when they heard that ſome had come of their own Accord, to the Burnings at Colcheſter, they writ to the Lord Rich to give their Thanks to thoſe Perſons for their Zeal; ſo dexterouſly did they ſtudy to cheriſh a Spirit of Cruelty among the People: Bradford, who had been committed ſoon after he had ſaved Bourne in the Tumult at St. Paul's, had been condemned with the reſt, and was perſerved till July. He was ſo much conſidered, that Heath, Archbiſhop of York, and Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, Weſton and Harpsfield, with the King's Confeſſor, and Alphonſus à Caſtro, went to ſee if they could prevail on him, and had long Conferences with him in Priſon, but all to no Purpoſe. Bourne was made Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but tho' Bradford had preſerved his Life, yet he neither came to viſit him, nor did he interpoſe for his Life. On the contrary, it was objected to Bradford, that by his Carriage in ſuppreſſing that Tumult, it appeared that he ſet it on; but he appealed to GOD, who ſaw how unworthily they returned him Evil for Good; and he appealed to Bourne, who was ſitting among the Biſhops that judged him, if he had not prayed him, for the Paſſion of Chriſt, to endeavour his Preſervation; and if he had not done it, at the Hazard of his own Life: But Bourne as he was aſhamed to accuſe him, ſo he had not the Honeſty, nor the Courage to vindicate him: A young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his Sufferings, and in Tranſports of Joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. Thornton, Harpsfield, and others, ſet on a Perſecution at Canterbury, tho' Cardinal Pool was averſe to it, but he durſt not now diſcover ſo much; for the Pope had an inveterate Hatred to him, and was reſolved upon the firſt Occaſion to recall him, and for that End, he entered into a Correſpondence with Gardiner, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury: And upon the Hopes he had of that, he ſtill preſerved Cranmer; for tho' he was now condemned for Hereſy, yet the See was not eſteemed void, till he was formally degraded. Some ſaid it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief Promoter of Hereſy in England: But Gardiner ſaid, it was better to try if it could be poſſible to ſhake him, for it would be a great Blow to the whole Party, if he could be wrought on to forſake it; whereas if he ſhould be burnt, and ſhould die with ſuch Reſolution as others expreſs'd, it would raiſe the Spirits of his Followers. The See of Canterbury was now only ſequeſtred in Pool's Hands, and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's Rage, was willing to let the cruel Prebendaries do what they pleaſed. They burnt two Prieſts, and two Laymen at Canterbury, and ſent a Man and Woman to be burnt in other Places in Kent. Two that belonged to the Dioceſes of Winchеſter and Chicheſter were condemned by Bonner, and were burnt near the Places of their Abode. There were at this Time ſeveral pretended Diſcoveries of Plots both in Dorſetſhire and Eſſex; and Orders were given to draw Confeſſions from ſome that were apprehended, by Torture, but the Thing was let fall; for it was grounded only on the Surmiſes of the Clergy.

THE Queen was this Year Rebuilding the Houſe of the Franciſcans at Greenwich, and had recalled Peyto and Elſton, of which Mention was made before, the one ſhe made her Confeſſor, and the other was to be Guardian of that Houſe: The People expreſſed ſuch a Hatred of them, that as they were paſſing the River, ſome threw Stones at them; but they that did

did it could not be discovered. Judge Rastall published Sir T. Moore's Works at this Time; but as we formerly observed, he left out his Letter concerning the Nun of Kent; tho' it lies among his other Letters, in that very Manuscript out of which he published them. He prefixed nothing concerning Moore's Life, to his Works, which makes it highly probable, that he never writ it; for this was the proper Time and Place for Publishing it, if he had ever writ it. So that Manuscript Life of Moore's, pretended to be wrote by him, out of which many Things have been quoted since that Time, to the Disgrace of King Henry, and Anne Boleyn, must be a later Forgery, contrived in Spite to Queen Elizabeth. The Queen did now go on with her Intentions of founding Religious Houses out of those Abbey-Lands that were still in the Crown. She recommended it also to the Councils Care, that every where there might be good Preaching, and that there might be a Visitation of the Universities: She desired that Justice might be done on the Hereticks in such a Manner, that the People might be well satisfied about it, and pressed them to take Care, that there might be no Pluralities in England, and that the Preachers might give good Examples, as well as make good Sermons.

THE Burnings went on: Seven were burnt in August in several Places; Six more were burnt in one Fire at Canterbury, and Four were burnt in other Places. In September Five were burnt at Canterbury, and Seven in other Places. In October Two were burnt at Ely, by Shaxton's Means, who now compleated his Apostacy by his Cruelty. The 16th of that Month became remarkable by the Sufferings of Ridley and Latimer. Three Bishops, Lincoln, Gloceſter and Bristol, were sent with a Commission from Cardinal Pool, to proceed against them. Ridley said, he paid great Respect to Pool as he was of the Royal Family, and esteemed him much for his Learning and Virtues, but as he was the Pope's Legate he would express no Reverence to him, nor would uncover himself before any that acted by Authority from him The Bishop of Lincoln exhorted him, "To return to the Obedience of the "See of St. Peter, on whom Christ "had founded his Church, to which "the antient Fathers had submitted, "and which himself had once acknowledged:" He began his Answer with a Protestation, "That he did not "thereby submit to the Authority of "the Pope, or his Legate: He said, "Christ had founded his Church not "on St. Peter, but on the Faith, "which he had confessed: The Bishops "of Rome had been held in great Es-"teem, but that was either on the "Account of their Personal Worth, or "by Reason of the Dignity of the "City: He confessed he had once "been involved in that Superstition; "but St. Paul, was once a Blasphe-"mer: And he had discovered such "Errors in that See, that he would "never acknowledge it any more." Latimer adhered to what he said. A Night's Respite was granted them, but they continuing steadfast next Day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their Burning. They prepared themselves for it with such Patience and Chearfulness as very much amazed their Keepers: As they were led out they looked up to Cranmer's Window, but he was not in it; for he was then held in Dispute by some Friars: Yet he look'd after them, with a very tender Sense of their Condition, and prayed earnestly to GOD to assist them in their Sufferings. When they came to the Stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. Smith preached on these Words "If I give my Body "to be burnt, and have not Charity, "it profiteth nothing." And he compared their Dying for Heresy, to Judas's that hanged himself. Ridley desired Leave to answer some Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, That he was not to be suffered to, speak except he intended to recant: So he turned himself to GOD, when he saw Men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a Desire to the Queen, in behalf of the Tenants of the Bishoprick of London, from whom he had taken Fines, for which he had renewed their Leases; and prayed that either their Leases might be confirmed, or that their Fines might be restored out of his Goods, which had been seized on, when he was first put in Prison: After both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the Fire was kindled: Some Gunpowder was hanged about their Necks, and that being fired, put Latimer quickly out of his Pain; but Ridley had a more Lingring Tor-

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

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ment; for they threw on ſo much Wood, that it was long before the Flame broke through it; and his Legs were almoſt wholly conſumed before the Flame choaked him. Thus did theſe two Biſhops end their Days and their Miniſtry: The one was eſteemed to be the ableſt of all that advanced the Reformation, both for Piety, and Learning and Solidity of Judgment; the other was look'd on as a truly Primitive Biſhop, that ſeemed to have more of the Simplicity of the firſt Ages, than the Politeneſs, or the Learning of the later Times. Ridley was ill rewarded both by Bonner and Heath; he had uſed Bonner's Mother and Friends with great Kindneſs, while he was Biſhop of London, and had kept the Latter a Year and a half in his Houſe, after he fell in Trouble, but he made him ill Returns; and when he went through Oxford, he did not ſo much as viſit him: And ſo far had Men been taught to put off all Humanity, that during their Impriſonment in Oxford, none of the Univerſity either came to viſit them, or took Care to relieve their Neceſſities.

IT was obſerved that Gardiner was very impatient to have thoſe Biſhops burnt, and delayed his Dinner that Day till the News ſhould be brought him, that the Fire was kindled: But at Dinner he was taken with an Illneſs, which turned to a Suppreſſion of Urine, of which he died the 12th of November. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the 21ſt of October, but could go abroad no more; he expreſſed great Sorrow for his former Sins, and often ſaid, He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him. He was believed to be of noble Extraction, tho' baſely Born; for his true Father was ſuppoſed to be Richard Woodvill that was Brother to Edward the IVth's Queen, Grandmother to King Henry the VIIIth: And this was believed to be the Occaſion of his ſudden Preferment to the See of Wincheſter. So thoſe that reflected on him for his Oppoſition to the married State, ſaid that no Wonder if Perſons baſely born, as both he and Bonner were, had no Regard to that State of Life. He was Learned in the Civil and Canon Law; he had a good Latin Stile, and had ſome Knowledge in the Greek Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, with a great Knowledge of Mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the Art of Inſinuation and Flattery, and was inferior to none in profound Diſſimulation. He died now when he had the Proſpect of a Cardinal's Hat, and of all the Honours which a Pope, that found him after his own Heart, could do him. Heath was made Chancellor during Pleaſure, and the Queen gave to the See of York the Duke of Suffolk's Houſe, fallen to her by his Attainder, in Recompence for Whitehall, and it was afterwards called York-Houſe.

THE Parliament was now Aſſembled, and it appeared that the Nation was much turned in their Affections. It was propoſed to give the Queen a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths. This was the firſt Aid that the Queen had asked, tho' ſhe was now in the third Year of her Reign; and what was now deſired, was no more than what ſhe might have exacted at her firſt coming to the Crown; and ſince ſhe had forgiven ſo much at her Coronation, it ſeemed unreaſonable to deny it now: Yet great Oppoſition was made to it. Many ſaid, the Queen was impoveriſhing the Crown, and giving away the Abbey-Lands, and therefore ſhe ought to be ſupplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity: But it was anſwered, That the Convocation had given her 6s. in the Pound, but that would not ſerve her preſent Occaſions; ſo the Debate grew high: But to prevent further Heats. The Queen ſent a Meſſage, declaring that ſhe would accept the Subſidy without the Fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him ſhe could not, with a good Conſcience, exact the Tenths and Firſt-fruits of the Clergy, ſince they were given to her Father to ſupport his unlawful Dignity, of being the Supream Head of the Church: She alſo thought, that all Tythes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was reſolved to reſign ſuch of them as were in her Hands. The former Part paſſed eaſily in the Houſe, but great Oppoſition was made to the latter Part of her Motion; for it was look'd on as a Step to the taking all the Impropriations out of the Hands of the Laity, yet upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, it went ſo near, that 126 were againſt it, and 193 were for it; ſo it was carried by 67 Voices. A Bill was put in againſt the

Dutcheſs of Suffolk, and ſeveral others that favoured the Reformation and were gone beyond Sea, that they might freely enjoy their Conſciences; requiring them to return, under ſevere Penalties.

THE Lords paſs'd it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the ſevere Laws they had already conſented to, and reſolved to add no more. They alſo rejected another Bill, for incapacitating ſome to be Juſtices of the Peace, who were complained of for their Remiſſneſs in Proſecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one Bennet Smith, who had hired ſome Aſſaſſinates to commit a moſt deteſtable Murder, from the Benefit of a Clergy; which, by the Courſe of Common Law, would have ſaved him. This was an Invention of the Prieſts, that if any, who was capable of entring into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be ſaved in many criminal Caſes. And it was looked on a Part of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity; which made divers of the Biſhops oppoſe this Act, yet it paſt, through four of them, and five Temporal Lords proteſted againſt it. There was ſuch Heat in the Houſe of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir Anthony Kingſton, who was a great Stickler, called one Day for the Keys of the Houſe; but when the Parliament was diſſolved, he was ſent to the Tower for it: He was ſoon after ſet at Liberty, but next Year he and ſix others were accuſed of a Deſign of Robbing the Exchequer: He died before he was brought up to London; the other ſix were hanged; but the Evidence againſt them does not appear on Record.

CARDINAL Pool called a Convocation, having firſt procured a Licenſe from the Queen, empowering them both to meet, and to make ſuch Canons as they ſhould think fit. This was done to preſerve the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to ſecure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a Præmunire. In it ſeveral Decrees were propoſed by Pool, and aſſented to by the Clergy: I. For obſerving the Feaſt of the Reconciliation made with Rome, with great Solemnity: They alſo condemned all Heretical Books, and received that Expoſition of the Faith which Pope Eugenius ſent from the Council of Florence to the Armenians. II. For the decent Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and puting down the yearly Feaſts in the Dedication of Churches. III. They required all Biſhops and Prieſts to lay a-ſide Secular Cares, and to give themſelves wholly to the Paſtoral Charge; and all Pluraliſts were required to reſign all their Benefices, except one, within two Months, otherwiſe to forfeit all. IV. Biſhops were required to preach often, and to provide good Preachers for their Dioceſes, to go over them as their Viſitors. V. All the Pomp and Luxury of the Tables, Servants, and Families of the Biſhops was condemn'd, and they were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues on Works of Charity. VI. They were required not to give Orders, but after a long and ſtrict Trial, which they ought to make themſelves, and not to turn it over to others. VII. They were charged not to beſtow Benefices upon partial Regards, but to confer them on the moſt deſerving, and to take them bound by Oath, to reſide upon them. VIII. Againſt giving Advowſons before Benefices fell vacant. IX. Againſt Symony. X. Againſt Dilapidations. XI. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Dioceſe; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth Part of their Benefices for their Maintenance. The Twelfth was about Viſitations.

IT was deſigned alſo to ſet out four Books of Homilies: The Firſt for Points of Controverſy; the Second was for the Expoſition of the Creed, the LORD's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Ave, and the Sacraments: The Third was to be a Paraphraſe on all the Leſſons on Holidays; and the Fourth was to be concerning the ſeveral Virtues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In theſe, the wiſe and good Temper of Cardinal Pool may be well diſcerned. He thought the People were more wrought on by the Scandals they ſaw in the Clergy, than by the Arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned, if Pluralities and Non-reſidences, and the other Abuſes of Churchmen could have been removed, and if he could have brought the Biſhops to have lived better, and labour'd more to be ſtricter in giving Orders, and more impartial in conferring Benefices, and if he could have eſtabliſhed Seminaries in Cathedrals, Hereſy might have been driven out of the Nation by gentler Methods than by Racks and Fires:

Fires: In one Thing he ſhewed the Meanneſs of his Spirit, that tho' he himſelf condemned cruel Proceedings againſt Hereticks, yet he both gave Commiſſions to other Biſhops and Archdeacons to try them, and ſuffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exerciſed in his own Dioceſe; but he had not Courage enough to reſiſt Pope Paul the IVth, who thought of no other Way for bearing down Hereſy, but by ſetting up Courts of Inquiſition every where. He had clapp'd up Cardinal Morone, that was Pool's great Friend, in Priſon, upon Suſpicion of Hereſy; and would very probably have uſed himſelf ſo, if he had got him at Rome.

THE Jeſuits were at this Time beginning to grow conſiderable: They were tied, beſides their other Vows, to an abſolute Obedience to the See of Rome; and ſet themſelves every where to open Free-Schools, for the Education of Youth, and to bear down Hereſy. They were excuſed from the Hours of the Choir, and ſo were looked on as a Mungrel Order, between the Regulars and Seculars. They propoſed to Cardinal Pool, that ſince the Queen was reſtoring the Abbey-Lands, it would be to little Purpoſe to give them again to the Benedictine Order, which was now rather a Clog than an Help to the Church; and therefore they deſired that Houſes might be aſſigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they ſhould quickly, both drive out Hereſy, and recover the Church-Lands. Pool did not liſten to this, for which he was much cenſured by the Fathers of that Society. It is not certain whether he had then the Sagacity to foreſee that Diſorder, which they were like to bring into the Government of the Church, and Corruption of Morals that hath ſince flowed from their Schools, and has been infuſed by them generally in Confeſſions, ſo that their whole Church is now over-run with it. Three were burnt at one Stake in Canterbury, in November, and Philpot was burnt in Smithfield, in December: He had been put in Priſon, ſoon after that Convocation was diſſolved, in which he had diſputed in the Beginning of this Reign; and was now brought out to the Stake. In all, 67 were burnt this Year, of whom four were Biſhops, and 13 were Prieſts.

IN Germany, a Diet was held, in which it was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to ſet up what Religion they pleaſed; but a Reſtraint was put on the Eccleſiaſtical Princes. Both Ferdinand, and the Duke of Bavaria, appointed the Chalice to be given to the Laity in their Dominions, at which the Pope ſtormed highly, and threaten'd to depoſe them; for that was his common Stile, when he was diſpleaſed with any Prince. The Reſignation of King Charles V. which was begun this Year, and compleated the next, drew the Eyes of all Europe upon it. He had enjoyed his Hereditary Dominions 40 Years, and the Empire 36. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journies he had made; nine into Germany, ſix into Spain, ſeven into Italy, four through France; he was ten times in the Netherlands, made two Expeditions to Africa, and was twice in England; and had croſſed the Sea eleven times. He had univerſal Succeſs in his Wars, he had taken a Pope, a King of France, and ſome German Princes, Priſoners; and had a vaſt Acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the Weſt-Indies: But now as Succeſs followed him no more, ſo he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of Love with the Pomp and Vanities of this World, and ſo ſeriouſly to prepare for another Life. He reſigned all his Dominions with a Greatneſs of Mind, that was much ſuperior to all his other Conqueſts. He retired to a private Lodge of ſeven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the Confines of Portugal: He kept only twelve Servants to wait upon him, and reſerved for his Expence 100,000 Crowns Penſion. In this Retreat he lived two Years: His firſt Year was ſpent chiefly in Mechanical Inventions, in which he took great Pleaſure; from that he turned to the Cultivating his Garden, in which he uſed to work with thoſe Hands, that now preferred the Grafting and Pruning Tools to Scepters and Swords: But after that he addicted himſelf more to ſtudy and Devotion, and did often diſcipline himſelf with a Cord. It was alſo believed, that in many Points he came to be of the Opinion of the Proteſtants, before he died. His Confeſſor was ſoon after his Death burnt for Hereſy; and Miranda, Archbiſhop of Toledo, that converſed much with him at this Time, was clapt into Priſon on the ſame Suſpicions. At the End of two Years he died, having given a great Inſtance of a Mind

a Mind ſurfeited with the Glories of this World, that ſought for Quiet in a private Cell, which it had long, in vain, ſearched after in Palaces and Camps.

IN March next Year, came on Cranmer's Martyrdom. In September laſt, Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter, came down with Authority from Cardinal Pool, to judge him; with him two Delegates came to aſſiſt him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he paid the Reſpect that was due to thoſe that ſat in the King and Queen's Name, but would ſhew none to Brooks, "ſince he ſat there "by an Authority derived from the "Pope, which he ſaid, he would never "acknowledge. He could not ſerve "two Maſters, and ſince he had ſworn "Allegiance to the Crown, he could "never ſubmit to the Pope's Authori-"ty: He alſo ſhewed, that the Pope's "Power had been as unjuſtly uſed, "as it was ill grounded: That they "had changed the Laws ſettled by "Chriſt, which he inſtanced in deny-"ing the Chalice, in the Worſhip, in "an unknown Tongue, and in their "Pretences to a Power to depoſe "Princes; he remembred Brooks, that "he had ſworn to maintain the King's "Supremacy; and when he ſtudied to "caſt that back on him, as an Inven-"tion of his, he told him that it was "acknowledged in his Predeceſſor War-"ham's Time, and that Brooks had "then ſet his Hand to it. Brooks and "the two Delegates, Martin and Scory, "objected many Things to him, as that "he had flattered King Henry, ſo that "he might be preferred by him, and "that he had condemned Lambert for "denying the Preſence in the Sacra-"ment, and had been afterwards guil-"ty of the ſame Hereſy himſelf. But "he vindicated himſelf from all Aſpi-"rings to the See of Canterbury, which "appeared viſibly by the Slowneſs of "his Motions, when he was called o-"ver out of Germany, to be advanced "to it; for he was ſeven Weeks on "his Journey. He confeſſed he had "changed his Opinion in the Matter "of the Sacrament, and acknowledged "that he had been twice married, "which he thought was free to all "Men, and was certainly much better "than to defile other Men's Wives. "After much Diſcourſe had paſſed on "both Sides, Brooks required him to "appear before the Pope within eighty "Days, and anſwer to the Things "that ſhould be objected to him: He "ſaid He would do it moſt willingly, "but he could not poſſibly go, if he "were ſtill kept a Priſoner.

IN February this Year, Bonner and Thirleby were ſent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to Rome; when he was all the while kept in Priſon: He was Cloathed with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, in which Bonner carried himſelf with all the Inſolence that might have been expected from him: Thirlebey was a good-natured Man, and had been Cranmer's particular Friend, and performed his Part in this Ceremony, with great Expreſſions of Sorrow, and ſhed many Tears at it. In all this Cranmer ſeemed very little concerned; he ſaid, It was groſs Injuſtice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was ſhut up in Priſon; but he was not ſorry to be thus cut off, even with all this Pageantry, from any Relation to that Church; he denied the Pope had any Authority over him, ſo he appealed from his Sentence to a Free General-Council: But now many Engines were ſet on work, to make him recant; both Engliſh and Spaniſh Divines had many Conferences with him, and great Hopes were given him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, if he would do it; and theſe at laſt had a fatal Effect upon him; for he ſigned a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Proteſtation, that he had done it freely, only for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience: But the Queen was reſolved to make him a Sacrifice to her Reſentments; ſhe ſaid, It was good for his own Soul that he repented, but ſince he had been the chief Spreader of Hereſy over the Nation, it was neceſſary to make him a publick Example: So the Writ was ſent down to burn him, and after ſome Stop had been made, in the Execution of it, new Orders came for doing it ſuddenly: This was kept from Cranmer's Knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him any Notice, and ſo hoped to make him die in Deſpair; yet he ſuſpecting ſomewhat, writ a long Paper, containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as his Conſcience, and not his Fears, had dictated.

HE

He was on the 21ſt of March carried to St. Maries, where Dr. Cole preached, and vindicated the Queen's Juſtice, in Condemning Cranmer; but magnified his Converſion much, and aſcribed it wholly to the Workings of God's Spirit: He gave him great Hopes of Heaven, and promiſed him all the Relief that Diriges and Maſſes could give him in another State. All this while Cranmer was obſerved to be in great Confuſion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at laſt, when he was called on to ſpeak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expreſſed much inward Remorſe and Horror: Then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in moſt Pathetick Expreſſions confeſſed his Sin, that the Hopes of Life had made him ſign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and againſt his Conſcience: And he had therefore reſolved, that the Hand that ſigned it ſhould be burnt firſt; he alſo declared, that he had the ſame Belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had publiſhed in the Book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great Conſternation on the whole Aſſembly, but they reſolved to make an End of him ſuddenly; ſo without ſuffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the Stake, and gave him all the Diſturbance they could, by their Reproaches and Clamours; but he made them no Anſwer, having now turned his Thoughts wholly to God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his Right Hand towards the Flame, till it was conſumed, and often ſaid, that unworthy Hand; he was ſoon after quite burnt, only his Heart was found entire among the Aſhes; from which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had erred, yet it appeared his Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they ſaid the Papiſts would have made a great Matter of it, if ſuch a Thing had fallen out in any that had died for their Religion.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his Days, in the 67th Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared ſignally in the Misfortunes of Anna Bolein, Cromwell, and the Duke of Somerſet: He rather excelled in great Induſtry and good Judgment, than in a Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, or a Cloſeneſs of Stile. He employed his Revenues on pious and charitable Uſes; and in his Table he was truly hoſpitable, for he entertained great Numbers of his poor Neighbours at it. The Gentleneſs and Humility of his Deportment were very ſingular: His laſt Fall was the greateſt Blemiſh of his Life; yet that was expiated by a ſincere Repentance, and a patient Martyrdom; and thoſe that compared antient and modern Times, did not ſtick to compare him, not only to the Chryſoſtomes, the Ambroſes, and Auſtins, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, but to thoſe of the firſt Ages, that immediately followed the Apoſtles, and came neareſt to the Patterns which they had left the World, to the Ignatius's, the Polycarps, and the Cyprians: And it ſeemed neceſſary that the Reformation of the Church, being the Reſtoring of the Primitive and Apoſtolical Doctrine, ſhould have been chiefly carried on by a Man thus eminent for Primitive and Apoſtolical Virtues. In January five Men, and two Women, were burnt at one Stake in Smithfield; and one Man and four Women were burnt at Canterbury. In March, two Women were burnt at Ipſwich; and three Men at Salisbury. In April ſix Men of Eſſex were burnt in Smithfield: A Man and a Woman were burnt at Rocheſter, and another at Canterbury; and ſix, who were ſent from Colcheſter, were condemned by Bonner, without giving them longer Time to conſider whether they would recant, than 'till the Afternoon; for he was now ſo hardened in this Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners ſome Time, and taking Pains on them, to make them recant, he ſent them back to Colcheſter where they were burnt: He condemned alſo both a blind Man and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at Stratford. In May, three Women were burnt in Smithfield: The Day after that, two were burnt at Gloceſter, one of them being blind: Three were burnt at Beckles in Suffolk; five were burnt at Lewes, and one at Leiceſter: But on the 27th of June, Bonner gave the ſignalleſt Inſtance of his Cruelty, that England ever ſaw; for 11 Men and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at Stratford. The Horror of this Action, it ſeems, had ſome Operation on himſelf, for he burnt none 'till April next Year. In June three were burnt at St. Edmond's-bury, and three were

afterwards burnt at Newbury: This Cruelty was not kept within England, but it extended as far as the adjacent Iſlands. In Guernſey a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The Violence of the Fire burſt her Belly; the Child, that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was ſnatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the reſt; but the other barbarous Spectators, after a little Conſultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without Queſtion, for no Sentence againſt the Mother could excuſe this inhumane Piece of Butchery, which was thought the more odious, becauſe the Dean of Guernſey was an Accomplice in it: Yet ſo merciful was the Government under Queen Elizabeth, that he and nine others, that were accuſed for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this burnt at Greenſtead, and a blind Woman at Derby; four were burnt at Briſtol, and as many at Mayfield in Suſſex, and one at Nottingham; ſo that in all 85 were this Year burnt, without any Regard had, either to Age or Sex, to Young or Old, or the Lame or the Blind; which raiſed ſo extreme an Averſion in this Nation, to that Religion, that it is no Wonder, if the Apprehenſions of being brought again under ſo Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into moſt violent and convulſive Symptoms. By theſe Means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſh'd, that it ſpread daily more and more, and the Zeal of thoſe that profeſſed it, grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and ſeveral Teachers that inſtructed them; and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and ſettled in Strasburg, Frankfort, Embden, and ſome other Places in Germany, took Care to ſend over many Books for their Inſtruction and Comfort.

AN unhappy Difference was begun at Frankfort, which has had ſince that Time great and fatal Conſequences; ſome of the Engliſh thought it was better to uſe a Liturgy, agreeing with the Geneva Forms, whereas the reſt thought, that ſince they were a Part of the Church of England that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the Engliſh Liturgy; and that the rather, ſince thoſe who had compiled it, were now Sealing it with their Blood. This raiſed much Heat; but Doctor Cox that lived in Strasburg, being held in great Eſteem, went thither, and procured an Order from the Senate, that the Engliſh ſhould continue to uſe the Forms of their own Church; but the Fire was not thereby quenched; for Knox, and ſome other hot Spirits, began to make Exceptions to ſome Parts of the Liturgy; and got Calvin to declare on their Side: Upon which ſome of them retired to Geneva. Another Conteſt aroſe concerning the Cenſuring of Offenders, which ſome ſaid belonged only to the Miniſter, and others thought that the Congregation ought to be admitted to a Share in it. Great Animoſities were raiſed by theſe Debates, which gave Scandal to the Strangers, among whom they lived, and made many reflect on the Schiſms of the Novatians and Donatiſts, that rent the Churches of Africa; the one during the Perſecutions, and the other immediately after they were over.

IN England, Pool was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Day after Cranmer was burnt; which gave Occaſion to many to apply the Words of Elijah to him, "Thou haſt kill'd "and taken Poſſeſſions:" A Week after that he came into London in great State, and had the Pall put about him, by Heath, in Bow-Church; and after that, he made a cold Sermon, concerning the Beginning, the Uſe of the Virtues of the Pall, without any Learning or Eloquence; for it was obſerved, that he had ſo far changed his Stile, which in his Youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither Life nor Beauty in it. The Pall was a Device of the Pope's, in the 12th Century, in which they began firſt to ſend thoſe Cloaks to Archbiſhops as a Badge of their being the Pope's Legates born.

THE Queen had founded a Houſe for the Franciſcans of the Obſervance in Greenwich laſt Year: This Year ſhe founded Houſes for the Franciſcans and Dominicans in London: As alſo, a Houſe for the Carthuſians at Skeen, and a Nunnery at Sion: She alſo converted the Church of Weſtminſter into an Abbey: And that Way might be made to the reſtoring of Religious Orders, ſhe took Care to have all the Reports, Confeſſions, and other Records, that tended to the Diſhonour of their Houſes, raiſed: So that no Memory might remain of them to the next Age. For this End ſhe gave a Commiſſion

to

to Bonner, and others, to ſearch all Regiſters, and to take out of them every Thing that was either againſt the See of Rome, or the Religious Houſes: And they executed this Commiſſion ſo carefully, that the Steps of it appear in the Defectiveneſs of all the Records of that Time; yet many Things have eſcaped their Diligence. This Expurgation of theirs was compared to the Rage of the Heathens in the laſt Perſecution, who deſtroyed all the Books and Regiſters, that they could find, among the Chriſtians. The Monks of Glaſſenbury were in Hopes to have gotten their Houſe, that had been dedicated to the Honour of Joſeph of Arimathea, raiſed again: They deſired only the Houſe, and a little Land about it; which they reſolved to cultivate; and did not doubt but the People of the Country would contribute towards their Subſiſtance; and it is probable that the like Deſigns were ſet on Foot for the other Houſes; and it was not to be doubted, but that as ſoon as they had again infuſed in the Nation the Belief of Purgatory, they would have perſuaded thoſe that held their Lands, eſpecially if they could come near them when they were dying, to deliver themſelves from the Sin and Puniſhments of Sacrilege, by making Reſtitution. It is true, the Nobility and Gentry were much alarmed at theſe Proceedings; and at the laſt Parliament many in the Houſe of Commons laid their Hands on their Swords, and declared that they would not part with their Eſtates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain Favour at Court, made their Way to it, by founding Chantries for Maſſes to be ſaid for them and their Anceſtors; and took out Licences from the Queen, for making thoſe Endowments.

A Truce was now conclued between France and Spain for five Years; but the violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the Houſe of Auſtria, and chiefly at Ferdinand's aſſuming the Title of Emperor without his Conſent; he uſed to ſay, that all Kingdoms were ſubject to him; that he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him; and that he would rather ſet the World on Fire, than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity.

HE pretended that he had reformed the Abuſes of his own Court, and that he would in the next Place reform all the Abuſes that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great Collection to be made; when he was preſſed to call a Council, he ſaid, He needed none; for he himſelf was above all; and the World had already ſeen twice, to how little Purpoſe it was, to ſend about 60 weak Biſhops, and 40 Divines, that were not the moſt Learned, to Trent; he reſolved it ſhould never meet there any more; but he would call one to ſit in the Lateran: He ſignified this to the Ambaſſadors of Princes, only in Courteſy; for he would ask Advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all; and if Princes would ſend none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World ſee, what a Pope that had Courage could do. This imperious Humour of his, made him talk ſometime like a mad Man: He intended, (as was believed) to raiſe his Nephew to be King of Naples; and in order to that, he ſent one of his Nephews to France to abſolve the King from the Truce which he had ſworn, and promiſed to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make War on Spain; tho' to the Queen's Ambaſſadors, and all others at Rome, he gave it out, that he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns; for a Truce did not ſufficiently ſecure the Quiet of Europe. The French King was too eaſily perſuaded by the Inſtigation of the Pope, and the Houſe of Guiſe, to break his Faith and begin the War. The Pope alſo began it in Italy, and put the Cardinals of the Spaniſh Faction in Priſon, and threatened to proceed to Cenſures againſt King Philip, for protecting the Cologneſe, who were his particular Enemies. He made ſome Levies among the Griſons, that were Hereticks; but ſaid, He looked on them as Angels of GOD, and was confident GOD would convert them. The Duke of Alva had that Reverence for the Papacy, that he took Arms againſt the Pope very unwillingly. He could have taken Rome but would not; and for the Places he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next Pope. It gave great Scandal to the World, to ſee the Pope ſet on ſo perfidious a Breach of Truce; and it was thought ſtrange, that in the ſame Year, a great Prince in the 56th Year of his Age, ſhould retire to a Monarchy; and that one bred a Monk, and 80 Years old, ſhould ſet Europe in a Flame.

THE

THE next Year Pool ſent Ormaneto with ſome Engliſh Divines to viſit Cambridge. They put the Churches, in which the Bodies of Bucer and Fagnis lay, under an Interdict. They made a Viſitation of all the Colleges and Chapels, in which Ormaneto ſhewed great Integrity; and, without Reſpect of Perſons, he chid ſome Heads of Houſes, whom he found Guilty of Miſapplying the Revenues of their Houſes. The two dead Bodies were burnt with great Solemnity: They were raiſed and cited to appear, and anſwer for the Hereſies they had taught, and if any would anſwer for them they were required to come. The Dead ſaid nothing for themſelves, and the Living were afraid to do it, for Fear of being ſent after them; ſo Witneſſes were examined, and in Concluſion, they were condemned as obſtinate Hereticks, and the dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books were all burnt in one Fire. Peru was Vice-Chancellor at this Time; and happened to be in the ſame Office four Years after, when, by Queen Elizabeth's Order, publick Honours were done to the Memory of theſe learned Men, and he obey'd both theſe Orders with ſo much Zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Leſſon, ſo much ſtudied in that Age, of ſerving the Time. After this there was a Viſitation of all the Colleges in Oxford, and there it was intended to act ſuch Pageantry on the Body of Peter Martyr's Wife, as had been done at Cambridge: But ſhe that could ſpeak no Engliſh, had not declared her Opinions, ſo that no Witneſſes could be found to convict her of Hereſy; yet ſince it was notoriouſly known, that ſhe had been a Nun, and had broken her Vow of Chaſtity, they raiſed her Body, and buried it in a Dunghill, but her Bones were afterwards mixed with St. Frideſwide's, by Queen Elizabeth's Order.

THE Juſtices of the Peace were now every where ſo ſlack in the Perſecuting of Hereticks, that it ſeemed neceſſary to find out other Tools; ſo the Courts of Inquiſition were thought on. Theſe were ſet up firſt in France againſt the Albigenſes, and afterwards in Spain, for diſcovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the Hereticks. Their Power was uncontrolable, they ſeiz'd on any they pleas'd, upon ſuch Informations, or Preſumptions as lay before them. They managed their Proceſſes in ſecret, and put their Priſoners to ſuch Sort of Torture, as they thought fit for exorting Confeſſions or Diſcoveries from them. At this Time both the Pope and King Philip, tho' they differed in other Things, agreed in this, that they were the only ſure Means for extirpating Hereſy: "So as "a Step to the ſetting them up, a Com-"miſſion was given to Bonner, and 20 "more, the greateſt Part Laymen, to "to ſearch all over England, for all "ſuſpected of Hereſy, that did not hear "Maſs, go in Proceſſions, or did not "take Holy Bread, or Holy Water; "they were authoriz'd, (three being "a Quorum,) to proceed either by "Preſentments, or other Politick Ways; "they were to deliver all they diſ-"covered to their Ordinaries, and "were to uſe all ſuch Means as they "could invent; which was left to their "Diſcretions and Conſciences, for ex-"ecuting their Commiſſions". Many other Commiſſions, ſubaltern to theirs, were iſſued out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſes. This was look'd on as ſuch an Advance to an Inquiſition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The Burnings were carried on vigorouſly in ſome Places, and, but coldly in moſt Parts; for the Diſlike of them grew to be almoſt univerſal.

IN January, ſix were burnt in one Fire at Canterbury, and four in other Parts of Kent; 22 were ſent out of Colcheſter to Bonner, but it ſeems Pool had chid himſelf ſeverely for the Fire he had made of 13 the laſt Year; ſo he writ to Pool for Directions. The Cardinal imploy'd ſome to deal with the Priſoners, and they got them to ſign a Paper in general Words: "Ac-"knowledging, that Chriſt's Body was "in the Sacrament; and declaring that "they would be ſubject to the Church "of Chriſt, and to their lawful Supe-"riors:" And upon this they were ſet at Liberty; by which it appeared that Pool was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one Hand preſerve the Lives of thoſe that were informed againſt, and yet not be expoſed to the Rage of the Pope, as a Favourer of Hereticks. In April, three Men, and one Woman were burnt in Smithfield: In May three were burnt in Southwark, condemned by White, the new Biſhop of Wincheſter; and three at Briſtol. Five Men and nine Women were burnt in Kent in June; and in the ſame Month, ſix Men and Women were burnt at Lewes.

In

In July, two were burnt at Norwich; and in Auguſt, ten were burnt in one Day at Colcheſter. They were ſome of thoſe 22 that were by Pool's Means diſcharged; but the cruel Prieſts inform'd againſt them, and ſaid, The Favour ſhewed to them, had ſo encouraged all others, that it was neceſſary to remove the Scandal, which that Mercy of the Cardinal's gave, and to make Examples of ſome of them. In Auguſt one was burnt at Norwich, two at Rocheſter, and one at Litchfield. One Eagle, that went much about from Place to Place, from which he was call'd Trudge-over, was condemned as a Traitor, for ſome Words ſpoken againſt the Queen: But all this Cruelty did not ſatisfy the Clergy; they complained that the Magiſtrates were backward, and did their Duty very negligently: Upon which ſevere Letters were written to ſeveral Towns, from the Council-board; and zealous Men were recommended to be choſen Mayors in ſundry Towns. In September three Men and one Woman were burnt at Iſlington; and two at Colcheſter, one at Northampton, and one at Laxfield: A Woman was burnt at Norwich: A Prieſt with 13 other Men, and three Women, were burnt at Chicheſter. In November, three were burnt in Smithfield: Rough, a Scotchman, that had a Benefice in King Edward's Time, kept a Private Meeting at Iſlington; but one of the Company being corrupted, diſcovered the reſt; ſo they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he and a Woman were burnt in December; ſo 79 were burnt in all, this Year.

THIS Year a horrid Murder of one Argol, and his Son, was committed by the Lord Stourton, and ſome of his Servants; who, after they had butchered them in a moſt barbarous Manner, bury'd them fifteen Feet deep in the Ground. The Lord Stourton was a zealous Papiſh, and had proteſted againſt all the Acts that had paſs'd in King Edward's Time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not ſo much as change the infamous Death of Hanging, into a Beheading; not becauſe the Perogative extends not ſo far, as ſome have, without Reaſon, aſſerted; for both the Duke of Somerſet, condemned in the Reign of King Edward, and the Lord Audley, condemned under King Charles I. for Felony, were beheaded; but the Queen reſolved in this Caſe to ſhew no Favour. All the Diſtinction was, That the Lord Stourton was hang'd in a Silken Rope. This was much extoll'd as an Inſtance of the Queen's impartial Juſtice; and it was ſaid, That ſince ſhe left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no Cauſe to complain, if it was executed on them.

THE War breaking out between Spain and France, King Philip had a great Mind to engage England in it. The Queen complained often of the Kind Reception that was given the Fugitives, that fled from England to France, and it was believed that the French ſecretly ſupply'd and encouraged them to embroil her Affairs. One Stafford had this Year gather'd many of them together, and landing in Yorkſhire, he ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Scarborough, and publiſh'd a Manifeſto againſt the Queen, That by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, ſhe had forfeited her Right to the Crown; but few came in to him; ſo he and his Accomplices were forced to ſurrender, and four of them were hanged. The Engliſh Ambaſſador in France, Dr. Wotton, diſcovered that the Conſtable had a Deſign to take Calais; for he ſent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over, and inſtructed, ſecretly to him: He pretended he was ſent from a great Party in that Town, who were reſolved to deliver it up; at which the Conſtable ſeemed not a little glad, and entered into a long Diſcourſe with him of the Method of taking it; yet all this made no great Impreſſion on the Queen; all her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were againſt engaging, for they ſaw that would oblige them to ſlacken their Severities at Home; ſo the King found it neceſſary to come over himſelf, and perſuade her to it. He prevailed with her, and after a Denunciation of War, ſhe ſent over 80000 Men to his Aſſiſtance, who join'd the Spaniſh Army, conſiſting of 50000 that was ſet down before St. Quintin.

THE Conſtable of France came with a great Force to raiſe the Siege; but when the two Armies were in View of one another, the French by a Miſtake in the Word of Command, fell in Diſorder; upon which the Spaniards charged them with ſuch Succeſs, that the whole Army was defeated: Many were killed on the Place, and many were taken Priſoners, among whom

was the Conſtable himſelf: And the Spaniards loſt only 50 Men. Had Philip follow'd this Blow, and marched ſtrait to Paris, he had found all France in a great Conſternation; but he ſat ſtill before St. Quintin, which held out till the Terror of this Defeat was much over. The Conſtable loſt his Reputation in it, and all look'd on it as a Curſe upon the King, for the Breach of his Faith.

THE French Troops were called out of Italy, upon which the Pope being now expoſed to the Spaniards, fell in ſtrange Fits of Rage; particularly he inveighed much againſt Pool, for ſuffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apoſtolick See: And having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuncio's in the Spaniſh Dominions, he recalled Pool's Legatine Power among the reſt; and neither the Interceſſions of the Queen's Ambaſſadors nor the other Cardinals could prevail with him to alter it; only, as an extraordinary Grace, he conſented not to intimate it to him: But after this he went further: He made Friar Peyto a Cardinal; he liked him for his Railing againſt King Henry to his Face, and thought, that ſince the Queen had made him her Confeſſor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled Pool's Powers, and required him to come to Rome, and anſwer to ſome Complaints made of him for the Favour he ſhewed to Hereticks. He alſo declared Peyto his Legate for England, and writ to the Queen to receive him; but the Queen ordered the Bull and Briefs that were ſent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the Method formerly practiſed, when unacceptable Bulls were ſent over: She ſent Word to Peyto, not to come into England, otherwiſe ſhe would ſue him, and all that owned him, in a Præmunire. He died ſoon after. Cardinal Pool laid aſide the Enſigns of a Legate, and ſent over Ormaneto with ſo ſubmiſſive a Meſſage, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being ſet on Foot, this Storm went over. The Duke of Alva marched near Rome, which was in no Condition to reſiſt him: So the Pope in great Fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, He was reſolved to ſuffer Martyrdom without being daunted; which they who knew that he had drawn all this upon himſelf, by his Ambition and Rage, could ſcarce hear without Laughter; yet the Duke of Alva was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief Points, yet in the Punctilio's of Ceremonies, he ſtood ſo high upon his Honour, which he ſaid was Chriſt's Honour, that he declared he would ſee the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Tittle: In that the Duke of Alva was willing enough to comply with him; ſo he came to Rome, and in his Maſter's Name, asked Pardon for Invading the Patrimony of St. Peter; and the Pope gave him Abſolution, in as inſolent a Manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The News of this Reconciliation was received in England with all the publickeſt Expreſſions of Joy. In Scotland, the Queen Regent ſtudied to engage that Nation in the War: All that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy oppos'd it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and ſent in D'Oiſel to beſiege a Caſtle in England: But the Scotch Lords complained much of that, and requir'd him to give over his Attempt, otherwiſe they would declare him an Enemy to the Nation, ſo after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes on the Borders; the Matter was put up on both Sides. This made the Queen Regent write to France, preſſing them to conclude the Marriage between the Dauphin and the Queen: Upon which a Meſſage was ſent from that Court, deſiring the Scots to ſend over Commiſſioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and ſome of every State were diſpatched for ſettling that Matter. There was this Year Want of Money in the Exchequer of England, and the Backwardneſs of the laſt Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what Sums could be raiſed by Loan, upon Privy Seals; but ſo little came in that Way, that at laſt one was ſummoned to meet in January, yet in the mean while Advertiſements were given them, of the ill Condition, in which the Garriſon of Calais, and the neighbouring Places were, and that the French had a Deſign on them; but either they thought there was no Danger during the Winter, or they wanted Money ſo much, that no Care was taken to ſecure them.

IN Germany, the Papiſts did this Year blow up the Differences between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians, with

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ſo much Artifice, that a Conference which was appointed for ſettling Matters of Religion, was broken up, without any good Effect; only it diſcovered a common Practice of the Popiſh Party, ingaging thoſe that divided from them, into Heats and Animoſities one againſt another, by which their Strength was not only much weakened, but their Zeal, inſtead of turning againſt the common Enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuſe that Moderation and Prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In France, the Numbers of the Reformed increaſed ſo much, that 200 aſſembled in St. Germain's, one of the Suburbs of Paris, to receive the Communion. This was obſerved by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raiſed; the Men for the moſt Part eſcaped, but 160 Women, and ſome few Men were taken; of theſe, ſix Men and one Woman were burnt; and moſt horrid Things were publiſhed of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was ſaid they ſacrificed and eat a Child. All theſe were confuted in an Apology, printed for their Vindication: The German Princes, and the Cantons interpoſed ſo effectually, and their Alliance was then ſo neceſſary to the Crown of France, that a Stop was put to further Severities. The Pope complained much of that, and of ſome Edicts that the King had ſet out, annulling Marriages without Conſent of Parents, and requiring Churchmen to reſide at their Benefices, as Invaſions on the Spiritual Authority.

THE Beginning of the next Year was famous by the Loſs of Calais. The Duke of Guiſe ſat down before it, on the 1ſt of January. The Garriſon conſiſted but of 500 Men, ſo that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were eaſily taken: For the Lord Wentworth, that was Governor, could not ſpare Men enough to defend them. The French drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Aſſault, and carried the Caſtle; which was thought impregnable. After that the Town could do little, ſo it was ſurrender'd, and the Governor with 50 Officers, were made Priſoners of War. Thus was this important Place, which the Engliſh had kept 210 Years, loſt in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of Guiſe went to beſiege Guines, which had a better Garriſon of 1100 Men, but they were much diſheartened by the Loſs of Calais; they retired into the Caſtle, and left the Town to the French; but yet they beat them once out of it. The French after a long Battery, gave the Aſſault, and forced them to capitulate: The Soldiers, (as at Calais) had Leave to go away, but the Officers were made Priſoners of War. The Garriſon that was in Hammes, ſeeing themſelves cut off from the Sea, and loſt, abandoned the Place, before the French ſummon'd them. The Loſs of Calais raiſed great Complaints againſt the Council, and they to excuſe themſelves, caſt the Blame on the Lord Wentworth; and ordered a Citation to be made of him, when he was a Priſoner with the French: His Defence was not fit to be heard, otherwiſe it had been eaſy for the Council to have brought him over.

HE had not above the fourth Part of that Number that was neceſſary to defend the Place, and in Time of War had no more, than were uſually kept there in Times of Peace; of this both he, and Sir Edward Grimſton, that was Comptroller, gave full and timely Advertiſements, but had not thoſe Supplies ſent them that were neceſſary. They both came over in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and offered themſelves to Trial, and were acquitted. Grimſton was unwilling to pay the great Ranſom that was ſet on him; ſo after two Years Impriſonment, he made his Eſcape out of the Baſtile, and came to England, and lived till the 98th Year of his Age. He was Great Grand-Father to Sir Harbottle Grimſton.

THE French after this, took Sark, a little Iſland in the Channel; but it was ingeniouſly retaken by a Fleming, who pretended that he deſired to bury a Friend of his, that had died a-board his Ship, in that Iſland: The French were very careful to ſearch the Men that came a-ſhoar, that they ſhould have no Arms about them; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they Armed themſelves, and took all the French that were

were in the Caſtle. The Ingeniouſneſs, rather than the Importance of this, makes it worth the Mentioning.

THE Diſcontent that the Loſs of Calais gave to the Engliſh, was ſuch that the Queen could not hope ever to overcome it; and it ſunk ſo deep in her Mind, that it haſtened her Death. Both Sides took upon them to draw Arguments from this Loſs: The Reformers ſaid, It was a Judgment on the Nation, for the Contempt of the true Religion, and the Cruelties that had been of late practiſed. The Papiſts ſaid, The Hereticks found ſuch Shelter and Connivance there, that no Wonder the Place was loſt. Philip ſent over, and offered his Aſſiſtance to go and retake the Place, before the Fortifications ſhould be repaired, if the Engliſh would ſend over a Force equal to ſuch an Undertaking; but they, upon an Eſtimate made of the Expence, that this, and a War for the next Year would put them to, found it would riſe to 520,000 l. Sterling; and as the Treaſure was exhauſted, and could not furniſh ſuch a Sum, ſo they had no Reaſon to expect ſuch liberal Supplies from the People. The Biſhops were afraid leſt the Continuance of the War ſhould make it neceſſary to proceed more gently againſt Hereticks, and thought it better to ſet down with the Loſs of Calais, than hazard that; they ſeemed confident that within a Year, they ſhould be able to clear the Kingdom of Hereſy; and therefore moved, that Preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

THE Parliament aſſembled; for which the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and the Prior of St. John's of Jeruſalem had their Writs, and ſat in it. The Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons, concerning the Safety of the Nation; and upon that, a Subſidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth, was given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave 8 s. in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The Abbot of Weſtminſter moved, that the Privileges of Sanctuary might be again reſtored to his Houſe; but that was laid a-ſide. The Proſecutors of Wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of the Clergy; but great Oppoſition was made to it in the Houſe of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houſes, but one Coxly oppoſed this, and inſinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to diſpoſe of the Crown, in Prejudice of the right Heir; at which the Houſe expreſſed ſo great a Diſlike, as ſhew'd, they would not have it ſo much as imagined, that the Lady Elizabeth could be excluded He had a publick Reprimand given him for inſinuating a Thing ſo much to the Queen's Diſhonour.

A Propoſition of Marriage was at this Time privately made by the King of Sweden, to the Lady Elizabeth; but ſhe rejected it, becauſe it was not ſent to her by the Queen; tho' the Meſſenger declared, that his Maſter, who was a Gentleman, began at her, and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propoſe it next to the Queen: But ſhe aſſured him, that if the Queen would leave her to herſelf, ſhe would not change her State of Life. When the Queen knew of this, ſhe approv'd much of her Siſter's Anſwer, and ſent one to her, to try her Mind in it; for now the Propoſition was made to her; but ſhe expreſſed her Diſlike of a married State ſo firmly, that this Motion fell to the Ground. It ſeems her Averſion was very great, otherwiſe the Condition ſhe was then in, was neither ſo eaſy, nor ſo ſecure, but that ſhe had Reaſon to deſire to be out of her Keeper's Hands, and to apprehend that her Danger encreaſed, as the Queen's Health was impaired; for many of the Biſhops were offering cruel Councils againſt her. She had been firſt ſent for, upon the Breaking out of Wiat's Conſpiracy; and tho' ſhe lay then ſick in Bed, ſhe was forced to come to Court: There ſhe was at firſt confin'd to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the Traitor's-Gate, and was ſtrictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had Acceſs to her, but thoſe that were Spies upon her; nor was ſhe ſuffered to walk on the Leads, nor have the ordinary Comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confeſſions from them, but none accuſed her, except Wiat, and he retracted what he had ſaid, in Hopes of a Pardon, when he was upon the Scaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to Woodſtock; and was kept under ſtrict Guards, and very roughly uſed by Sir Henry Bennefield; but King Philip ſo far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed

vailed with her to bring her to Court; and to admit her to her Preſence. Gardiner, and many others dealt much with her, to confeſs her Offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon; but ſhe always ſtood upon her Innocence, and ſaid ſhe had never offended her, not ſo much as in her Thoughts. When ſhe was brought to the Queen, ſhe renew'd the ſame Proteſtations to her, and begged that ſhe would entertain a good Opinion of her. The Queen, though ſhe preſſed her much to acknowledge ſome Faultineſs, yet ſeemed to be ſatisfy'd with what ſhe ſaid, and parted with her in good Terms; of which King Philip had ſome Apprehenſions, for he had conveyed himſelf ſecretly into a Corner of the Room, that he might prevent a farther Breach, in Caſe the Queen ſhould fall into Heats with her. After this, her Guards were diſcharged, and ſhe ſeemed to be at Liberty; but ſhe had ſo many Spies about her, that to avoid all Suſpicion, ſhe meddled in no Sort of Buſineſs, but gave herſelf wholly to Study. Thus was ſhe employ'd for five Years, during which Time, ſhe was under the continual Apprehenſions of Death, which was perhaps a neceſſary Preparation for that long Courſe of Proſperity and Glory, with which ſhe was afterwards bleſs'd.

DURING the Sitting of the Parliaments, the Biſhops did always intermit their Cruelties; but as ſoon as they were over, they returned to them. Cuthbert Simpſon, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in Iſlington, and was rack'd with extreme Severity, to make him confeſs all the Friends they had in London; but nothing was drawn from him; ſo in March, he and two others were burnt in Smithfield. In April one was burnt at Hereford; and in May, three were burnt at Colcheſter: Several Books were printed beyond Sea, and ſecretly convey'd into England: Upon which a Proclamation of a very ſtrange Nature was ſet out: "That if any received any of "theſe Books, and did not preſently "burn them, without either reading "them, or ſhewing them to any Per-"ſon, they were to be executed im-"mediately by Martial Law." Seven were burnt in Smithfield in the End of May, and another Proclamation was at that Time made in the Queen's Name, againſt all that ſhould ſpeak to them, or pray for them: But no Authority could reſtrain thoſe Prayers, which devout Minds offered up ſecretly to GOD. Six were burnt at Brentford, in July: A Miniſter was burnt at Norwich, in that Month. In Auguſt a Gentleman was burnt near Wincheſter. At St. Edmond's-bury four were burnt, in Auguſt; and three more in November: At the ſame Time, a Man and a Woman were burnt at Ipſwich; a Woman was alſo burnt at Exeter; and on the 10th of November, three Men and two Women were burnt at Canterbury; in all 39 this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, Dr. Burnet finds to be but 284; tho' Grindall, that lived in that Time, writes that in two Years, 800 were burnt; many more were impriſoned; 60 died in Priſon; others, after much cruel Uſuage, Bonner himſelf often diſciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but, carried in their Minds a deep Averſion to that Cruelty, which had tempted them to ſuch Apoſtaſy. At firſt Pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the laſt Moment of their Life; but afterwards the Prieſts Cruelty, as it continued to the laſt Week of the Queen's Life, ſo it increaſed to that Degree, that Bembridge, who was burnt near Wincheſter, in Auguſt, crying out when he felt the Violence of the Fire, that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and hoped, that ſince the Clergy pretended, that they deſired the Converſion, and not the Deſtruction of the Hereticks, this Act of Mercy would not diſpleaſe them; but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take Care that he ſhould die a good Catholick; for it was ſaid, if he recanted ſincerely, he was fit to die; and if he did it not ſincerely, he was not fit to live; and when this was done, the Sheriff was put in the Fleet for his Preſumption.

THIS Year the Lord Clynton was ſent with a Fleet of 120 Ships, and 7000 Landmen in it, againſt France. He made but one Deſcent and loſt 600 Men in it; ſo after an inglorious and expenſive Voyage, he returned back. The Engliſh had loſt their Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was againſt them. Extraordinary Accidents encreaſed thoſe Apprehenſions: Thunder broke violently in Nottingham, and

Trent ſwell'd exceſſively, and did much Miſchief. Hail-Stones of a huge Bigneſs fell in ſome Places. Intermitting Fevers were ſo univerſal and contagious, that they raged like a Plague; ſo that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harveſt; all which tended to encreaſe the Averſion to the Government, and that diſpoſed the Queen to hearken to Overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Biſhop of Arras, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, who were the chief Favourites to the two Kings, and were both much ſet on extirpating Hereſy, which could not be done, during the Continuance of the War: The Cardinal of Lorrain was more earneſt in it, becauſe the Conſtable, who was the Head of the Faction, againſt the Houſe of Guiſe, was ſuſpected to favour it. and his three Nephews, the Cologneys, were known to incline to it. The King of France had alſo loſt another Battle this Year, at Gravelin, which made him deſire a Peace; for he thought the driving the Engliſh out of France, did compenſate both that, and his at St. Quintin: So both thoſe Princes reckoned they had ſuch Advantages, that they might make Peace with Honour; and they being thus diſpoſed to it, a Treaty was opened at Cambray. Philip in his own Diſpoſition, was much inclined to extirpate Hereſy, and the Brothers of Guiſe poſſeſſed the King of France, with the ſame Maxims, which ſeemed more neceſſary, becauſe Hereſy had then ſpread ſo much in that Court, that both the King and the Queen of Navarre declared themſelves for the Reformation; and great Numbers in the Publick Walks about Paris, uſed to aſſemble at Nights, and ſing David's Pſalms in Verſe. The King of Navarre was the firſt Prince of the Blood, and ſo was in great Conſideration for his Rank, but was a weak Man: His Queen was the Wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, eminent Virtues, and a moſt extraordinary Senſe of Religion. There was an Edict ſet out, forbiding this Pſalmody; but the Dignity of theſe crowned Heads, and the Numbers of thoſe that were engaged in it made it, ſeem not adviſable to puniſh any for it, at leaſt, 'till a general Peace had been firſt made.

IN April was the Dauphin married to the Queen of Scotland, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, written by Buchanan, reckoned to be one of the rareſt Pieces of Latin Poetry. The Deputies ſent from Scotland, were deſired to offer the Dauphin the Crown of Scotland, in the Right of his Wife: But they ſaid, that exceeded the Bounds of their Commiſſion, ſo they only promiſed to repreſent the Matter to the States of Scotland, but could not conceal the Averſion they had to it. Soon after, four of the ſeven that were ſent over died, and the fifth eſcaped narrowly. It was generally ſuſpected that they were poiſoned: When the reſt returned to Scotland, an Aſſembly of the States was called, in which it was agreed to allow the Dauphin the Title of King, but with this Proviſo, That he ſhould have no Power over them; and that it was only a bare Title, which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him by the Earl of Argyll, and the Prior of St. Andrew's, who had been the chief Sticklers for Regents Protection againſt the Rage of the Biſhops in Matters of Religion.

IN England a Parliament was called, the 5th of November; the Queen being ill, ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the ill Condition of the Nation, and the Neceſſity of putting it in a Poſture of Defence; but the Commons were ſo ill ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no Reſolution; ſo on the 14th of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Eſtates, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired them to grant a Subſidy to defend the Nation, both amongſt the French and Scots; but the Commons came to no Concluſion, 'till the Queen's Death, on the 17th, put an End to the Parliament.

HER falſe Conception, and the Melancholy that followed it, which received a Surcharge from the Loſs of Calais, brought her into an ill Habit of Body, and that turned to a Dropſy, which put an End to her unhappy Reign, in the Forty-third Year of her Age, after ſhe had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. Sixteen Hours after her, Cardinal Pool died in the Fifty-ninth Year of his Age. He left Priuli a noble Venetian, that had lived 26 Years in an intire Friendſhip with him, his Executor: But as Pool had not ſtudied to heap up much Wealth; ſo Priuli, who had refuſed

refuſed a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to loſe his Company, gave it all away, and reſerved nothing to himſelf, but his Breviary and Diary.

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent, and moderate Man; and had certainly the beſt Notions of any of his Party then in England; but he was almoſt alone in them; ſo that the Queen, whoſe Temper and Principles were fierce and ſevere, preferred the bloody Councils of Gardiner and Bonner, to the wiſer and better Methods, which he propoſed, and tho' his Superſtition for the See of Rome continued ſtill with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many Things. His being Legate at Trent, and his Retirement at Viterbo, had both enlightened and compoſed his Mind; and that, joined to the Probity and Sweetneſs of his Temper, produced great Effects in him. His Character deſerves the more to be enlarged on, becauſe there were no others of the Clergy, at that Time, concerning whom even a partial Hiſtorian can find much good to relate for their Temporiſing and Diſſimulation, in the Charges that were made, and their Cruelty, when Power was put in their Hands, were ſo ſcandalous, that it is ſcarce poſſible to write of them with that Softneſs of Stile that becomes an Hiſtorian.

THE Queen had been bred to ſome more than ordinary Knowledge. A froward Sort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety are the beſt Things that can be ſaid of her: She left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the Hands of her Council, and gave herſelf up to follow all the Dictates of the Clergy; and tho' ſhe eſteemed Pool beyond them all, yet ſhe imputed the Moderateneſs of his Councils, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment; and perhaps thought that the Pope who preſſed all Princes to ſet up Courts of Inquiſition for Extirpating of Hereſy, was more likely to be infallible than the Cardinals; and as Princes were required by the Fourth Council in the Lateran, to extirpate Hereticks, under the Pain of forfeiting their Dominions; ſo the Pope had ſet out a Decree this Year, by the Advice of all his Cardinals, confirming all Canons againſt Hereticks; declaring that ſuch Princes as fell into Hereſy, did thereby forfeit all their Rights, without any ſpecial Sentence; and that any that could, might ſeize on their Dominions. The Biſhops had alſo this to ſay for their Severities, that by the Oath which they took at their Conſecrations, they were bound to perſecute Hereticks with all their Might; ſo that the Princes of that Religion, working on ſower and revengeful Tempers, it was no Wonder that cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.

The End of the Third BOOK.

BOOK IV.

Of the Settlement of the REFORMATION under Queen ELIZABETH.

QUEEN Mary's Death was concealed for ſome Hours. What the ſecret Conſultations were upon it is not known; but the Iſſue of them appeared about Nine o'Clock. Then the Lord Chancellor went to the Houſe of Lords, and firſt imparted to them the News of the Queen's Death; which, as it ſtruck the Biſhop with no ſmall Fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſevere in their Advice about her Siſter, did

did apprehend ſhe might remember it againſt them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her Queen; by the Zeal they expreſſed for her coming to the Crown, intening to balance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in Compliance to tlie late Queen's Reſentments, than out of any ill they bore herſelf. They ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor ſignified to them the Queen's Death; which, he ſaid, would have been a much more ſorrowful Loſs to them if they had not ſuch a Succeſſor, that was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown, Elizabeth, of whoſe Right and Title none could make any Queſtion; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and deſired their Concurrence. This was ecchoed with many and long repeated Cries, GOD ſave Queen Elizabeth, long and happily may ſhe reign.

THE Parliament being declared to be diſſolved by the late Queen's Death; the Lords proclaimed Elizabeth Queen, and went into London, where it was again done by the Lord Mayor, and received every where with exceſſive Joy, that there was no Sign of Sorrow expreſſed for the Death of Queen Mary, but what the Prieſts ſhewed; who, in ſo publick and univerſal a Joy, were forced to betake themſelves to ſecret Groans, ſince they durſt not vent them in publick. Never did any before her come to the Throne with ſo many good Wiſhes and Acclamations; which the Horror of the Cruelties, and the Reflection of the Diſaſters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to ſee better Times.

THE Queen was then at Hatfield, where having received the News of her Siſter's Death, and of her being proclaimed Queen, ſhe came from thence to London. On the 19th, at Highgate all the Biſhops met her, whom ſhe received civilly, except Bonner, on whom ſhe looked as defiled with ſo much Blood, that ſhe could not think it fit to beſtow any Mark of her Favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than ever ſuch Occaſions uſed to draw together, and followed with the loudeſt Shouts of Joy that they could raiſe; ſhe lay that Night at the Duke of Norfolk's Houſe in the Charter-Houſe, and the next Day went to the Tower. There at her Entry ſhe kneeled down, and offered up Thanks to GOD for that great Change in her Condition; that whereas ſhe had been formerly a Priſoner in that Place, every Hour in Fear of her Life, ſhe was now raiſed to ſo high a Dignity. She ſoon cleared all Peoples Apprehenſions as to the Hardſhips ſhe had formerly met with, and ſhewed ſhe had abſolutely forgot from whom ſhe had received them, even Benefield himſelf not excepted, who had been the chief Inſtrument of her Sufferings; but ſhe call'd him always her Jailor, which, though ſhe did in a Way of Raillery, yet it was ſo ſharp that he avoided coming any more to Court.

SHE preſently diſpatched Meſſengers to all the Princes of Chriſtendom, giving Notice of her Siſter's Death, and her Succeſſion. She writ in particular to King Philip, a large Acknowledgment of his Kindneſs to her, to whom ſhe held herſelf much bound for his Interpoſing ſo effectually with her Siſter for her Preſervation: She alſo ſent to Edward Karn, that had been her Siſter's Reſident at Rome, to give the Pope the News of her Succeſſion. The haughty Pope received it in his ordinary Stile, declaring, "That Eng-"land was held in Fee of the Apoſto-"lick See, that ſhe could not ſucceed "being Illegitimate, nor could he con-"tradict the Declarations made in the "Matter by his Predeceſſors, Clement "the VIIth, and Paul the IIId:" He ſaid it was great Boldneſs in her to aſſume the Crown without his Conſent: For which in Reaſon ſhe deſerved no Favour at his Hands; yet, if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a fatherly Affection to her, and do every thing for her that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See. When ſhe heard of this, ſhe was not much concerned at it; for ſhe had written to Karn as ſhe did to her own Miniſters, and had renewed his Powers, upon her firſt coming to the Crown, being unwilling in the Beginning of her Reign to provoke any Party againſt her: But hearing how the Pope receiv'd this Addreſs, ſhe recalled Karn's Powers, and commanded him to come Home. The Pope on the other Hand required him not to go out of Rome, but to ſtay and take the Care of an Hoſpital, over which he ſet him; which it was thought that Karn procured to himſelf, becauſe he was unwilling to return into England, apprehending

hending the Change of Religion that might follow, for he was himſelf zealouſly addicted to the See of Rome.

As ſoon as Philip heard the News, he ordered the Duke of Fera, whom he had ſent over in his Name, to comfort the late Queen in her Sickneſs, to congratulate the new Queen, and in ſecret to propoſe Marriage to her; and to aſſure her he ſhould procure a Diſpenſation from Rome; and at the ſame Time he ſent thither to obtain it: But the Queen, tho' very ſenſible of her Obligation to him, had no Mind to the Marriage. It appeared by what hath been ſaid in the former Book, and by the Sequel of her whole Life, that tho', upon ſome Occaſions, when her Affairs required it, ſhe treated about her Marriage, yet ſhe was firmly reſolved never to marry: Beſides this, ſhe ſaw her People were generally averſe to any Foreigner, and particularly a Spaniard; and ſhe made it the ſteady Maxim of her whole Reign, from which ſhe never departed, To rule in their Affections as well as over their Perſons: Nor did ſhe look on the Pope's Diſpenſation as a Thing of any Force, to warrant what was otherwiſe forbidden of GOD; and the Relation between King Philip and her being the Reverſe of that which was between her Father and Queen Catharine, it ſeeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Siſters, as it was for one Woman to be marry'd to two Brothers, ſhe could not conſent to this Marriage, without approving King Henry's with Queen Catharine; and if that was a good Marriage, then ſhe muſt be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the Unlawfulneſs of that could juſtify: So Inclination, Intereſt, and Conſcience all concurred to make her reject King Philip's Motion. Yet ſhe did it in Terms ſo full of Eſteem and Kindneſs for him, that he ſtill inſiſted in the Propoſition, in which ſhe was not willing to undeceive him ſo entirely as to put him out of all Hopes, while the Treaty of Cambray was in Dependance, that ſo ſhe might tie him more cloſely to her Intereſts.

THE French, hearing of Queen Mary's Death, and being allarm'd at Philip's Deſign upon the new Queen, ſent to Rome, to engage the Pope to deny the Diſpenſation, and to make him declare the Queen of Scotland to be the right Heir to the Crown of England, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of Lorrain prevailed alſo with the French King, to order his Daughter-in-Law to aſſume that Title, and to put the Arms of England on all her Furniture.

BUT now to return to England, Queen Elizabeth continued to employ ſome of the ſame Counſellors that had ſerved Queen Mary; namely, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke, the Lord Clinton, and Howard, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William Petre, Sir John Maſon, Sir Richard Sackville, and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. Moſt of theſe had complied with all the Changes that had been made in Religion, backwards and forwards, ſince the latter End of King Henry's Reign, and were ſo dexterous at it, that they were ſtill imployed in every new Revolution. To them, who were all Papiſts, the Queen added the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parre, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambroſe Cave, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir William Cecil, whom ſhe made Secretary of State; and ſoon after ſhe ſent for Sir Nicholas Bacon, who were all of the Reformed Religion. She renewed all the Commiſſions to thoſe formerly intruſted, and ordered, that ſuch as were impriſoned on the Account of Religion, ſhould be ſet at Liberty. After this a Man that uſed to talk pleaſantly, ſaid to her, That he came to ſupplicate in Behalf of ſome Priſoners not yet ſet at Liberty: She asked who they were? He ſaid, They were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that were ſtill ſhut up, for the People longed much to ſee them Abroad. She anſwered him as pleaſantly, ſhe would firſt talk with themſelves, and ſee whether they deſired to be ſet at Liberty, as he requeſted for them.

NOW the two great Things under Conſultation were Religion and Peace. For the former ſome were appointed to conſider how it was to be reformed. Beal, a Clerk of the Council, gave Advice to Cecil, that the Parliaments under Queen Mary, ſhould be declar'd void; the firſt being under a Force (as was before related) and the Title of Supream Head being left out in the Summons to the next Parliament, before it was taken away by Law; from whence he inferred that both theſe were not lawfully held or duly ſummoned; and this being made out, the Laws of King Edward were ſtill in

Force; but this was laid aſide as too high and violent a Way of Proceeding, ſince the annulling of Parliaments upon little Errors in Writs, or ſome particular Diſorders, was a Precedent of ſuch Conſequence, that to have proceeded in ſuch a Manner, would have unhing'd all the Government and Security of the Nation. More moderate Courſes were thought on. The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a Hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation: But yet as her firſt Impreſſions in her Father's Reign were in Favour of ſuch old Rites as he had ſtill retained; ſo in her own Nature ſhe loved State, and ſome Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing elſe: She thought that in her Brother's Reign they had ſtript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome Points; therefore ſhe intended to have ſome Things explained in more general Terms, that ſo all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up Images in the Churches, and to have the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament left in ſome general Words, that thoſe who believed the Corporal Preſence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it. Nor did ſhe like the Title of Supream Head; ſhe thought it imported too great a Power, and came too near that Authority which Chriſt only had over the Church. Theſe were her own private Thoughts: She conſidered nothing could make her Power great in the World Abroad, ſo much as the Uniting all her People at Home: Her Father's and her Brother's Reign had been much diſtracted by the Rebellions within England, and ſhe had before her Eyes the Inſtance of the Coldneſs that the People had expreſſed to her Siſter on all Occaſions, for the Maintaining or Recovering of the Dominions beyond Sea: Therefore ſhe was very deſirous to find ſuch a Temper, in which all might agree. She obſerved that in the Changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Papacy, and making ſome Alterations in Worſhip, the whole Clergy have concurred, and ſo ſhe reſolved to follow and imitate theſe by eaſy Steps.

THERE was a long Conſultation had about the Method of the Changes ſhe ſhould make; the Subſtance of which may be found in Cambden. That learned and judicious Man has written the Hiſtory of this Queen's Reign, with that Fidelity and Care, in ſo good a Stile, and with ſo much Judgment, that it is without Queſtion the beſt Part of our Engliſh Hiſtory; but he himſelf often ſays, that he had left many Things to thoſe who ſhould undertake the Hiſtory of the Church; therefore in the Account of the Beginnings of this Reign, Dr. Burnet ſays he ſhall in all Things follow him, with the Credit that is due to ſo extraordinary a Writer; ſo having met with ſome Things which he did not know, or thought not neceſſary in ſo ſuccinct a Hiſtory to enlarge on, he ſhall not be afraid to write after him, though the Eſteem he is juſtly in, may make it ſeem ſuperfluous to go over theſe Matters any more.

IT ſeemed neceſſary for the Queen to do nothing before a Parliament was called; for only from that Aſſembly could the Affections of the People be certainly gathered. The next Thing ſhe had to do, was to balance the Dangers that threatned her both from Abroad and at Home. The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depoſe her, and ſtir up all Chriſtian Princes againſt her: The King of France would lay hold of any Opportunity to embroil the Nation; and by the Aſſiſtance of Scotland and of the Iriſh, might perhaps raiſe Troubles in her Dominions. Thoſe that were in Power in Queen Mary's Time, and remained firm to the old Superſtition, would be diſcontented at the Reformation of Religion. The Biſhops and Clergy would generally oppoſe it; and ſince there was a Neceſſity of Demanding Subſidies, they would take Occaſion, by the Diſcontent the People would be in on that Account, to inflame them; and thoſe who would be diſſatisfy'd at the Retaining of ſome of the old Ceremonies, would on the other Hand diſparage the Changes that ſhould be made, and call the Religion a Cloak'd Papiſtry and ſo alienate many of the moſt Zealous from it. To remedy all theſe Things, it was propoſed to make Peace with France, and to cheriſh thoſe in that Kingdom, that deſired the Reformation. The Curſe and Practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland thoſe muſt be encouraged who deſired the like Change in Religion; and a little Money among the Heads of the Families in Ireland, would go a great Way.

Way: And for thoſe that had born Rule throughout England; they were not to be ſoon truſted or employed, upon Pretence of Turning; but thoſe who were known to be well affected in Religion, and the Queen's Perſon, were to be fought after and encouraged. The Biſhops were generally hated by the Nation: It would be eaſy to draw them within the Statute of Præmunire; and upon their falling into it, they muſt be kept under it, till they renounced the Pope and conſented to the Alterations that ſhould be made. The Commiſſioners of the Peace, and for the Militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and ſuch were to be put in them, as would be firm to the Queen's Intereſts. When the Changes ſhould be made, ſome ſevere Puniſhments would make the reſt more readily ſubmit. Great Care was to had of the Univerſities, and other publick Schools, as Eaton and Wincheſter, that the next Generation might be betimes ſeaſoned with the Love and Knowledge of Religion. Some learned Men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and Sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and conſider of the Book of Service. In the mean while the People were to be reſtrained from Innovating without Authority; and the Queen, to give ſome Hope of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both Kinds. The Perſons that were thought fit to be truſted with the Secret of the Conſultations, were the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Bedford, and Pembroke, and the Lord John Gray. The Place that was thought moſt convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir Thomas Smith's Houſe in Channon-Row, where an Allowance was to be given for their Entertainment.

As ſoon as the News of the Queen's coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, all thoſe who had fled thither for Shelter did return into England; and thoſe who had lived in Corners, during the late Perſecution, now appeared with no ſmall Aſſurance; and theſe, having Notice of the Queen's Intentions, could not contain themſelves, but in many Places begun to make Change, to ſet up King Edward's Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Prieſts. Upon this the Queen, to make ſome Diſcovery of her own Inclinations, gave Orders that the Goſpels and Epiſtles, and the Lord's Prayer, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Ten Commandments, ſhould be read in Engliſh, and that the Litany ſhould be alſo uſed in Engliſh; and ſhe forbad the Prieſts to elevate the Hoſt at Maſs. Having done this, on the 27th of December ſhe ſet out a Proclamation againſt all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to uſe no other Forms of Worſhip than thoſe ſhe had in her Chapel, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the Parliament, which ſhe had ſummoned to meet on the 22d of January. The Writs were iſſued out by Bacon, into whoſe Hands ſhe had delivered the Great Seal. On the 5th of December, ſhe performed her Siſter's Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at Weſtminſter. The Biſhop of Wincheſter being appointed to preach the Sermon, did ſo mightily extoll her and her Government, and ſo ſeverely taxed the Diſorders which he thought the Innovations were guilty of, not without Reflections on the Queen, that he was thereupon confined to his Houſe till the Parliament met.

ONE of the chief Things under Conſultation, was to provide Men fit to be put into the Sees that were now vacant, or that might fall to be ſo afterwards, if the Biſhops ſhould continue intractable. Thoſe now vacant, were the Sees of Canterbury, Hereford, Briſtol, and Bangor; and in the Beginning of the next Year the Biſhops of Norwich, and Gloceſter died; ſo that, as Cambden has it, there were but 14 Biſhops living when the Parliament met. It was of great Importance to find Men able to ſerve in theſe Imployments, chiefly in the See of Canterbury; for this, Dr. Parker was ſoon thought on. Whether others had the Offer of it before him or not, is uncertain; but he was writ to by Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the 9th of December, to come up to London; and afterwards on the 30th of December, by Sir William Cecil; and again by Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the 4th of January. He underſtood, that it was for ſome high Preferment; and being a Man of an humble Temper, diſtruſtful of himſelf, that loved Privacy, and was much diſabled by Sickneſs, he declined coming up all he could: He begged he might not be thought of for any publick Imployment; but that ſome Prebend might be aſſigned him, where he might be free, both from Care and Government; ſince the

the Infirmities, which he had contracted by his flying about in the Nights in Queen Mary's Time, had disabled him from a more publick Station. That to which he pretended, shews how moderate his Desires were; for he profes's'd an Imployment of twenty Nobles a Year, would be more acceptable to him than one of two hundred Pounds. He had been Chaplain to Queen Anne Bullein, and had received a special Charge from her, a little before she died, to look well to the Instruction of her Daughter in the Principles of the Christian Religion; and now the Queen had a grateful Remembrance of those Services. This, joined with the high Esteem that Sir Nicholas Bacon had of him, soon made her resolve to raise him to that great Dignity: And since such high Preferments are generally, if not greedily sought after, yet very willingly undertaken by most Men; it will be no unfit Thing to lay open a modern Precedent, which indeed savours more of the antient than the latter Times; for then in Stead of that Ambitus, which has given such Offence to the World in the latter Ages, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the Offer of great Preferments. Some run away when they understood they were to be ordained, or had been elected to great Sees, and fled to a Wilderness. This shewed they had a great Sense of the Care of Souls, and were more apprehensive of that mighty Charge, than desirous to raise or enrich themselves or their Families. It has been shewed before, that Cranmer was very unwillingly engaged in the See of Canterbury; and now, he that succeeded him in that See with the same Designs, was drawn into it with such Unwillingness, that it was almost a whole Year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it.

IN the Beginning of the next Year, the Queen having found that Heath, Archbishop of York, then Lord Chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the Reigns of her Father and Brother; and having therefore taken the Seals from him, and put them into Sir Nicholas Bacon's Hand, did now by Patent create him Lord Keeper. Formerly those that were Keepers of the Seal, had no Dignity nor Authority annexed to their Office; they did not hear Causes, nor preside in the House of Lords, but were only to put the Seals to such Writs or Patents as went in Course; and so it was only put in the Hands of a Keeper, but for some short Interval. But now, Bacon was the first Lord Keeper that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor conferred on him; and his not being rais'd to that high Title, perhaps flowed from his own Modesty; for as he was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest Men of the Nation, so he retained, in all his Greatness, a Modesty equal to what the antient Greeks and Romans had carried with them to their highest Advancement. He was Father to the great Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban's, and Lord Chancellor of England, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest Glories of the English Nation.

THE Queen was now to be crown'd, and having gone on the 12th of January to the Tower, she returned from thence in State on the 13th. As she went into her Chariot, she lifted up her Eyes to Heaven, and bless'd GOD that had preserved her to see that joyful Day, and that had saved her as he did his Prophet Daniel out of the Mouth of the Lions. She acknowledged her Deliverance was only from him, to whom she offered up the Praise of it. She passed thro' London in great Triumph; and having observed that her Sister, by the Sullenness of her Behaviour to the People, had much lost their Affections; therefore she always used as she pass'd through Crowds, but more especially this Day, to look out of her Coach cheerfully on them, and to return the Respects they paid her with great Sweetness in her Looks; commonly saying, GOD bless you, my People; which affected them much. But nothing pleased the City more than her Behaviour as she went under one of the Triumphal Arches: There was a rich Bible let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child, representing Truth; she with great Reverence kissed both her Hands, and receiving it, kiss'd it, and laid it next her Heart; and professed she was better pleased with that Present, than with all the other Magnificences that had been that Day made her by the City. This drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes: And indeed this Queen had a strange Art of insinuating herself by such Ways, into the Affections of her People. Some said she was too Theatrical in it, but it wrought her End;

since

ſince by theſe little Things in her Deportment ſhe gained more on their Affections, than other Princes have been able to do by more Zeal and ſignificant Arts of Grace and Favour. The Day following ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter, by Oglethorp, Biſhop of Carliſle, all the other Biſhops refuſing to aſſiſt at that Solemnity. He, and the reſt of that Order, perceived that ſhe would change the Religion then eſtabliſhed, and looked on the Alterations ſhe had already made as Pledges of more to follow; and obſerved by the Favour that Cecil and Bacon had with her, that ſhe would return to what had been ſet up by her Brother. They had already turned ſo often, that they were aſhamed to be turning at every Time. Heath, Tonſtall, and Thirleby had complied in King Edward's Time, as well as in King Henry's; and tho' Thirleby had continued in Credit and Favour with them to the laſt, yet he had been one of thoſe who had gone to Rome, where he made ſuch publick Profeſſions of his Reſpect to the Apoſtolick See; and he had alſo aſſiſted at the Degradation and Commendation of Cranmer; ſo that he thought it indecent for him to return to that Way any more: Therefore he, with all the reſt, reſolved to adhere to what they had ſet up in Queen Mary's Time. There were two of King Edward's Biſhops yet alive, who were come into England, yet the Queen choſe rather to be conſecreated by a Biſhop actually in Office, and according to the old Rites, which none but Oglethorp could be perſuaded to do. After that ſhe gave a General Pardon according to the common Form.

ON the 23d of January, being the Day to which the Parliament was ſummoned, it was opened with a long Speech of the Lord Bacon's, in which he laid before them the diſtracted State of the Nation, both in Matters of Religion, and the other Miſeries that the Wars and late Calamities had brought upon them: All which he recommended to their Care. For Religion, the Queen deſired they would conſider of it without Heat or partial Affection, or uſing any reproachful Term of Papiſt or Heretick; and that they would avoid the Extreams of Idolatry and Superſtition on the one Hand, and Contempt and Irreligion on the other, and that they would examine Matters without Sophiſtical Niceties, or too ſubtil Speculations, and endeavour to ſettle Things ſo as might bring the People to an Uniformity and Cordial Agreement in them. As for the State of the Nation, he ſhewed the Queen's great Unwillingneſs to lay new Impoſitions on them: Upon which he run out largely in her Commendation, giving them Aſſurance that there was nothing ſhe would endeavour more effectually than the advancing their Poſterity, and the preſerving their Affections. He laid open the Loſs of Calais, with great Reflections on thoſe who had been formerly in the Government; yet ſpoke of it as a Thing which they could not at that Time hope to recover; and laid before them the Charge the Government muſt be at, and the Neceſities the Queen was in; adding in her Name, that ſhe would deſire no Supply, but what they did freely and cheerfully offer.

ONE of the firſt Things that the Commons conſidered, was, Whether the Want of the Title of Supream Head, which the Queen had not yet aſſumed, was a Nullity in the Summons for this and other Parliaments in which it had been omitted; but after this had been conſidered ſome Days, it was judged to be no Nullity; for the Annulling of a Parliament, except it had been under a Force, or for ſome other Error in the Conſtitution, was a Thing of dangerous Conſequence.

BUT leaving the Conſultations at Weſtminſter, Dr. Burnet now gives an Account of the Treaty of Peace at Cambray. That at which Things ſtuck moſt, was the rendering of Calais again to the Engliſh, which the French did poſitively refuſe to do. For a great while Philip demanded it with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that he declared he would make Peace on no other Terms; ſince as he was bound in Point of Honour to ſee the Engliſh, who engaged in the War only on his Account, reſtored to the Condition they were in at the Beginning of it: So his Intereſt made him deſire that they might be Maſters of that Place, by which, it being ſo near them, they could have the Conveniency of ſending over Forces to give a Diverſion to the French at any Time thereafter, as their Alliances with him ſhould require. But when Philip ſaw there was no Hope of a Marriage with the Queen, and perceived that ſhe was making Alterations in Religion, he grew leſs careful of her Intereſts, and ſecretly agreed a Peace with the French; but that he might have

ſome Colour to excuſe himſelf for abandoning her, he told her Ambaſſador, that the French had offered him full Satisfaction in all his own Concerns, ſo that the Peace was hindered only by the Conſideration of Calais; and therefore, unleſs the Engliſh would enter into a League with him, for keeping up the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the Neceſſity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that ſhe was to expect no more Aſſiſtance from the Spaniard, who was ſo much engaged to the old Superſtition, that he would enter into no ſtrict League with any whom he accounted an Heretick, was willing to liſten to the Meſſages that were ſent her from France, by the Conſtable and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace. She, on the other Hand, complained that the Queen of Scotland, and her Husband in her Right, had aſſumed the Title and Arms of England: It was anſwered, That was done as the younger Brothers in Germany carried the Title of the great Families from whence they were deſcended; and for Titles, the Queen of England had little Reaſon to quarrel about that, ſince ſhe carried the Title, and gave the Arms of France.

A Peace with France

THE Queen and her Council ſaw it was impoſſible for her to carry on the War with France alone. The laying heavy Impoſitions on her Subjects in the Beginning of her Reign, might render her very ungrateful to the Nation, who loved not to be charged with many Subſidies; and when the War ſhould produce nothing but ſome Waſtes on the French Coaſts, which was all that could be expected, ſince it was unreaſonable to look for the Recovery of Calais, it might turn all the Joy they were now in, at her coming to the Crown, into as general a Diſcontent. It was the Ruin of the Duke of Somerſet that he had engaged in a War in the Beginning of King Edward's Reign, when he was making Changes in Religion at Home; therefore it was neceſſary to yield to the Neceſſity of the Time, eſpecially ſince the Loſs of Calais was no Reproach to the Queen, but on her Siſter; ſo it was reſolved on to make a general Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the leſs Danger apply themſelves to the Correcting what was amiſs in England, both in Religion, and the Civil Government. At Length a Peace was made on theſe Terms, That there ſhould be free Commerce between the Kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland: The French ſhould keep Calais for eight Years, and at the End of that Time ſhould deliver it to the Engliſh; and if it were not then delivered, they ſhould pay to the Engliſh 500000 Crowns, for which they ſhould give good Security, by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and give Hoſtages till the Security was given; but if during theſe Years the Queen made War on France or Scotland, ſhe was to loſe her Right to that Town; or if the French or Scots made War on her, Calais ſhould be preſently reſtored; to which ſhe was ſtill to reſerve her Right: Aymouth in Scotland was to be raiſed, and a Commiſſion was to be ſent down to ſome of both Kingdoms, to agree all leſs Differences. On theſe Terms a Peace was made and proclaimed between thoſe Crowns; to which many of the Engliſh, that did not apprehend what the Charge of a War for the regaining of Calais would have amounted to, were ſo averſe, thinking it highly diſhonourable, that they, whoſe Anceſtors had made ſuch Conqueſts in France, ſhould be now beaten out of the only Remainder that they had on the Continent; and thus make a Peace by which it was in Effect parted with for ever. For all theſe Conditions about reſtoring it were underſtood to be only for palliating ſo inglorious a Buſineſs. But the Reformed caſt the Blame of this on the Papiſts, and ſome moved, that all the late Queen's Council ſhould be queſtioned for their Miſgovernment in that Particular; for it was thought nothing would make them ſo odious to the Nation, as the charging that on them. They, on the other Hand, did caſt the Blame on the Lord Wentworth, that had been Governor of Calais, and was now profeſſedly one of the Reformed, and had been very gentle to thoſe of that Perſuaſion during his Government. But he put himſelf on a Trial by his Peers, which he underwent on the 22d of April, and there did ſo clear himſelf, that he was by the Judgment of the Peers acquitted.

THE Queen's Government being thus quieted Abroad, ſhe was thereby at more leiſure to do Things at Home. The Firſt Bill that was put into the Houſe of Lords to try their Affections and Diſpoſition to a Change in the Matters of Religion, was that for the Reſtitution

ſtitution of the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits to the Crown. It was agreed to by the Lords, on the 4th of February, having been put in on the 30th of January, and was the firſt Bill that was read. The Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Landaff, Litchfield, Exeter, Cheſter, and Carliſle proteſted againſt it. Theſe were all of that Order that were of the Seſſion, except the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Ely, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter, who it ſeems were occaſionally abſent. On the 6th of February it was ſent down to the Commons, to which they readily agreed; and ſo it had the Royal Aſſent. By it, not only the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits were again reſtored to the Crown, but alſo all impropriated Benefices which had been ſurrendered up by Queen Mary.

BUT the Commons, reflecting on the Miſeries in which they had been lately involved by Queen Mary's Marriage, had much Debate about an Addreſs to the Queen to induce her to marry. On the 4th of February it was argued in the Houſe of Commons; and on the 6th, the Speaker, with the Privy-Counſellors of the Houſe, and 30 Members more, were ſent with their Deſires to the Queen. They expreſſed the Affections of the Nation to her, and ſaid, That if they could hope ſhe might be immortal they would reſt ſatisfied; but that being a vain Imagination, they earneſtly beſought her to chooſe ſuch a Husband as might make the Nation and herſelf happy; and by the Bleſſing of GOD bring much Iſſue, as might reign after her Death, which they prayed GOD might be very late. She ſaid, She looked on that as an Expreſſion both of their Affection and Reſpect, ſince they had neither limited Time nor Place. She declared that ſhe had hitherto lived in a ſingle State with great Satisfaction; and had neither entertained ſome honourable Propoſitions, which the Lord Treaſurer knew, had been made to her in her Brother's Time, nor had been moved by the Fears of Death that ſhe was in, while ſhe was under her Siſter's Diſpleaſure, (of which ſhe would ſay little; for tho' ſhe knew, or might juſtly ſuſpect, by whoſe Means it was, yet ſhe would not utter it, nor would ſhe charge it on the Dead, or caſt the Burthens of it wholly on her Siſter:) But ſhe aſſured them, if ever ſhe married ſhe would make ſuch a Choice as ſhould be to her Satisfaction and Good of her People: She did not know what Credit ſhe might yet have with them; but ſhe knew well, ſhe deſerved to have it, for ſhe was reſolved never to deceive them; her People were to her inſtead of Children, and ſhe reckoned herſelf married to them, by her Coronation: They would not want a Succeſſor when ſhe died; and for her Part, ſhe ſhould be well contented that the Marble ſhould tell Proſperity, HERE LIES A QUEEN, THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIV'D AND DIED A VIRGIN: She took their Addreſs in good Part, and deſired them to carry back her hearty Thanks for the Care the Commons had of her.

THE Journals of the Houſe of Lords are imperfect, ſo that we find nothing in them of this Matter; yet it appears that they likewiſe had it before them; for the Journals of the Houſe of Commons have it marked, That on the 15th of February, there was a Meſſage ſent from the Lords, deſiring that a Committee of 30 Commoners might meet with, twelve Lords, to conſider what ſhould be the Authority of the Perſon whom the Queen ſhould marry. The Committee was appoined to treat concerning it, but it ſeems the Queen deſired them to turn to other Things that were more preſſing; for there is nothing to be found, after this, entered in the Journals of this Parliament concerning it.

ON the 9th of February the Lords paſt a Bill for the Recognizing of the Queen's Title to the Crown. It had been conſidered, whether as Queen Mary had procured a former Repeal of her Mother's Divorce, and of the Acts that paſſed upon it, declaring her Illegitimate, the like ſhould be done now. The Lord Keeper ſaid, The Crown purged all Defects, and it was needleſs to look back to a Thing which would at leaſt caſt a Reproach on her Father: The Enquiring into ſuch Things too anxiouſly, would rather prejudice than advance her Title. So he adviſed, that there ſhould be an Act paſſed in general Words aſſerting the Lawfulneſs of her Deſcent, and her Right to the Crown, rather than any ſpecial Repeal. Queen Mary and her Council were careleſs of King Henry's Honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expoſe his Weakneſs. This being thought both wiſe and pious Counſel, the

the Act was conceived in general Words, That they did aſſuredly believe and declare, that by the Laws of God and of the Realm ſhe was their lawful Queen, and that ſhe was rightly, lineally, and lawfully deſcended from the Royal Blood, and that the Crown did, without all Doubt or Ambiguity, belong to her, and the Heirs to be lawfully begotten of her Body after her, and that they, as repreſenting the three Eſtates of the Realm, did declare and aſſert her Title, which they would defend with their Lives and Fortunes. This was thought to be very wiſe Counſel; for if they had gone to repeal the Sentence of Divorce, which paſſed upon her Mother's Acknowledging a Precontract, they muſt have ſet forth the Force that was on her, when ſhe made the Confeſſion, and that, as it was a great Diſhonour to her Father, ſo it would have raiſed Diſcourſes likewiſe to her Mother's Prejudice, which muſt have rather weakened than ſtrengthened her Title, as has been formerly obſerved. This ſeems to be the true Reaſon why in all her Reign there was no Apology printed for her Mother. There was another Act paſſed for the reſtoring of her in Blood to her Mother, by which ſhe was qualified as a private Subject, to ſucceed, either to her Grand-father's Eſtate, or to any others by that Blood.

BUT for the Matters of Religion, the Commons began; and on the 15th of February, brought in a Bill for the Engliſh Service, and concerning the Miniſters of the Church. On the 21ſt a Bill was read for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again; and on the 17th of March another Bill was brought in confirming the Laws made about Religion in King Edward's Time; and on the 21ſt another was brought in, That the Queen ſhould have the Nomination of the Biſhops, as it had been in King Edward's Time. The Bill for the Supremacy was paſſed by the Lords on the 18th of March; the Archbiſhop of York, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Viſcount Montacute, and the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Worceſter, Landaff, Coventry, Litchfield, Exeter, Cheſter, Carliſle, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter, diſſenting: But afterwards the Commons annexed many other Bills to it, as that about the Queen's making Biſhops, not according to the Act made in King Edward's Time, but by the old Way of Elections, as it was Enacted in the 25th Year of her Father's Reign, with ſeveral Proviſo's; which paſſed in the Houſe of Lords with the ſame Diſſent. By it all the Acts paſſed in the Reign of King Henry for aboliſhing of the Pope's Power, are again revived; and the Acts in Queen Mary's Time, to the contrary, are repealed. There was alſo a Repeal of the Act made by her for proceeding againſt Hereticks. They revived the Act made in the firſt Parliament of King Edward, againſt thoſe that ſpoke irreverently of the Sacrament, and againſt private Maſſes, and for Communion in both Kinds; and declared the Authority of Viſiting, Correcting, and Reforming all Things in the Church, to be for ever annexed to the Crown, which the Queen and her Succeſſors might, by her Letters Patents, depute to any Perſons to exerciſe in her Name. All Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and all in any civil Imployment were required to ſwear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the Supream Governor in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal within her Dominions; that they renounced all Foreign Power and Juriſdiction; and ſhould bear the Queen Faith and true Allegiance: Whoſoever ſhould refuſe to ſwear it, was to forfeit any Office he had, either in Church or State; and to be from thenceforth diſabled to hold any Imployment during Life. And if within a Month after the Seſſion of Parliament, any ſhould, either by Diſcourſe or in Writting, ſet forth the Authority of any Foreign Power, or do any thing for the Advancement of it, they were to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels; and if they had not Goods to the Value of 20 l. they were to be impriſoned a whole Year; and for the ſecond Offence they were to incur the Pains of a Præmunire; and the third Offence in that Kind was made Treaſon. To this a Proviſo was added, That ſuch Perſons as ſhould be commiſſioned by the Queen to reform and order Eccleſiaſtical Matters ſhould judge nothing to be Hereſy but what had been already ſo judged, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the firſt Four General Councils, or by any other General Council in which ſuch Doctrines were declared to be Hereſies by the expreſs and plain Words of Scripture: All other Points, not ſo decided, were to be

be judged by the Parliament with the Aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

THIS Act was in many Things ſhort of the Authority that King Henry had claimed, and the Severity of the Laws he had made. The Title of Supream Head was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Oppoſition of the Popiſh Party; but beſides, the Queen herſelf had a Scruple about it, which was put in her Head by one Lever, a famous Preacher among thoſe of the Reformation, of which Sands, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, complained to Parker in a Letter. There was no other Puniſhment inflicted on thoſe who denied the Queen's Supremacy, but the Loſs of their Goods; and ſuch as refuſed to take the Oath in King Henry's Time brought them into a Præmunire, and to deny the Supremacy was Treaſon: But againſt this Bill the Biſhops made Speeches in the Houſe of Lords. Dr. Burnet ſays he had ſeen a Speech of this Kind that was ſaid to have been made by Archbiſhop Heath; but it muſt be a Forgery put out in his Name; for he is made to ſpeak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard-of Thing, which he, who had ſworn it ſo often, in King Henry's and King Edward's Times, could not have the Face to ſay. The reſt of the Biſhops oppoſed it, the rather becauſe they had lately declared ſo high for the Pope, that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted ſo ſoon. The Biſhop of Dureſme came not to this Parliament. There were ſome Hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation; for in the Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to ſome for Conſecrating the new Biſhops, he is firſt named. He had been offended with the Cruelties of the late Reign; and though the Reſentments he had of his ill Uſage in the End of King Edward's Time, had made him at firſt concur more heartily to the Reſtoring of Popery; yet he ſoon fell off, and declar'd his Diſlike of thoſe violent Courſes; and neither did he, nor Heath, bring any into Trouble within their Dioceſes upon the Account of Religion; tho' it is hardly credible that there was no Occaſion for their being ſevere, if they had been otherwiſe inclined to it. The Biſhop of Ely, was alſo abſent at the Paſſing of this Act; for tho' he would not conſent to it, yet he had done all that was preſcribed by it ſo often before, that it ſeems, he thought it more decent to be abſent, than either to conſent to it, or to oppoſe it.

The Beginning of the High-Commiſſion.

THE Power that was added for the Queen's Commiſſionating ſome to execute her Supremacy, gave the Riſe to that Court, which was commonly called, The High-Commiſſion-Court; and was to be in the Room of a ſingle Perſon, to whom, with the Title of Lord Vice-gerent, King Henry did delegate his Authority. It ſeems the Clergymen, with whom the Queen conſulted at this Time, thought this too much to be put in one Man's Hand, and therefore reſolved to have it ſhared to more Perſons of whom a great many would certainly be Church-men: So that they ſhould not be altogether kept under by the hard Hands of the Laity, who having groaned long under the Tyranny of an Eccleſiaſtical Yoke, ſeemed now diſpoſed to revenge themſelves by bringing the Clergy as much under them; for ſo Extreams do commonly riſe from one another.

THE Popiſh Clergy were now every where beginning to declaim againſt Innovation and Hereſy. Harpsfield had, in a Sermon at Canterbury in February, ſtirr'd the People much to Sedition, and the Members belonging to that Cathedral had openly ſaid, That Religion ſhould not, nor could not be altered. The Council alſo heard that the Prebendaries there had bought up many Arms; ſo a Letter was written to Sir Thomas Smith, to examin that Matter. Harpsfield was not put in Priſon, but received only a Rebuke. There came alſo Complaints from many other Places of many ſeditious Sermons: So, the Queen, following the Precedent her Siſter had ſet her, did, in the Beginning of March, forbid all Preaching, except by ſuch as had a Licence under the Great-Seal: But leſt the Clergy might now in the Convocation ſet out Orders in Oppoſition to what the Queen was about to do: She ſent, and required them, under the Pains of a Præmunire, to make no Canons: Yet Harpsfield that was Prolocutor, with the reſt of the Lower Houſe, made an Addreſs to the Upper Houſe, to be by them preſented to the Queen, for the Diſcharge of their Conſciences. They reduced the Particulars into five Articles:

I. That Chriſt was corporally preſent in the Sacrament.

II. That there was no other Subſtance there but his Body and Blood.

III. That in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living.

IV. That St. Peter and his lawful Succeſſors had the Power of Feeding and Governing the Church.

V. That the Power of Treating about Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Order of Divine Worſhip belonged only to the Paſtors of the Church.

THESE they had ſent to the two Univerſities, from whence they were returned, with the Hands of the greateſt Part in them to the firſt Four; but it ſeems they thought it not fit to ſign the Laſt: For now the Queen had reſolved to have a publick Conference about Religion, in the Abbey Church of Weſtminſter.

THE Archbiſhop of York was continued ſtill to be of the Council; ſo the Conference being propoſed to him, he, after he had communicated it to his Brethren, accepted of it, though with ſome Unwillingneſs. It was appointed that there ſhould be Nine of a Side who ſhould confer about theſe three Points: I. Whether it was not againſt the Word of GOD, and the Cuſtom of the antient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People, in the Common Prayers, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments? II. Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſtical Rites, ſo the ſame were done to Edification? III. Whether it could be proved by the Word of GOD, that in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living? All was ordered to be done in Writing. The Biſhops, as being actually in Office, were to read their Papers firſt upon the Firſt Point, and the Reformed were to read their's next; and then they were to exchange their Papers, without any Diſcourſe concerning them, for the avoiding of Jangling. The next Day they were to read their Papers upon the Second, and after that upon the Third Head; and then they were to anſwer one anothers Papers. The Nine on both Sides were, the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Litchfield, Cheſter, Carliſle, and Lincoln, and Drs. Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedſey, on the Popiſh Side; and Scory, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Horn, Sands, Gueſt, Almer, and Jewel, for the Proteſtants. The laſt of March was appointed to be the firſt Day of Conference, where the Privy-Council was to be preſent, and the Lord Keeper was to ſee that they ſhould not depart from the Rules to which they had agreed.

THE Noiſe of this drew vaſt Numbers of People to ſo univerſal a Sight; it being expected that there ſhould be much fairer Dealings now, than had been in the Diſputes in Queen Mary's Time. The whole Houſe of Commons came to hear it, as no Doubt the Lords did alſo, tho' it is not mark'd in their Journal. At their Meeting, the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid their Paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had miſtaken the Order; but Dr. Cole ſhould deliver what they had prepared, tho' it was not yet in that Order that they could copy it out. The Secret of this was, the Biſhops had in their private Conſultations agreed to read their Paper, but not to give thoſe they call'd Hereticks a Copy of it: They could not decently refuſe to give a publick Account of their Doctrine, but they were reſolved not to enter into Diſputes with any about it: This ſeemed to be the giving up of the Faith, if they ſhould ſuffer it again to be brought into Queſtion: Beſides, they looked on it as the higheſt Act of Supremacy, for the Queen to appoint ſuch Conferences; for ſhe and her Council would pretend to judge in theſe Points, when they had done diſputing: For theſe Reaſons they would not engage to make any Exchange of Papers. The Lord Keeper took Notice that this was contrary to the Order laid down at the Council-board, to which the Archbiſhop of York had in their Names conſented: But they pretending they had miſtaken the Order, Cole was appointed to deliver their Minds, which he did in a long Diſcourſe: The Subſtance of which was, "That altho' it might be "ſeen that the Scriptures had appoint-"ed the Worſhip of GOD to be in a "known Tongue; yet that might be "changed by the Authority of the "Church, which had changed the "Sabbath, appointed in the Scripture, "without any Authority from thence. "Chriſt waſh'd his Diſciples Feet, and "bid them do the like, yet this was "not kept up: Chriſt inſtituted the Sa-"crament of his Body and Blood after "Supper; and yet the Church appoint-"ed it to be received faſting: So had

"the

" the Church alſo given it only in one " Kind, tho' Chriſt himſelf gave it in " both: And whereas the Apoſtles by " Authority from the HOLY GHOST, " commanded all Believers to abſtain " from Blood, yet that was not " thought to oblige any now; and " though there was Community of " Goods in the Apoſtles Times, it was " no Obligation to Chriſtians to ſet up " that now; ſo that this Matter was " in the Power of the Church: And " ſince the Church of Rome had ap- " pointed the Latin Service to be every " where uſed, it was Schiſmatical to ſe- " parate from it; for according to Ire- " neus, all Churches ought to agree " with her, by Reaſon of her great " Preheminence." Upon which they run out largely to ſhew the Miſchiefs of Schiſm, both in France, Spain, Germany, and in other Countries: And for the Britons and Saxons of England, their firſt Apoſtles that converted them to Chriſtianity, were Men of other Nations, and did never uſe any Service but that of their Native Language. All the vulgar Tongues did change much, but the Latin was ever the ſame; and it was not fit for the Church to be changing her Service. The Queen of Ethiopia's Eunuch read Iſaiah's Book, tho' he underſtood it not; upon which GOD ſent Philip to him to expound it: So the People are to come to their Teachers to have thoſe Things explained to them, which they cannot underſtand of themſelves. There were many Rites in the Jewiſh Religion, the Signification whereof the People underſtood as little then, as the Vulgar the Latin now; and yet they were commanded to uſe them. The People were to uſe their private Prayers in what Tongue they pleaſed, tho' the publick Prayers were put in Latin; and ſuch Prayers may be for their Profit, tho' they underſtand them not, as abſent Perſons are the better for the Prayers which they do not hear, much leſs underſtand. They ſaid, it was not to be thought that the HOLY GHOST had ſo long forſaken his Church, and that a few lately riſen up were to teach all the World. They concluded, that they could bring many more Authorities; but they, being to defend a Negative, thought it needleſs, and would refer theſe to the Anſwers they were to make.

WHEN this was done the Lord Keeper turned to thoſe of the other Side, and deſired them to read their Paper. Horn was appointed by them to do it. He began with a ſhort Prayer to GOD to enlighten their Minds, and with a Proteſtation, that they were reſolved to follow the Truth, according to the Word of GOD. Then he read his Paper, " They founded their " Aſſertion on St. Paul's Words, who, " in the 14th Chapter of the Firſt " Epiſtle to the Corinthians, had treat- " ed on that Subject of ſet Purpoſe; " and ſpake in it, not only of Preach- " ing, but of Praying with the Under- " ſtanding; and ſaid that the Unlearn- " ed were to ſay Amen at the giving " of Thanks. From that Chapter they " argued, that St. Paul commanded " that all Things ſhould be done to " Edification, which could not be by " an unknown Language: He alſo " charged them that nothing ſhould be " ſaid that had an uncertain Sound; " and that as the Sound of a Trum- " pet muſt be diſtinct, ſo the People " muſt underſtand what is ſaid, that " ſo they might ſay Amen at the gi- " ving of Thanks. He alſo required " thoſe that ſpake in a ſtrange Lan- " guage, and could not get one to in- " terpret, to hold their Peace; ſince it " was an abſurd Thing for one to be a " Barbarian to others in the Worſhip " of GOD; and tho' the ſpeaking with " ſtrange Tongues was then an extra- " ordinary Gift of GOD, yet he order- " ed that it ſhould not be uſed where " there was no Interpreter. They " added, That theſe Things were ſo " ſtrictly commanded by St. Paul, that " it is plain they are not indifferent, " or within the Power of the Church. " In the Old Teſtament, the Jews had " their Worſhip in the vulgar Tongue; " and yet the new Diſpenſation being " more Internal and Spiritual, it was " abſurd that the Worſhip of GOD " ſhould be leſs underſtood by Chriſtians " than it had been by the Jews. The " chief End of Worſhip is, according to " David, that we may ſhew forth GOD's " Praiſes, which cannot be done if it is " in a ſtrange Tongue. Prayer is the " offering up of our Deſires to GOD, " which we cannot do if we under- " ſtand not the Language they are in. " Baptiſm and the LORD's Supper are " to contain Declarations of the Death " and Reſurrection of Chriſt, which muſt " be underſtood, otherwiſe why are " they made? The Uſe of Speech is " to make known what one brings

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" forth to one another. The moſt " barbarous Nations perform their Wor- " ſhip in a known Tongue, which " ſhews it to be a Law of Nature. It " is plain from Juſtin Martyr's Apolo- " gy that the Worſhip was then in a " known Tongue; which appears alſo " from all the antient Liturgies; and " a long Citation was brought out of " St. Baſil for the Singing of Pſalms, " duly weighing the Word with much " Attention and Devotion; which he " ſays was practiſed in all Nations. " They concluded, wondering how " ſuch an Abuſe could at firſt creep in, " and be ſtill ſo ſtifly maintained; and " why thoſe who would be thought the " Guides and Paſtors of the Church " were ſo unwilling to return to the " Rule of St. Paul, and the Practice of " the Primitive Times.

THERE was a great Shout of Applauſe, when they had done. They gave their Paper, ſigned with all their Hands, to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other Side, as he ſhould think fit: But he kept it till the other Side ſhould bring him theirs. The Papiſts upon this, ſaid, They had more to add on that Head, which was thought diſ-ingenuous by thoſe that had heard them profeſs they had nothing to add to what Cole had ſaid. Thus the Meeting broke up for that Day, being Saturday: And they were ordered to go forward on Monday, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two Heads. The Papiſts thought they could complain of nothing that was done, except the Applauſe given to the Paper of the Reformers: Yet they ſaw by that, how much more acceptable the other Doctrine was to the People; and therefore reſolved to go no further in that Matter. At the next Meeting, they deſired that their Anſwer to the Paper, read by the Reformed, might be firſt heard: To this the Lord Keeper ſaid, That they had delivered their Mind the former Day, and ſo were not to be heard till they had gone through the other Points; and then they were to return on both Sides, to the anſwering of Papers. They ſaid that what Cole had deliver'd the former Day, was Extempore, and of himſelf; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the Aſſembly to be very foul Dealing; ſo they were required to go on to the ſecond Point. Then they preſs'd that the other Side might begin with their Paper, and they would follow; for they ſaw what an Advantage the others had the former Day, by being heard laſt. The Lord Keeper ſaid, the Order was that they ſhould be heard firſt, as being Biſhops now in Office: But both Wincheſter and Lincoln refuſed to go any further, if the other Side did not begin. Upon which there followed a long Debate; Lincoln ſaying that the firſt Order, which was, That all ſhould be in Latin, was changed; and that they had prepared a Writing in Latin: But in this, not only the Counſellors, among whom ſate the Archbiſhop of York, but the reſt of his Party contradicted him. In Concluſion, all, except Fecknam, refuſed to read any more Papers: He ſaid, He was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake ſuch a Thing alone, and ſo the Meeting broke up.

BUT the Biſhops of Wincheſter, and Lincoln, ſaid, The Doctrine of the Catholick-Church was already eſtabliſhed, and ought not to be diſputed, except it were in a Synod of Divines: That it was too great an Encouragement to Hereticks to hear them thus diſcourſe againſt the Faith before the unlearned Multitude; and that the Queen by ſo doing had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; and they talked of excommunicating her and her Council. Upon this they were both ſent to the Tower. The Reformed took great Advantages from the Iſſue of this Debate, to ſay, their Adverſaries knew that upon a fair Hearing, the Truth was ſo manifeſtly on their Side, that they durſt not put it to ſuch Hazard. The whole World ſaw that this Diſputation was managed with great Impartiality, and without Noiſe or Diſorder, far different from what had been in Queen Mary's Time: So they were generally much confirmed in their former Belief, by the Papiſts flying the Field. They on the other Hand, ſaid, they ſaw the rude Multitude were now carried with a Fury againſt them: The Lord Keeper was their profeſs'd Enemy; the Laity would take on them to judge, after they had heard them, and they perceived they were already determined in their Minds, and that this Diſpute was only to ſet off the Changes that were to be made with the Pomp of a Victory: And they blam'd the Biſhops for undertaking it at firſt, but excus'd them for breaking it off in Time: And the reſting on the Authority of the Church

of

of Rome, that was now a Thing of ſo odious a Sound, that all Arguments brought from thence, were not like to have any great Effect. Upon this whole Matter, there was an Act of State made and ſigned by many Privy Counſellors, giving an Account of all the Steps that were made in it.

THIS being over, the Parliament was now in a better Diſpoſition to paſs the Bill for the Uniformity of the Service of the Church. Some of the Reformed Divines were appointed to review King Edward's Liturgy, and to ſee if in any Particular it was fit to change it. The only conſiderable Variation was made about the LORD's Supper, of which ſomewhat will appear from the Letter of Sands's to Parker: It was propoſed to have the Communion Book ſo contrived, that it might not exclude the Belief of the Corporal Preſence; for the chief Deſign of the Queen's Council was to unite the Nation in one Faith; and the greateſt Part of the Nation continued to believe ſuch a Preſence: Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to ſee that there ſhould be no expreſs Diſtinction made againſt it, that ſo it might lie as a Speculative Opinion, not determin'd, in which every Man was left to the Freedom of his own Mind. Hereupon the Rubrick that explained the Reaſon for Kneeling at the Sacrament, That thereby Adoration is intended to any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural Fleſh and Blood, becauſe that is only in Heaven, which had been in King Edward's Liturgy, was now left out: And whereas at the Delivery of the Elements in King Edward's firſt Liturgy, there was to be ſaid, The Body or Blood of Our LORD Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy Body and Soul to everlaſting Life; which Words had been left out in the ſecond Liturgy, as favouring the Corporal Preſence too much, and inſtead of them, theſe Words were ordered to be us'd in the Diſtribution of that Sacrament, Take and eat this in Remembrance that Chriſt dy'd for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thankſgiving, and drink this in Remembrance that Chriſt's Blood was ſhed for thee, and be thankful. They now join'd both theſe in one. Some of the Collects were alſo a little altered: And thus was the Book preſented to the Houſe: But for the Book of Ordinary, it was not in expreſs Terms nam'd in the Act, which gave an Occaſion afterwards to queſtion the Lawfulneſs of the Ordinations made by that Book. But by this Act, the Book that was ſet out by King Edward, and confirm'd by Parliament in the Fifth Year of his Reign, was again authoriz'd by Law, and the Repeal of it, in Queen Mary's Time, was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that Act added to the Book of Common-Prayer, it was now legally in Force again, as was afterwards declared in Parliament upon a Queſtion that was raiſed about it by Bonner.

THE Bill that was put in on the 15th of February, concerning the new Service, being laid aſide, a new one was fram'd, and ſent up by the Commons on the 18th of April, and debated in the Houſe of Lords: Heath made a long Speech againſt it, rather Elegant than Learned; he enlarged much on the ſeveral Changes which had been made in King Edward's Time: He ſaid, "That both Cranmer and "Ridley changed their Opinions in "the Matter of Chriſt's Preſence: He "call'd Ridley the moſt notably learn-"ed Man that was of that Way. "Theſe Changes he imputed to their "Departing from the Standard of the "Catholick Church: He complained "much of the robbing of Churches, "the breaking of Images, and the "Stage-Plays made in Mockery of the "Catholick Religion." Upon all theſe Reaſons he was againſt the Bill. The Biſhop of Cheſter ſpoke alſo to it: He ſaid, "The Bill was againſt both "Faith and Charity; that Points once "defined were not to be brought into "Queſtion; nor were Acts of Parlia-"ment Foundations for a Church's Be-"lief: He enlarged on the Antiquity "of their Forms; and ſaid, it was an "inſolent Thing to pretend that our "Fathers had liv'd in Ignorance. The "Prophets oftentimes directed the If-"raelites to aſk of their Fathers. Mat-"ters of Religion could not be under-"ſtood by the Laity. It was of great "Conſequence to have their Faith well "grounded. Jeroboam made Iſrael to "ſin, when he ſet up a new Way of "Worſhip; and not only the Ortho-"dox, but even the Arrian Emperors "ordered, that Points of Faith ſhould "be examin'd in Councils. Gallio, by "the Light of Nature, knew that a "Civil Judge ought not to meddle "with Matters of Religion. In the

" Service-Book that was then before " them, they had no Sacrifice for their " Sins, nor were they to adore Chriſt " in the Hoſt; and for theſe Reaſons " he could not agree to it; but if any " thought he ſpoke this, becauſe of " his own Concern, or pitied him for " what he might ſuffer by it, he would " ſay in the Words of Our Saviour, " Weep not for me, weep for your- " ſelves.

AFTER him ſpoke Fecknam, Abbot of Weſtminſter: He propoſed three Rules by which they ſhould judge of Religion: " It's Antiquity, it's Con- " ſtancy to itſelf, and the Influence it " had on the Civil Government: He " ſaid, The old Religion began in the " Time of King Lucius, according to " Geldas: The Book now propoſed, " was not uſed before the two laſt Years " of King Edward: The one was al- " ways the ſame, the other was chang- " ed every ſecond Year, as appear'd " in the Point of the Preſence of " Chriſt in the Sacrament: There had " been great Order and Obedience in " Queen Mary's Reign; but now eve- " ry where great Inſolences were com- " mitted by the People, with ſome " very indecent Prophanations of the " moſt Holy Things: He recommend- " ed to them in St. Auſtin's Words, " The Adhering to the Catholick " Church: The very Name Catholick, " which Hereticks had not the Confi- " dence to aſſume, ſhew'd their Au- " thority. The Conſent of the whole " Church in all Ages, with the perpe- " tual Succeſſion of Paſtors in St. Pe- " ter's Chair, ought to weigh more " with them, than a few new Preach- " ers, who had diſtracted both Germa- " ny and England of late.

Dr. Burnet ſays he had ſeen none of the Speeches on the other Side, tho' it is not probable but ſome were made in Defence of the Service, as well as againſt it: But on this Occaſion he ſets down the Subſtance of the ſecond Paper, the Reformed Divines had prepar'd on the ſecond Point, for the Conference about the Authority of every particular Church to change or take away Ceremonies. The Heads of which Paper were as follow:

" IT is clear by the Epiſtles which " St. Paul writ to the Corinthians and " other Churches, that every Church " has Power in itſelf to order the Forms " of their Worſhip and the Admini- " ſtration of the Sacraments among " them ſo as might beſt tend to Order, " Edification, and Peace. The like " Power had alſo the Seven Angels of " the Churches to whom St. John " writ. And for the firſt three Ages, " there was no General Meeting of the " Church in Synods, but in thoſe " Times the neighbouring Paſtors and " Biſhops, by mutual Advice, rather " than Authority, ordered their Af- " fairs; and when Hereſies ſprung up, " they condemned them, without " ſtaying for a General Determination " of the whole Church. There were " alſo great Differences among them " in their Cuſtoms, as about obſerving " Lent and Eaſter. Ceremonies grew " too ſoon to a great Number. When " Errors or Abuſes appeared, private " Biſhops reformed their own Dioceſes; " ſo thoſe who came in the Room of " Arrian Biſhops, even when that He- " reſy was ſpread over all the Eaſt, " and the See of Rome itſelf was de- " filed with it, yet reformed their own " Churches. Ambroſe finding the " Cuſtoms of Feaſting in Churches " on Anniverſaries of the Martyrs gave " Occaſion to great Scandals, took it " away. Even in Queen Mary's Time, " many of the old Superſtitions of " Pilgrimages and Reliques, which had " been aboliſhed in King Henry's " Time, were not then taken up again; " from which they argued, That if " ſome Things might be altered, why " not more? So that if there was good " Reaſon to make any Changes, it " could not be doubted but that as " Hezekiah and Joſiah had made by " their own Power, ſo the Queen " might make Reformations; which " were not ſo much the ſetting up of new " Things, as the reſtoring the State of " Religion, to what it was antiently; " which had been brought in by Con- " ſent of Parliament and Convocation " in King Edward's Time. The Rules " they offered in this Paper about Ce- " remonies, were, That they ſhould not " be made neceſſary Parts of Worſhip; " that they ſhould not be too many, " nor dumb and vain, nor ſhould be " kept up for Gain and Advantage.

THESE were the Arguments us'd on both Sides: But the Reform'd being ſuperior in Number, the Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords; the Archbiſhop of York, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Viſcount Montacute, the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Ely, Coventry, Cheſter, and Carliſle,

Carliſle, and the Lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter diſſenting. By this Act the new Book was to take Place by St. John Baptiſt's Day.

ANOTHER Act paſs'd, That the Queen might reſerve to herſelf the Lands belonging to Biſhopricks, as they fall void, giving the full Value of them in impropriated Tithes in Lieu of them. To this the Biſhops diſſented on the 7th of April, when it paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords: But when this came to the Commons, there was great Oppoſition made to it. Many had obſerved that in King Edward the VI's Time, under a Pretence of giving ſome Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church-Lands divided amongſt themſelves; ſo it was believ'd the Uſe to be made of this, would be the robbing of the Church without enriching the Crown. After many Days Debate on the 17th of April, the Houſe divided, and 90 were againſt it, but 133 were for it, and ſo it paſs'd.

ON the 5th of May another Bill paſs'd with the like Oppoſition. It was for annexing all Religious Houſes to the Crown. After that there follow'd ſome Acts for declaring the Deprivation of the Popiſh Biſhops in King Edward's Time, to have been good. When they were reſtored by Queen Mary, the Sentences paſs'd againſt them, were declared to have been void from the Beginning; and ſo all Leaſes that were made by Ridley, Poinet, and Hooper, and the Patents granted by the King, of ſome of their Lands, were annulled. It was particularly remember'd in the Houſe of Commons, that Ridley had made the Confirming of theſe Leaſes his laſt Deſire, when he was going to be ty'd to the Stake. The Ground on which his Sentences were declared void, was, becauſe the Parties had appealed, though in the Commiſſion, by Virtue of which the Delegates deprived them, they were impower'd to proceed notwithſtanding any Appeal. To this, not only the Biſhops but the Marquis of Wincheſter, and the Lords Stafford, Dudley, and North diſſented.

IT ſhews the great Moderation of this Government, that this Marquis, notwithſtanding his adhering to the Popiſh Intereſt in the Houſe of Lords, was ſtill continued Lord Treaſurer; which Employment he held 14 Years after this, and died in the 97th Year of his Age, leaving 103 iſſued from his own Body, behind him. He was the greateſt Inſtance of good Fortune and Dexterity, that we find in the Engliſh Hiſtory, who continued Lord Treaſurer in three ſuch different Reigns, as King Edward's, Queen Mary's, and Queen Elizabeth's were.

THERE was a Subſidy, and Two Tenth's, and Two Fifteenth's given by the Parliament, with the Tonnage and Poundage, for the Queen's Life; and ſo on the 8th of May it was diſſolved.

THERE were three Bills that did not paſs in the Houſe of Commons, but upon what Account they were laid aſide, it does not appear. The one was for reſtoring of the Biſhops that had been deprived by Queen Mary. There were but three of theſe alive, Barlow, Scory and Coverdale; the firſt of theſe had reſign'd, and the laſt, being old, had no Mind to return to his Biſhoprick; ſo perhaps it was not thought worth while to make an Act for one Man's Sake, eſpecially ſince there were ſo many vacant Biſhopricks in the Queen's Hands, and more were like to fall. The other Bill was for the reſtoring of all Perſons that were deprived from their Benefices becauſe they were married. This the Queen ordered to be laid aſide; of which Sands complained much in his Letter to Parker; but yet the Queen took no Notice of the Laws formerly made againſt their Marriage; and promoted many married Prieſts, particularly Parker himſelf. There was no Law now in Force againſt Clergymens marrying; for Queen Mary had only repealed the Laws of King Edward VI. which allow'd it, but had made none concerning that Matter; ſo there was nothing but the Canon-Law againſt it; and that was reſolved to be condemned, by continuing that Article of Religion concerning the Lawfulneſs of their Marriage, among thoſe that ſhould be ſet out. The next Bill that came to nothing, was a new Act for giving Authority to 32 Perſons, to reviſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and digeſt them into a Body; it was laid aſide at the ſecond Reading in the Houſe of Commons, and has ſlept ever ſince.

WHEN the Parliament was over, the Oath of Supremacy was ſoon after put to the Biſhops and Clergy. They thought if they could ſtick cloſe to one

one another in refuſing it, the Queen would be forced to diſpence with them, and would not at one Stroke turn out all the Biſhops in England. It does not appear how ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the Oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the laſt Collation Bonner gave of any Benefice, was on the 6th of May this Year. The Oath being offered to Heath, Archbiſhop of York, Bonner of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Chriſtopherſon of Chicheſter, Bain of Litchfield, White of Winchester, Watſon of Lincoln, Oglethorp of Carliſle, Turbervile of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scot of Cheſter, Pates of Worceſter, and Goldwell of St. Aſaph's, they did all refuſe to take it; ſo that only Kitchen, Biſhop of Landaff, took it. There was ſome Hope of Tonſtall; ſo it was not put to him till September; but he being very old, choſe to go out with ſo much Company, more for the Decency of the Thing, than out of any Scruple he could have about the Supremacy, for which he had formerly writ ſo much. They were upon their Refuſal, put into Priſon for a little while, but they had all their Liberty ſoon after, except Bonner, Watſon, and White. There were great Complaints made againſt Bonner, that he had, in many Things in the Proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſy, exceeded what the Law allow'd; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an Example: But as the Queen was of her own Nature merciful, ſo the Reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not to render Evil for Evil, nor to ſeek Revenge; and as Nazianzen had of old exhorted the Orthodox, when they had got an Emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the Arrians for their former Cruelties; ſo they thought it was for the Honour of their Religion, to give this real Demonſtration of the Conformity of their Doctrine, to the Rules of the Goſpel, and of the Primitive Church, by avoiding all Cruelty and Severity, when it look'd like Revenge.

ALL this might have been expected from ſuch a Queen, and ſuch Biſhops; but, it ſhew'd a great Temper in the whole Nation, that ſuch a Man as Bonner had been, was ſuffered to go about in Safety, and was not made a Sacrifice to the Revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near Friends by his Means. Many Things were brought againſt him, and White, and ſome other Biſhops; upon which the Queen promiſed to give a Charge to the Viſitors, whom ſhe was to ſend over England to inquire into theſe Things; and after ſhe had heard their Report, ſhe ſaid ſhe would proceed as ſhe ſaw Cauſe; by this Means ſhe did not deny Juſtice, but gain'd a little Time to take off the Edge that was on Mens Spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill Uſage they had met with from them.

Heath was a Man of a generous Temper, and was ſo well uſed by the Queen; for, as he was ſuffer'd to live ſecurely at his own Houſe in Surrey, ſo ſhe went thither to viſit him. Tonſtall and Thirleby liv'd at Lambeth, with Parker, with great Freedom and Eaſe; the one was learned and good-natured, the other was a Man of Buſineſs; but too eaſy and flexible. White and Watſon were moroſe ſullen Men; to which their Studies, as well as their Tempers had diſpoſed them; for they were much given to Scholaſtical Divinity, which inclined Men to be Cinical, to over-value themſelves and diſpiſe others. Chriſtopherſon was a good Grecian, and had tranſlated Euſebius and the other Church Hiſtorians into Latin, but with as little Fidelity as may be expected from a Man violently addicted to a Party. Bain was learn'd in the Hebrew, which he had profeſſed at Paris, in the Reign of Francis I. All theſe choſe to live ſtill in England; only Pates, Scot, and Goldwell went beyond Sea. After them went the Lord Morley, Sir Francis Engleſield, Sir Robert Peckham, Sir Thomas Shelley, and Sir John Page; who it ſeems, deſired to live where they might have the free Exerciſe of their Religion; and ſuch was the Queen's Gentleneſs, that this was not deny'd them, tho' ſuch Favour had not been ſhew'd in Queen Mary's Reign. Fecknam, Abbot of Weſtminſter, was a charitable and generous Man, and lived in great Eſteem in England. Moſt of the Monks returned to a Secular Courſe of Life, but the Nuns went beyond Sea.

Now the Queen intended to ſend Injunctions over England, and in the End of June they were prepared. There was great Difficulty made about one of them; the Queen ſeemed to think the Uſe of Images in Churches might

might be a Means to ſtir up Devotion, and that at leaſt it would draw all People to frequent them the more; for the great Meaſure of her Councils was to unite the whole Nation into one Way of Religion. The Reformed Biſhops and Divines oppoſed this vehemently; they put all their Reaſons in a long Writing, which they gave her concerning it: "They proteſted they "could not comply with that, which, "as it was againſt their own Conſci-"ences, ſo it would prove a Snare to "the Ignorant: They had often preſs'd "the Queen in that Matter; which, "it ſeems, ſtuck long with her: They "pray'd her not to be offended with "that Liberty they took, thus to lay "their Reaſons before her, it being "a Thing which Chriſtian Princes had "at all Times taken well from their "Biſhops. They deſired her to com-"mit that Matter to the Deciſion of Bi-"ſhops and Divines, and not to do ſuch "a Thing meerly upon ſome Political "Conſiderations; which as it would "offend many, ſo it would reflect "much on the Reign of her moſt god-"ly Brother, and on thoſe who had "then remov'd all Images, and had gi-"ven their Lives afterwards for a Teſ-"timony to the Truth.

THE Subſtance of their Reaſons is, "That the Second Commandment for-"bids the making of any Images, as a "Reſemblance of GOD: And Deutero-"nomy xxvii. There was a Curſe pro-"nounced on thoſe who made an "Image, an Abomination to the LORD, "and put it in a ſecret Place; which "they expounded of ſome Sacraria in "Private Houſes: And Deuteronomy "iv. Among the Cautions Moſes gives "to the People of Iſrael to beware of "Idolatry; this is one that they do "not make an Image, for the Uſe of "theſe does naturally degenerate into "Idolatry: The Jews were ſo ſenſible "of this after the Captivity, that "they would die rather than ſuffer "an Image to be put in their Temple. "The Book of Wiſdom calls an Image, "A Snare for the Feet of the Igno-"rant. St. John charged thoſe that "he writ to, to beware of Idols: So "Tertullian ſaid, it was not enough to "beware of Idolatry towards them, "but of the very Images themſelves. "And as Moſes had charg'd the Peo-"ple not to lay a Stumbling-Block in "the Way of the Blind; ſo it was a "much greater Sin to leave ſuch a "Trap for the weak Multitude. This "was not for Edification, ſince it fed "the Superſtition of the Weak and "Ignorant, who would continue in "their former Dotage upon them, and "would alienate others from the pub-"lick Worſhip; ſo that between thoſe "that would ſeparate from them, if "they were continued, and the Multi-"tude that would abuſe them, the "Number of thoſe that would uſe "them aright, would be very incon-"ſiderable: The outward Splendor of "them would be apt to draw the "Minds of the Worſhippers, if not to "direct Idolatry, yet to Staring and "Diſtraction of Thoughts." Both Origen and Arnobius tell us, "That the "Primitive Chriſtians had no Images "at all. Ireneus accuſed the Gnoſticks "for carrying about the Images of "Chriſt. St. Auſtin commends Varro, "for ſaying that the old Romans wor-"ſhipped GOD more chaſtly, without "the Uſe of any Images. Epiphani-"us tore a Vail with an Image on it; "and Serenus broke Images in Grego-"ry the Great's Time. Valens and "Theodoſius, made a Law againſt the "Painting or Graving of the Images "of Chriſt; and the Uſe of Images "in the Eaſtern Churches, brought "thoſe Diſtractions on that Empire, "that laid it open to the Invaſions of "the Mahometans.

THESE Reaſons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injunctions to have all Images remov'd out of the Church.

THE Injunctions given by King Edward, at his firſt coming to the Crown, were all renewed with very little Variation. To theſe ſome Things were added, of which Dr. Burnet gives ſome Account.

"It was no where declared, neither "in the Scriptures nor by the Pri-"mitive Church, that Prieſts might "not have Wives; upon which ma-"ny in King Edward's Time had "married: Yet great Offences was gi-"ven by the indecent Marriages that "ſome of them then made. To pre-"vent the like Scandals for the future, "it was ordered, That no Prieſt or "Deacon ſhould marry without Al-"lowance from the Biſhops of the "Dioceſe, and two Juſtices of the "Peace, and the Conſent of the Wo-"man's Parents or Friends. All the "Clergy were to uſe Habits accord-"ing to their Degrees in the Univer-

" ſities; the Queen declaring that this " was not done for any Holineſs in " them, but for Order and Decency. " No Man might uſe any Charm, or " conſult with them that did. All " were to be reſtored to their own Pa- " riſh-Churches, except for an extra- " ordinary Occaſion: Inn-Keepers " were to ſell nothing in the Times " of Divine Services: None were to " keep Images, or other Monuments " of Superſtition, in their Houſes: " None might preach but ſuch as were " licenſed by their Ordinary: In all " Places they were to examine the " Cauſes, why any had been in the " late Reign impriſon'd, famiſh'd or " put to Death, upon the Pretence of " Religion; and all Regiſters were to " be ſearched for it: In every Pariſh " the Ordinary was to name three " or four diſcreet Men who were to " ſee that all the Pariſhioners did du- " ly reſort on Sundays and Holidays " to Church; and thoſe who did it " not, and upon Admonition did not " amend, were to be renounced to the " Ordinary: On Wedneſdays and Fri- " days the Common-Prayer and Lita- " ny was to be uſed in all Churches: " All ſlanderous Words, as Papiſt, He- " retick, Schiſmatick, or Sacramenta- " ry, were to be forborn under ſevere " Pains: No Book might be printed " without a Licence from the Queen, " the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of Lon- " don, the Chancellor of the Univer- " ſities, or the Biſhops, or Archdeacon " of the Place where it was printed: " All were to kneel at the Prayers, " and to ſhew a Reverence when the " Name of Jeſus was pronounced. " Then follow'd an Explanation of " the Oath of Supremacy, in which " the Queen declared that ſhe did not " pretend to any Authority for the " Miniſtring of Divine Service in the " Church, and that all that ſhe chal- " lenged was, that which had at all " Times belonged to the Imperial " Crown of England; that ſhe had " the Sovereignty and Rule over all " Manner of Perſons under GOD, ſo " that no Foreign Power had any Rule " over them, and if thoſe who had " formerly appeared to have Scruples " about it, took it in that Senſe, ſhe " was well pleaſed to accept of it, " and did acquit them of all Penal- " ties in the Act." The next was about Altars and Communion-Tables: She ordered, That for preventing of Riots, no Altar ſhould be taken down, but by the Conſent of the Curate and Church-Wardens; that a Communion-Table ſhould be made for every Church, and that on Sacrament-Days it ſhould be ſet in ſome convenient Place in the Chancel; and at other Times ſhould be placed where the Altar had ſtood. The Sacramental Bread was ordered to be round and plain without any Figure on it, but ſomewhat broader and thicker than the Cakes formerly prepared for the Maſs. Then the Form of bidding Prayer was preſcribed, with ſome Variation from that in King Edward's Time; for, whereas, to the Thankſgiving for GOD's Bleſſings to the Church, in the Saints departed this Life, a Prayer was added, " That they with us, and we with " them, may have a glorious Reſur- " rection;" now theſe Words, They with us, as ſeeming to import a Prayer for the Dead, were left out.

FOR the Rule about Churchmen Marrying, thoſe who reflected on it, ſaid, They complained not of the Law, but as St. Jerom did in the making a Law in his Time, they complain'd of thoſe that had given Occaſion for it. Miniſters wearing ſuch Apparel as might diſtinguiſh them from the Laity, was certainly a Means to keep them under great Reſtraint, upon every Indecency in their Behaviour, laying them open to the Cenſures of the People; which could not be, if they were habited ſo, as that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from other Men; and humane Nature being conſidered, it ſeems, to be a Kind of a Temptation to many, when they do but think their Diſorders will paſs un-obſerv'd. Bowing at the Name of Jeſus, was thought a fit Expreſſion of their grateful acknowledging of Our Saviour, and an owning of his Divinity; and as ſtanding up at the Creed, or at the Gloria Patri, were ſolemn Expreſſions of the Faith of Chriſtians; ſo ſince Jeſus is the Name by which Chriſt is expreſs'd to be Our Saviour, it ſeem'd a decent Piece of acknowledging our Faith in him to ſhew a Reverence when that was pronounced; not as if there were a peculiar Sanctity or Virtue in it; but becauſe it was his proper Name, Chriſt being but an Appellation added to it. By the Queen's Care, to take away all Words of Reproach, and to explain the Oath of Supremacy, not only clearing any Ambiguity that might

might be in the Words, but allowing Men Leave to declare in what Senſe they ſwore it, the Moderation of her Government did much appear; in which, inſtead of inventing new Traps to catch the Weak, which had been practiſed in the other Reigns, all poſſible Care was taken to explain Things ſo that they might be as compreſenſive to all Intereſts as was poſſible. They reckoned, if that Age could have been on any Terms ſeparated from Papacy, though with Allowance for many other Superſtitious Conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next Age they would be ſo educated, that none of thoſe ſhould any more remain: And indeed this Moderation had all the Effects that was deſigned by it for many Years in which the Papiſts came to Church, and to the Sacraments. But afterwards, it being propoſed to the King of Spain, then ready to engage in a War with the Queen upon the Account of her ſupporting of the United Provinces, that he muſt firſt divide England at Home, and procure from the Pope a Sentence againſt the Queen, and a Condemnation of ſuch Papiſts as went to the Engliſh Service; and that for the maintaining and educating of ſuch Prieſts as ſhould be his Tools to diſtract the Kingdoms, he was to found Seminaries at Doway, Lorrain, and St. Omers, from whence he might come over hither, and diſorder the Affairs of England: The Proſecution of thoſe Councils raiſed the Popiſh Party among us, which has ever ſince diſtracted this Nation, and has oftener than once put it into moſt threatning convulſive Motions, ſuch as we feel at this Day.

AFTER the Injunctions were thus prepared, the Queen gave out Commiſſions for thoſe who ſhould viſit all the Churches of England; in which they loſt no Time; for the New Book of Service was by Law to take Place on St. John Baptiſt's-Day; and theſe Commiſſions were ſigned the ſame Day. It was granted to the Earls of Shrewſbury, and Derby, and ſome others, among whom Dr. Sands in one.

THE Preamble ſets forth, "That "GOD having ſet the Queen over the "Nation, ſhe could not render an Ac- "count of that Truſt, without endea- "vouring to propagate the true Reli- "gion with the right Way of worſhip- "ping GOD in all her Dominions; "therefore ſhe, intending to have a Ge- "neral Viſitation of her whole King- "dom, impower'd them, or any two "of them, to examine the true State "of all the Churches in the Nor- "thern Parts; to ſuſpend or deprive "ſuch Clergymen as were unworthy, "and to put others in their Places, "to proceed againſt ſuch as were obſti- "nate, by Impriſonment, Church Cen- "ſure, or any other legal Way. They "were to reſerve Penſions for ſuch as "would not continue in their Bene- "fices, but quitted them by Reſigna- "tion; and to examine the Condition "of all that were impriſoned on Ac- "count of Religion, and to diſcharge "them; and to reſtore all ſuch to "their Benefices, as had been un- "lawfully turned out in the late "Times.

THIS was the firſt High Commiſſion that was given out: That for the Province of Canterbury was without doubt, of the ſame Nature. The Prudence of reſerving Penſions for ſuch Prieſts as were turned out, was much applauded; ſince thereby they were kept from extream Want, which might have ſet them on to do Miſchief; and by the Penſion which was granted them upon their good Behaviour, they were kept under ſome Awe, which would not have been otherwiſe. That which was chiefly condemned in theſe Commiſſions, was the Queen's giving the Viſitors Authority to proceed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, which ſeem'd a great Stretch of her Supremacy: But it was thought that the Queen might do that, as well as the Lay-Chancellors did it in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: So that one Abuſe was the Excuſe for another.

THESE Viſitors having made Report to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws and her Injunctions, it was found, that of 9400 Benificed Men in England, there were no more than 14 Biſhops, ſix Abbots, 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Heads of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and 80 Rectors of Pariſhes, that had left their Benefices upon the Account of Religion. So compliant were the Papiſts generally: And indeed the Biſhops after this Time had the ſame Apprehenſion of the Danger into which Religion was brought by the Juglings of the greateſt Part of the Clergy, who retained their Affections to the old Superſtition, that thoſe in King Edward's Time had; ſo that if Queen Elizabeth had not liv'd

ſo

ſo long as ſhe did, till all that Generation was dead, and a new Set of Men better educated and principled were grown up and put in their Rooms; and if a Prince of another Religion had ſucceeded before that Time, they had probably turned about again to the old Superſtitions, as nimbly as they had done before, in Queen Mary's Days. That which ſupported the ſuperſtitious Party in King Edward's Time moſt, was, that many great Biſhops did ſecretly favour and encourage them; therefore it was now reſolved to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees.

IT has been ſaid before, that Parker was ſent for to London, by the Queen's Order, and the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury was offered him. He was, upon that, caſt into ſuch a Perplexity of Mind, that he was out of Meaſure grieved at it. As ſoon as he was returned Home, he writ a Letter to the Lord-Keeper. "He profeſſed "he never had leſs Joy of a Journey "to London, and was never more "glad to get from it, than upon his "laſt being there." He ſaid; "It was "neceſſary to fill that See with a Man "that was neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous; an arrogant Man "would perhaps divide from his Brethren in Doctrine, whereas the "whole Strength of the Church depended on their Unity; but if "there could be Heart-burnings "among them, and the private Quarrels, that had been beyond Sea, "ſhould be brought Home, the Peace "of the Church would be loſt, and "the Succeſs of all their Deſign "would be blaſted; and if a faint-hearted Man was put in, it would "raiſe the Spirits of all their Adverſaries; a covetous Man was good "for nothing. He knew his own Unfitneſs, both of Body and Mind, "ſo well, that though he ſhould be "ſorry to offend him and Secretary "Cecil whom he honour'd above all "Men in the World, and more ſorry "to diſpleaſe the Queen; yet he muſt "above all Things avoid GOD's Indignation, and not enter into a Station "into which he knew he could not "carry himſelf ſo as to anſwer it either to GOD or the World, for his "Adminiſtration; and if he muſt go "to Priſon for his obſtinate Untowardneſs, (with which it ſeems they had "threatned him) he would ſuffer it "rather with a Quiet Conſcience, "than accept of an Imployment "which he could not diſcharge." He ſaid, "He intended, by GOD's Grace, "never to be of that Order, neither "higher nor lower. He knew what "he was capable of; he was poor, and "not able to enter on ſuch a Station; "he had a Rupture, which made him "that he could not ſtir much; therefore he deſired ſome Place in the "Univerſity, where he might wear "out his Life tolerably. He knew he "could not anſwer their Expectations, "which made him ſo importunate not "to be raiſed ſo high: He ſaid, he "had great Apprehenſions of Differences like to fall out among themſelves, which would be a pleaſant "Diverſion to thoſe of the Church "of Rome. He ſaw ſome Men were "Men ſtill, even after all their "Teaching in the School of Affection. "He proteſted he did not ſeek his "own private Gain or Eaſe; he had "but two or three Years more of "Life before him, and did not intend "to heap up for his Children." This he writ the 1ſt of March.

THE Buſineſs of this Parliament made this Motion to be laid aſide, till that was diſſolved; and then on the 17th of May the Lord-Keeper wrote to him concerning it: He told him, That he ſaw by a Reſolution taken that Day in the Queen's Preſence, that it would be very hard for his Friends to get him delivered from that Charge. For his own Part, if he knew no Man to whom the Characters in his Letter did agree better than to himſelf, he ſhould be for preferring of ſuch a one; but knowing no ſuch, he muſt be ſtill for him. On the 19th after that, the Lord-Keeper and Secretary Cecil, ſigned a Letter in the Queen's Name, requiring him to come up; and after that they ſent a ſecond Command to him to come to Court, on the 28th of the Month. He came up, but again excuſed himſelf. Yet at laſt, being ſo often preſſed, he writ to the Queen herſelf, proteſting "That ex"tream Neceſſity forced him to trou"ble her, both out of Conſcience to "GOD, and Regard to her Service: "He knew his great Unworthineſs for "ſo high a Function; therefore, as on "his Knees he humbly beſought her "to diſcharge him of that Office, "which did require a Man of more "Learning, Virtue, and Experience, "than

" than he perfectly knew was in him-
" ſelf. He lamented his being ſo
" meanly qualify'd, that he could not
" ſerve her in that high Station; but
" in any other inferior Office, he
" ſhould be ready to diſcharge his Du-
" ty to her, in ſuch a Place as was
" ſuitable to his Infirmity." But in the Concluſion, he ſubmitted himſelf to her Pleaſure. In the End he was, with great Difficulty, brought to accept of it. So on the 8th Day of July the Conge d'Elire was ſent to Canterbury; and upon that, on the 22d of July a Chapter was ſummon'd to meet the 1ſt of Aug. where the Dean and Prebendaries meeting, they, according to a Method often uſed in their Elections, did by a Com-promiſe refer it to the Dean to name whom he pleaſed; and he naming Dr. Parker, according to the Queen's Letter, they all confirmed it, and publiſhed their Election, ſinging Te Deum upon it. On the 9th of September the Great Seal was put to a Warrant for his Conſecration, directed to the Biſhops of Dureſm, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Landaff, and to Barlow, and Scory (ſtiled only Biſhops, not being then elected to any Sees) requiring them to conſecrate him. From this it appears, that neither Tonſtal, Bourn, nor Pool were at that Time turned out. It ſeems there was ſome Hope of gaining them to obey the Laws, and ſo to continue in their Sees.

THIS Matter was delay'd to the 6th of December. Whether this flowed from Parker's Unwillingneſs to engage in ſo high a Station, or from any ſecret Reaſon, is uncertain: But then, the three Biſhops laſt named refuſing to do it, a new Warrant paſſed under the Great Seal, to the Biſhop of Landaff, Barlow, Biſhop elect of Chicheſter, Scory, Biſhop elect of Hereford, Coverdale, late Biſhop of Exeter, Hodgkins, Biſhop Suffragan of Bedford, John, Suffragan of Thetford, and Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory; that they, or any four of them, ſhould conſecrate him: So, by Virtue of this, on the 9th of December, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, met at the Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow; where according to the Cuſtom, the Conge d'Elire, with the Election, and the Royal Aſſent to it, were to be brought before them; and theſe being read, Witneſſes were to be cited to prove the Election lawfully made; and all who would object were alſo cited. All theſe Things being performed according to Law, and none coming to object againſt the Election, they confirmed it according to the uſual Manner. On the 17th of December Parker was conſecrated in the Chapel at Lambeth, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, according to the Book of Ordinations made in King Edward's Time. Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his Hand was left out of the Office, in this Reign. He being thus conſecrated himſelf, did afterwards conſecrate Biſhops for the other Sees, viz. Grindal, Biſhop of London, Cox, that had been King Edward's Almoner, Biſhop of Ely, Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Sandys, Biſhop of Worceſter, Merick, Biſhop of Bangor, Young, Biſhop of St. David's, Bullingham, Biſhop of Lincoln, Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury, (the great Ornament of that Age for Learning and Piety,) Davis, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, Gueſt, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Berkley, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Bentham, Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, Alley, Biſhop of Exeter, and Par, Biſhop of Peterborough. Barlow and Scory were put into the Sees of Chicheſter and Hereford: And ſometime after this, in February 1561, Young was tranſlated from St. David's to York; there being now no Hopes of gaining Heath to continue in it; which had been long endeavoured; for it was now two Years that that See had been in Vacancy, in like Manner, after ſo long waiting to ſee if Tonſtal would conform. There being now no more Hopes of it, in March 1561, Pilkington was made Biſhop of Dureſm: Beſt was afterwards made Biſhop of Carliſle, and Downham Biſhop of Cheſter.

Dr. Burnet ſays he has given the more diſtinct Account of theſe Promotions, becauſe of a moſt malicious Slander with which they were aſpers'd in After-times. It was not thought on for 40 Years after this: But then it was forged, and publiſh'd and ſpread over the World, with great Confidence, that Parker himſelf was not legally nor truly conſecrated. The Author of it was ſaid to be one Neale, that had been ſome Time one of Bonner's Chaplains. The Contrivance was, That the Biſhop of Landaff being required by Bonner not to conſecrate Parker, or to give Orders in his Dioceſe, did thereupon refuſe it: Upon that the Biſhops elect being met in Cheapſide, at the

Nag's-Head-Tavern, Neale, that had watch'd them thither, peep'd in, thro' an Hole of the Door, and ſaw them in great Diſorder, finding the Biſhop of Landaff was intractable: But, (as the Tale goes on) Scory bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their Heads or Shoulders, and ſaid, Take thou Authority to preach the Word of GOD ſincerely, and ſo they roſe up all Biſhops. This Tale came ſo late in the World, that Saunders, and all the other Writers in Queen Elizabeth's Time, had never heard of it; otherwiſe we may be ſure they would not have concealed it: And if the Thing had been true, or if Neale had but pretended that he had ſeen any ſuch Thing, there is no Reaſon to think he would have ſuppreſſed it: But when it might be preſumed that all thoſe Perſons were dead that had been preſent at Parker's Conſecration, then was the Time to invent ſuch a Story; for then it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that ſome who had ſeen Biſhops go from Bow-Church to dine at that Tavern with their Civilians, as ſome have done after their Confirmation, might imagin that then was the Time of this Nag's-Head-Conſecration. If it were boldly ſaid, one or other might think he remember'd it; but as it pleaſed GOD there was one then living that remember'd the contrary. The old Earl of Nottingham, who had been at the Conſecration, declared it was at Lambeth, and deſcribed all the Circumſtances of it, and ſatisfy'd all reaſonable Men that it was according to the Form of the Church of England. The Regiſters both of the See of Canterbury, and of the Records of the Crown do all fully agree with his Relation: For as Parker's Conge d'Elire, with the Queen's Aſſent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Conſecration, are all under the Great Seal, ſo upon the Certificate made by thoſe who conſecrated him, the Temporalities were reſtored by another Warrant alſo inrolled, which was to be ſhewed in the Houſe of Lords, when he took his Place there. Beſides that the Conſecrations of all the other Biſhops made by him, ſhew that he alone was firſt conſecrated without any other: And above all other Teſtimonies, the original Inſtrument of Archbiſhop Parker's Conſecration lies ſtill among his other Papers in the Library of Corpus-Chriſti-College, at Cambridge. It is manifeſtly an original Writing; but this Fiction ſerv'd thoſe Ends for which it was deſigned. Weak People hearing it ſo poſitively told by their Prieſts, came to believe it, and Dr. Burnet ſays, that he himſelf met with many who ſeemed ſtill to give ſome Credit to it, after all that Confutation of it, made by the moſt ingenious and learned Biſhop Bramhall, the late Primate of Ireland; and therefore, he ſays, he thought it neceſſary to be the larger in the Account of this Conſecration; and the rather becauſe of the Influence it hath into all the Ordinations that have been ſince that Time derived down in this Church.

SOME excepted againſt the Canonicalneſs of it, becauſe it was not done by all the Biſhops of the Province, and three of the Biſhops had no Sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a Suffragan Biſhop: But to all this it was ſaid, That after a Church had been over-run with Hereſy, thoſe Rules which were to be obſerved in its more ſettled State, were always ſuperſeded, as appears, particularly when the Arrian Biſhops were turned out of ſome great Sees; for the Orthodox Biſhops did then ordain others to ſucceed them, without judging themſelves bound by the Canons in ſuch Caſes: And Biſhops that had been rightly conſecrated, could certainly derive their own Character to others, whether they were actually in Sees or not; and a Suffragan Biſhop, being conſecrated in the ſame Manner that other Biſhops were, though he had a limited Juriſdiction, yet was of the ſame Order with them. All theſe Things were made out with a great deal of Learning, by Maſon, who upon the publiſhing of that Fiction, wrote in Vindication of the Engliſh Miniſtry.

THUS were the Sees fill'd, the Worſhip reform'd, and the Queen's Injunctions ſent over England. Three Things remained yet to be done. The firſt was, To ſet out the Doctrine of the Church, as it had been done in K. Edward's Time. The ſecond was, To tranſlate the Bible and publiſh it with ſhort Notes. And the third was, To regulate the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The Biſhop therefore ſet about theſe: And for the firſt, thought they could not by publick Authority, ſet out the Articles of the Church till they met in a Convocation,

Convocation, yet they ſoon after prepared them, and, for the preſent, they agreed on a ſhort Profeſſion of their Doctrine, which all Incumbents are obliged to read and publiſh to their People.

IN the Articles made in King Edward's Reign, the Explanation of Chriſt's Deſcent to Hell was left out of the third. In that about the Scriptures they now added an Enumeration of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books, declaring, that ſome Leſſons were read out of the latter, for the Inſtruction of the People, but not for the Confirmation of the Doctrine. About the Authority of the Church, they now added, That the Church had Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and had Authority in Controverſies of Faith, but ſtill ſubordinate to the Scripture.

IN the Articles about the LORD's Supper, there is a great deal left out; for inſtead of that large Refutation of the Corporal Preſence, from the Impoſſibility of a Body's being in many Places at once; from whence it follows, that ſince Chriſt's Body is in Heaven, the Faithful ought not to believe or profeſs a Real or Corporal Preſence of it in the Sacrament. In the new Articles it is ſaid, That the Body of Chriſt is given and received after a Spiritual Manner; and the Means by which it's receiv'd, is Faith: But in the original Copy of theſe Articles, there is a further Addition made. The Articles were ſubſcribed with that Precaution which was requiſite in a Matter of ſuch Conſequence; for before the Subſcriptions, there is ſet down the Number of the Pages, and of the Lines in every Page of the Book to which they ſet their Hands.

IN that Article of the Euchariſt, theſe Words are added, Chriſtus in Cælum aſcendens, &c. that is, in Engliſh, "Chriſt, when he aſcended into Hea-
"ven, made his Body immortal, but
"took not from it the Nature of a Bo-
"dy: For ſtill it retains, according
"to the Scripture, the Verity of an
"human Body, which muſt be always
"in one definite Place, and cannot be
"ſpread into many, or all Places at
"once: Since then Chriſt being carry'd
"up to Heaven, is to remain there to
"the End of the World, and is to
"come from thence, and no Place
"elſe, (as ſays St. Auſtin) to judge
"the Quick and the Dead; none of
"the Faithful ought to believe or pro-
"feſs the Real, or (as they call it)
"the Corporal Preſence of his Fleſh
"and Blood in the Euchariſt.

BUT this in the Original is daſh'd over with Minium; yet ſo, that it is ſtill legible. The Secret of it was this, The Queen and her Council ſtudied (as hath been already ſhewn) to unite all into the Communion of the Church; and it was alledged that ſuch an expreſs Definition againſt a Real Preſence, might drive from the Church many who were full of Perſuaſion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn Tranſubſtantiation, and to ſay that Chriſt was preſent after a Spiritual Manner, and received by Faith; to ſay no more, as it was judged ſuperfluous, ſo it might occaſion Diviſion. Upon this, theſe Words were by common Conſent left out; and in the next Convocation the Articles were ſubſcribed without them.

THIS ſhews that the Doctrine of the Church, ſubſcrib'd by the whole Convocation, was at that Time contrary to the Belief of a Real or Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought neceſſary or expedient to publiſh it. Tho' from this Silence, which flow'd not from their Opinion, but the Wiſdom of that Time, in leaving a Liberty for different Speculations, as for the Preſence, ſome have ſince inferred, that the chief Paſtors of this Church did then diſapprove of the Definition made in King Edward's Time, and that they were for a Real Preſence.

FOR the Tranſlating of the Bible, it was divided into many Parcels. The Pentateuch, was committed to William Alley, Biſhop of Exeter. The Books from that, to the Second of Samuel, were given to Richard Davis, who was made Biſhop of St. David's, when Young was removed to York. All from Samuel to the Second Book of Chronicles, were aſſigned to Edwin Sandys, then Biſhop of Worceſter. From thence to the End of Job, to one whoſe Name is mark'd A. P. C. The Book of the Pſalms was given to Thomas Bentham, Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield. The Proverbs to one who is mark'd A. P. The Song of Solomon to one mark'd A. P. E. All from thence to the Lamentations of Jeremiah, was given to Robert Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter. Ezekiel and Daniel, to Bentham. From thence to Malachi,

to

to Grindall, Biſhop of London. The Apocrypha to the Book of Wiſdom, was given to Barlow, Biſhop of Chicheſter. And the reſt of it to Parkhurſt, Biſhop of Norwich. The Goſpels, Acts, and Epiſtle to the Romans, were given to Richard Cox, Biſhop of Ely. The Epiſtles of the Corinthians, to one G. G. to whom the reſt of the New Teſtament was aſſigned is uncertain. All theſe Allotments were to be gathered from the Bible itſelf, as it was afterwards ſet out by Parker. What Method they follow'd in this Work, Dr. Burnet ſays he could not diſcover, unleſs the Rules afterwards given in King James's Time, when the Tranſlation was revived, were copied from what was now done. They were given with that Care that ſuch a Matter required. There were many Companies appointed for every Parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a Company was to tranſlate the whole Parcel; then they were to compare theſe together; and when any Company had finiſhed their Part, they were to communicate it to the other Companies. So it is likely that at this Time thoſe ſeveral Biſhops that had undertaken the Tranſlation, did aſſociate to themſelves Companies; with ſome Aſſiſtance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was ſet out, at the End of every Section the initial Letters of his Name that had tranſlated it, were printed, as W. E. E. W. from William Exton, and Edwin Wigorn; and ſo in the reſt. Dr. Burnet ſays he is not well aſſured what Year this was firſt printed in, but believes it was in 1561, or ſoon after; for the Almanack prefix'd for the Moveable-Feaſts, begins with that Year.

Also the Canons and Rules of the Church Government; they were not ſo ſoon prepared. There came out ſome in the Year 1571, and more in the Year 1597, and a far larger Collection of them in the firſt Year of King James's Reign: But this Matter has yet wanted its chief Force; for Penitentiary Canons have not been ſet up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the Hands of Churchmen; ſo that in this Point the Reformation of the Church wants ſome Part of its Finiſhing, in the Government and Diſcipline of it.

Thus did Queen Elizabeth again recover the Reformation of Religion; and it might have been expected, that under ſuch moderate and wiſe Councils, Things ſhould have been carried with that Temper, that this Church ſhould have united in its Endeavours to ſupport itſelf, and become the Bulwark of the Reformation, and the Terror of Rome: But that Bleſſing was, by the Sins of the Nation, the Paſſions of ſome, the Intereſt of others, and the Weakneſs of the greateſt Part, in a great Meaſure denied us. The Heats that had been raiſed beyond Sea, were not quite forgotten; and as ſome Sparks had been kindled about Clergymen's Habits in King Edward's Reign; ſo tho' Hooper and Ridley had buried that Difference in their Aſhes, it broke out again concerning the Veſtment of the inferior Clergy. Other Things were alſo much conteſted: Some were for ſetting up Eccleſiaſtical Courts in every Pariſh, for the exerciſing of Diſcipline againſt ſcandalous Perſons; others thought this might degenerate into Faction. Theſe leſs Differences were craftily managed by ſome who intended to improve them ſo far that they might have the Church-Lands divided among them, and they carried theſe Heats further in Queen Elizabeth's Reign than any one would imagine, who conſiders the Temper of that Government: But ſince that, ſtill by many Degrees, and many Accidents in the Civil Government, they are now grown to that Height, that though conſidering the Grounds on which they had been, and ſtill are maintained, they appear to be of no great Force or Moment; yet if the Animoſities and Heats that are raiſed by them, are well examined, there is ſcarce any profitable Hopes left of compoſing thoſe Differences, unleſs our Law-givers do vigorouſly apply themſelves to it.

The REFORMATION in *SCOTLAND*.

At this Time there was a great Revolution of Affairs in Scotland. When there was a Probability of bringing the Treaty of Cambray to a good Effect, The Cardinal of Lorrain writ to his Siſter, the Queen Regent of Scotland, and to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and let them know the Reſolution that was taken to extirpate Hereſy, and exhorted them to uſe their Endeavours for that End. The Queen Regent ſaw, that by doing this

this, ſhe ſhould not only break her Faith to the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the Aſſurance ſhe gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of Scotland would be indanger'd; for as their Party was ſtrong, ſo it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of England would ſupport them; and ſo ſhe was not eaſily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Councils. But the Biſhops ſhut their Eyes upon all Dangers, and reſolv'd to ſtrike a Terror into the People, by ſome ſevere Executions. They began with Walter Mell, an old infirm Prieſt, who had preach'd in ſome Places againſt many of the Opinions then received: He was particularly accuſed for having aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation, with ſome other Particulars, all which he confeſſed, and upon his Refuſal to abjure them, he was condemn'd to be burnt. Yet ſo averſe were the People from thoſe Cruelties, that it was not eaſy to find any that would execute the Sentence; nor would any do as much as ſell a Cord to tie him to the Stake; ſo that the Archbiſhop was forced to ſend for the Cords of his own Pavilion. The old Man expreſs'd great Firmneſs of Mind, and ſuch Chearfulneſs in his Sufferings, that the People were much affected at it, and this being every where look'd on as a Prologue to greater Severities that were to follow, the Nobility and Gentry began to conſider what was fit to be done. They had offered a Petition to the Queen Regent laſt Year that the Worſhip might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both Kinds, and the ſcandalous Prieſts might be turn'd out, and worthy Men to be put in their Places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate ſo great a Party before the Dauphin was declar'd King of Scotland, promis'd that they ſhould not be puniſh'd for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament, they mov'd for a Repeal of the Laws for the Biſhops Proceedings againſt Hereticks, and that nothing might be judg'd Hereſy, but that which was condemned by the Word of GOD; but the Queen Regent told them, theſe Things could not paſs, becauſe of the Oppoſition which was made to them, by the ſpiritual Eſtates; upon that they made a Proteſtation, that whereas they had modeſtly mov'd for a Redreſs of Abuſes, they were not to be blamed for the ill Effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow.

BUT when the Queen had gain'd her End in Relation to the Dauphin, ſhe order'd a Citation to be ſerved on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of Glencairn was, upon that, ſent to put her in Mind of her former Promiſes: She anſwer'd him roughly, "That maugre all that would take thoſe "Mens Part, they ſhould be baniſh'd "Scotland; (and added,) that Princes "were bound only to obſerve their "Promiſes, ſo far as they found it "convenient for them to do it." To this he replied, "That if ſhe renoun-"ced her Promiſes, they would re-"nounce their Obedience to her.

IN St. Johnſtown, that Party entred into the Churches, and had Sermons publickly in them. The Miniſters were coming from all Parts, to appear on the 20th of May, for to that Day they had been cited, and great Numbers came along with them. The Queen apprehending the ill Effects of a great Confluence of People, ſent them Word not to come, and upon this many went Home again; yet upon their not Appearance, they were all declar'd Rebels. This foul Dealing made many leave her, and go over to thoſe that were met at St. Johnſtown: And the Heat of the People was raiſed to that Pitch, that they broke in upon the Houſes of the Monks and Friars, and after they had diſtributed all that they found in them, except that which the Monks conveyed away, to the Poor, they pulled them down to the Ground. This provoked the Queen ſo much, that ſhe reſolved to puniſh that Town, in a moſt examplary Manner; ſo ſhe gathered the French Soldiers together, with ſuch others as would join with her; but the Earl of Glencairn gathered 2500 Men together, and with incredible Haſt, he marched to that Place, where there were now in all 7000 arm'd Men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them; ſo an Agreement was made, and an Oblivion was promiſed for all that was paſt: Matters of Religion were referr'd to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. Johnſtown, without carrying her Frenchmen with her;

her; but ſhe carried them with her into the Town, and as ſhe put a Garriſon in it, ſo ſhe puniſh'd many for what was paſt; and when her Promiſes were objected to her, ſhe anſwered, "Princes were not to be ſtrictly charged with their Promiſes, "eſpecially when they were made to "Hereticks; and that ſhe thought it "no Sin to kill and deſtroy them all, "and then would excuſe it as well as "could be, when it was done." This turned the Hearts of the whole Nation from her, and in many Places they began to pull down Images, and to raiſe Monaſteries. The Queen Regent repreſented this to the King of France, as done on Deſign to ſhake off the French Yoke, and deſired a great Force to reduce the Country. On the other Hand, ſome were ſent over from the Lords, to give a true Repreſentation of the Matter, and to let him know, that an Oblivion for what was paſt, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion for the Time to come, would give full Satisfaction. The French King began now to apprehend, how great a Charge the keeping that Kingdom in Peace, was like to come to; and ſaw the Danger of the Scots caſting themſelves into the Arms of the Queen of England; therefore he ſent one, in whom the Conſtable put an intire Confidence, to Scotland, to bring him a true Report of the State of that Matter, that was ſo variouſly repreſented: But before he could return, the King of France was dead, and the Conſtable was in Diſgrace; and all Affairs were put in the Hands of the Brothers of the Houſe of Guiſe, ſo that all moderate Councils were now out of Doors. The People did ſo univerſally riſe againſt the Queen Regent, that ſhe was forc'd to retire to Dunbar-Caſtle: She was once willing to refer the whole Matter to a Parliament; but 2000 Men coming over from France, and Aſſurances being ſent her, of a greater Force to follow, ſhe took Heart, and came and fortify'd Leith, and again broke her laſt Agreement; upon which the Lords pretended, that in their Queen's Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief Adminiſtrator and accountable to them; ſo they reſolved to depoſe her from the Regency.

THEY objected many Male-adminiſtrations to her, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Strangers to ſubdue it; her embaſing the Coin, governing without Conſent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promiſes to them; upon which they declared that ſhe had fallen from her Regency, and ſuſpended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called the Lords of the Congregation, retired from Edinburgh to Stirling: Upon which the French came to Edinburgh, and ſet up the Maſs again in the Churches; then a new Supply came from France, commanded by the Marquis of Elbeuf, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers; ſo that there were in all 4000 French in Scotland. By her having this Foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united againſt the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The Scots, who had been hitherto animated, and ſecretly ſupplied with Money and Ammunition from England, were now forc'd to deſire the Queen of England's Aid more openly; and France was now like to be ſo much divided within itſelf, that the Queen, not much apprehending a War with that Crown, was more eaſily determined to aſſiſt the Scots.

A Treaty was made between the Duke of Norfolk and the Scots; they promiſed to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the French were driven out of Scotland, they ſhould continue their Obedience to their own Queen: Upon which Two Thouſand Horſe and Six Thouſand Foot were ſent to aſſiſt the Scots. They beſieged Leith, during which, there were conſiderable Loſſes on both Sides, but the Loſſes on the Side of the Engliſh were more eaſily made up, Supplies being nearer at Hand.

THE French offered to put Calais again in the Queen of England's Hands, if ſhe would recall her Forces out of Scotland. She anſwered on the ſudden, "That ſhe did not value that Fiſh-"Town ſo much as ſhe did the Quiet "of the Iſle of Britain:" But ſhe ordered to mediate a Peace between them and the Scots.

BEFORE this could be effected, the Queen Regent of Scotland died: She ſent for ſome of the Scotiſh Lords in her Sickneſs, and aſk'd them Pardon for the Injuries ſhe had done them: She adviſ'd them to ſend both the French and the Engliſh out of Scotland, and pray'd them to continue in their

their Obedience to their Preachers, and declared that ſhe hop'd to be ſav'd only by the Merits of Chriſt. She had governed the Nation, before the laſt Year of her Life, with ſuch Juſtice and Prudence, and was ſo great an Example, both in her own Perſon, and in the Order of her Court, that if ſhe had died before her Brother's bloody Councils had involved her in theſe laſt Paſſages of her Life, ſhe had been the moſt lamented and eſteemed Queen that had been in that Nation for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were juſt and moderate; and ſhe often ſaid, That if her Councils might take Place, ſhe did not doubt, but ſhe would bring all Things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace. Soon after a Peace was concluded between England, France, and Scotland: An Oblivion was granted for all that was paſt: The French and Engliſh were to be ſent out of Scotland, and all other Things were referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's Abſence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12, all Natives; of theſe the Queen was to name ſeven, and the States were to chuſe five: So both the Engliſh and French were ſent out of Scotland; and the Parliament met in Auguſt.

IN it all Acts for the former Way of Religion were repealed; and a Confeſſion of Faith, penn'd by Knox, afterwards inſerted among the Acts of Parliament, 1567, was confirmed. Theſe Acts were oppoſed only by three Temporal Lords, who ſaid, they would believe as their Fathers had done: But all the Spiritual Lords, both Biſhops and Abbots, conſented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the ſtrangeſt Manner, that was ever known: The Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Eſtates, and the Biſhops, though they continued Papiſts ſtill, divided all their Lands among their Baſtards and Kindred; and procured Confirmations of many of the Grants they gave from Rome; by which, that Church was ſo impoveriſh'd, that if King James the Iſt, and King Charles the Iſt, had not with much Zeal, and great Endeavours, retrieved ſome Part of the antient Revenues, and provided a conſiderable Maintenance for the inferior Clergy, all the Encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to ſuch a Degree withdrawn, that Barbariſm muſt have again over-run that Kingdom When theſe Acts, thus agreed on in the Parliament of Scotland, were ſent over to France, they were rejected with great Scorn; ſo that the Scots began to apprehend a new War; but Francis the II's Death ſoon after deliver'd them from all their Fears; for their Queen having no more the Support of ſo great a Crown, was forced to return Home, and govern in ſuch a Manner, as that Nation was pleaſed to ſubmit to.

THUS had the Queen of England divided Scotland from its antient Dependance on France, and had tied it ſo to her own Intereſts, that ſhe was not only ſecure on that Side of her Dominions, but came to have ſo great an Intereſt in Scotland, that Affairs there were for the moſt Part governed according to the Directions ſhe ſent hither. Other Accidents did alſo concur to give her a great Share in all the moſt important Affairs of Europe.

IN France, upon Henry the IId's fatal End, great Diviſions aroſe between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the Houſe of Guiſe, into whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put, during Francis the IId's ſhort Reign: It was pretended on the one Hand, that the King was not of Age till he was 22; and that during his Minority, the Princes of the Blood were to govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Aſſembly of the Eſtates: On the other Hand it was ſaid, that the King might aſſume the Government, and imploy whom he pleaſed at 14. A Deſign was laid in which many of both Religions concurred for taking the Government out of the Hands of the Strangers, and ſeizing on the King's Perſon; but a Proteſtant, mov'd by a Principle of Conſcience, diſcover'd it. Upon this the Prince of Conde, and many others were ſeiz'd on; and if the King had not died ſoon after, they had ſuffered for it. Charles the IXth ſucceeding, who was under Age, the King of Navarre was declared Regent; but he, though before a Proteſtant, was drawn into the Papiſt Intereſt, and joined himſelf with the Queen Mother, and the Conſtable. A ſevere Edict was made againſt the Proteſtants, but the Execution of it was like to raiſe great Diſorders; ſo another was made in a great Aſſembly of many Princes of the Blood, Privy Counſellors

lors and eight Courts of Parliament, allowing the free Exercise of that Religion: Yet after this, the Duke of Guise reconciled himself to the Queen Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict: So, the Duke of Guise happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offer'd Violence to them; from reproachful Words it went to the throwing of Stones, by one of which the Duke was hurt; upon which his Servants killed 60 of the Protestants, and wounded 200; and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's Power did not extend so far as that he could break so publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of Conde set himself at the Head of them, and the King of Navarre being kill'd soon after the breaking out of the War, he, as the first Prince of the Blood that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent; so that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not Rebellion, since they had both the Law, and the first Prince of the Blood on their Sides. The Wars lasted near 30 Years; for in all that Time, notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the Seeds of War were never so rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up upon every new Occasion. In this the Queen interposed, and supported the Protestant Party, sometimes with Men, but oftener with Money, so that she had near Half of that Kingdom depending on her.

IN the Netherlands, a long Continuance of Civil Wars, almost on the same Account, gave her the like Advantages. The King of Spain, by endeavouring to set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Provinces, and by keeping of some Spanish Troops among them, and other Excesses in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the Lætus Introitus, provoked them so much, that they shook off his Yoke, and were supported by the Aid and Money which the Queen sent them: So that the Queen met with such a Conjuncture of Affairs in the Dominions of those Princes that were next her, of whom only she had Reason to be afraid, as scarce any Prince ever had.

IN Foreign Parts, she was the Arbiter of Christendom; and at Home Things were so happily managed, Trade did so flourish, and Justice was so equally distributed, that she became the Wonder of the World. She was victorious in all her Wars with Spain; and no Wonder, for it appeared signally in the Ruin of the Great Armada, which Spain look'd on as invincible, that Heaven fought for her. She reign'd more absolutely over the Hearts, than the Persons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Interests of her People, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her Desires, and to grant her Subsidies, as often as she call'd for them; and as she never ask'd them, but when the Occasion for them was visible; so after they were granted, if the State of her Affairs changed so that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. Rome and Spain set many Engines on work, both against her Person and Government, but she still lived in Triumph. In the first 10 Years of her Reign, the Papists were so compliant, that there was no Stir made about Religion. Pope Pius the IVth condemned the Madness of his Predecessor, in that high and provoking Message which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a Reconciliation with her, at two several Times; and offered, if she would join herself to the See of Rome, that he would annul the Sentence against her Mother's Marriage, and confirm the English Service, and the Communion in both Kinds: But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. Pius the Vth that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her Death, as is related by him that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of Scotland was forced to take Sanctuary in England; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Country: But her officious Friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid for taking away the Queen's Life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, that ended in a Tragical Death; which, though it was the greatest Blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some Sort justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's Life; and by the Deposition which Pope Pius thundered out against her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the Hopes of such a Successor, the Queen's Life was not safe, nor her Government secure.

THIS

THIS led her towards the End of her Reign, to greater Severities among thoſe of the Roman Communion, of which a copious Account is given by Sir Francis Walſingham, that was for ſo many Years employed, either in Foreign Ambaſſies, or in the Secrets of State at Home; that none knew better than he did, the hidden Springs that mov'd and directed all her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a Frenchman, giving him an Account of all the Severities of the Queen's Government, both againſt Papiſts and Puritans.

THE Subſtance of which is, "That "the Queen laid down two Maxims "of State; the one was, Not to force "Conſciences; the other was, Not to "let factious Practices go unpuniſhed, "becauſe they were covered with Pre-"tences of Conſcience. At firſt ſhe "did not revive thoſe ſevere Laws "paſt in her Father's Time, by which "the Refuſal of the Oath of Suprema-"cy was made Treaſon, but left her "People to the Freedom of their "Thoughts, and made it only Penal "to extol a Foreign Juriſdiction; ſhe "alſo laid aſide the Word, Supream "Head, and the Refuſers of the Oath "diſabled from holding Benefices, or "Charges during their Refuſal. Upon "Pius the V's excommunicating her, "though the Rebellion in the North "was chiefly occaſioned by that, ſhe "only made a Law againſt the bring-"ing over, or publiſhing of Bulls, "and the venting of Agnus Dei's, or "ſuch other Love-tokens, which were "ſent from Rome, on Deſign to draw "the Hearts of her People from her, "which were no eſſential Parts of that "Religion; ſo that this could hurt "none of their Conſciences: But "when after the 20th Year of her "Reign, it appeared that the King "of Spain deſigned to invade her "Dominions, and that the Prieſts that "were ſent over from the Seminaries "beyond Sea, were generally employ'd "to corrupt the Subjects in their Al-"legiance, by which Treaſon was "carried in the Clouds and infus'd "ſecretly in Confeſſion; then pecuni-"ary Puniſhments were inflicted on "ſuch as withdrew from the Church; "and in Concluſion, ſhe was forced "to make Laws of greater Rigour, "but did often mitigate the Severity "of them, to all that would promiſe "to adhere to her, in caſe of a Foreign "Invaſion. As for the Puritans, as "long as they only inveighed a-"gainſt Some Abuſes, as Pluralities, "Non-reſidence, or the like, it was "not their Zeal againſt thoſe, but on-"ly their Violence that was condemn-"ed: When they refuſed to comply "with ſome Ceremonies, and queſtion-"ed the Superiority of Biſhops, and "declared for a Democracy in the "Church, they were connived at, "with great Gentleneſs: But it was "obſerved, that they affected Popula-"rity much, and the Methods they "took to compaſs their Ends, were "judged dangerous, and they made "ſuch Uſe of the Averſion the Na-"tion had to Popery, that it was vi-"ſible that they were in Hazard of "running from one Extream to ano-"ther: They ſet a new Model of "Church-Diſcipline, which was like "to prove no leſs dangerous to the "Liberties of private Men, than to "the Sovereign Power of the Prince: "Yet all this was born with, as long "as they proceeded with thoſe Ex-"preſſions of Duty which became "Subjects. But afterwards, when "they reſolved to carry on their De-"ſigns, without waiting for the Con-"ſent of the Magiſtrate, and entering "into Combinations; when they be-"gan to defame the Government by "ridiculous Paſquils, and boaſted of "their Numbers and Strength, and "in ſome Places broke out into Tu-"mults, then it appeared that it was "Faction, and not Zeal, that anima-"ted them. Upon that, the Queen "found it neceſſary to reſtrain them "more than ſhe had done formerly; "yet ſhe did it with all the Modera-"tion that could conſiſt with the "Peace of the Church and State." And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be juſtly form'd.

THUS, ſaith Dr. Burnet, have I proſecuted what I at firſt undertook, the Progreſs of the Reformation, from its firſt, and ſmall Beginnings in England, 'till it came to a compleat Settlement in the Time of this Queen; of whoſe Reign if I have adventured to give an Account, it was not intended ſo much for a full Character of her, and her Councils, as to ſet out the great and viſible Bleſſings of GOD that attended on her; the many Preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch

ſignal Diſcoveries as both ſaved her Life, and ſecured her Government; and the unuſual Happineſs of her whole Reign, which raiſed her to the Eſteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Poſterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule ſuch a Kingdom for above 44 Years, with ſuch conſtant Succeſs, in ſo great Tranquillity at Home, with a vaſt Increaſe of Wealth, and with ſuch Glory Abroad: All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven crowning that Reign, with ſo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

The End of the Fourth BOOK.

BOOK V.

Being a SUPPLEMENT to the foregoing BOOKS.

THE Biſhop of Saliſbury, in his Introduction to this laſt Volume, ſays, that after a long Interval of 33 Years, he is now come to give all the Finiſhing to the Hiſtory of our REFORMATION, that he has been able to collect, either from new Diſcoveries that came in his own Way, or the kind Advertiſements of Friends, or the ſevere Animadverſions of Criticks; of all which he has endeavoured to make the beſt Uſe that he could. He begins with MATTERS that happened in the Time comprehended in the Firſt BOOK of the HISTORY of the REFORMATION aforegoing.

To prepare the Reader for what relates to the Affairs of England, he ſets before him the Progreſs of that Agreement, into which the French King's Affairs carried him; by which he delivered up one great Part of the Liberties of the Gallican Church to the Pope, and invaded the reſt himſelf. This was carried on in a Courſe of many Years; and the Scene lying next us, and being concluded in the very Time in which the Breach of this Nation was far carried on, in the Year 1532, the Biſhop thought it would not be an improper Beginning of this Work, to ſet out that Matter very copiouſly, ſince it is highly probable, that it had a great Influence on all who were capaple to reflect on it.

THE greateſt Tranſaction that happened in this Period, being the ſetting up the Concordat, in the Room of the Pragmatick Sanction, by Francis the Iſt, it will be neceſſary, in order to the clear Opening of the Matter, to look back into the former Ages.

THE Progreſs the Papacy had made from Pope Gregory the VIIth's to Pope Boniface the VIIIth's Time, in little more than 230 Years, is an amazing Thing: The one begun the Pretenſion to depoſe Kings, the other in the Jubilee that he firſt opened, went in Proceſſion thro' Rome, the firſt Day, attired as Pope, and the next Day attired as Emperor, declaring, that all Power, both Spiritual and Temporal, was in him, and derived from him: And he cried out with a loud Voice, "I am Pope and Emperor, and have "both the earthly and heavenly Em-"pire;" and he made a ſolemn Decree, in theſe Words, "We ſay, de-"fine, and pronounce, that it is abſo-"lutely neceſſary to Salvation, for "every human Creature to be ſubject "to the Biſhop of Rome." The Holy War, as it was call'd, was a great Part of the Buſineſs of that Interval; by which the Authority and Wealth of the Papacy received no ſmall Edition:

'Tis

'Tis true, the Removal of the Popes to Avignon, and the Schiſm that followed upon the Popes Return to Rome, did put no ſmall Stop to that growing Power, and to the many and great Uſurpations and Inventions not known to former Ages, which were ſet on Foot to draw all People into a ſervile Dependance on the Popes.

THIS long Schiſm between the Popes that ſat at Rome and Avignon, was the beſt Conjuncture the Biſhops could ever have hoped for, to recover their Authority; which had been for ſome Ages oppreſſed, and indeed trodden under Foot by the Papacy; and if that had happened in a leſs ignorant Age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual Proviſions made againſt it. The Biſhops that met at Conſtance, did not apprehend that the Continuance of that Breach was that in which their Strength lay: They made too much Haſte to heal it; but they ſoon found, when all was again united, none of the Regulations that they made, could reſtrain a Power that pretended to know no Limits. The greateſt Security of the Church, as they thought, was in the Act for perpetual General Councils; which were to meet after ſhort Intervals; and in the Act for Subjecting the Popes to the Councils, requiring them to call them and the Council to meet at the End of 10 Years, whether the Pope ſummoned it, or not.

BUT theſe proved feeble Reſtraints; yet the Council of Baſil did ſit, purſuant to the Decree made at Conſtance; and the Biſhops who met there, endeavoured, as much as their low Size of Learning could direct them, to ſet forward a Reformation of thoſe Abuſes that were brought into the Church, and that ſupported that Deſpotick Power which the Popes had aſſumed. They reckoned a Regulation of the Elections of Biſhops was the laying a good Foundation, and the ſettling of Pillars and Baſes upon which the Fabrick of the Church might ſecurely reſt. Many Biſhops were made by Papal Proviſions: Theſe they ſimply condemn'd. Others were promoted by the Power and Favour of Princes, to which ambitious Men recommended themſelves by baſe Compliances, and Simonical Bargains; in Oppoſition to theſe, they reſtored Elections to the Chapters with as good Proviſions as they could contrive, that they ſhould be well managed.

A Conteſt falling in upon their Proceedings between them and Pope Eugenius the IVth, they addreſſed themſelves to Charles the VIIth, King of France, for his Protection. They ſent him the Decrees they had made againſt Annats, that is, Firſt-Fruits; a late Device of Pope Boniface the IXth, then about 50 Years ſtanding, pretending to carry on a War againſt the Turk by that Aid. They alſo condemned Gratias Expectavias, or the Survivances of Biſhopricks, and other Benefices, with all Clauſes of Reſervations in Bulls, by which Popes reſerved to themſelves at Pleaſure ſuch Things as were in a Biſhop's Collation. They appointed Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, and not by the Pope. They condemned all Fees and Exactions upon Elections, except only a Salary for the Writer's Pains; and all Appeals, except to the immediate Superior, with all Appeals from a Grievance, unleſs it was ſuch, that the final Sentence muſt turn upon it: And when the Appeal roſe up by all intermediate Steps to the Pope, it was to be judged by Delegates appointed to ſit upon the Place, where the Clauſe lay, or in the Neighbourhood: Only the Cauſes marked expreſsly in the Law, as greater Cauſes, were reſerved to the Pope. Proviſion was made for the Encouragement of Learning, and of the Univerſities, that the Benefices that fell in any Collator's Gift, ſhould be in every third Month of the Year given to Men that had been, during a limited Number of Years, bred in them; and had, upon due Trial, obtained Degrees in them. If a Biſhop had 10 Benefices in his Gift, the Pope might name to One; and if 50, to Two, but to no more. Some of the Proviſions relate to the Diſcipline and Order of the Cathedral Churches: But the main Thing of all was their declaring the Council to be above the Pope; that the Pope was bound to ſubmit to it, and that Appeals lay to it from him.

THE firſt Breach between the Pope and the Council was made up afterwards by the Interpoſition of Sigiſmond the Emperor: The Pope recalled his Cenſures, confeſs'd he had been miſled, and ratify'd all that the Council had done; but that laſted not long; for

for upon the Pretence of treating a Reconciliation with the Greek Church, ſome moved for a Tranſlation of the Council to Ferrara; but the Majority oppoſed it; yet the Pope did tranſlate it thither. Upon which, the Council condemned that Bull, and proceeded againſt Eugenius. He, on the other Hand, declared them to be no Council, and excommunicated them: They on their Part depoſed him, and choſe another Pope, Amedee, Duke of Savoy, who took the Name of Felix: He had retired from his Principality, and upon that, they again begged the Protection of France.

THE King being thus applied to by them, ſummon'd a Great Aſſembly to meet at Bourgos; where the Dauphin, the Princes of the Blood, many of the Nobility, and many Biſhops met. They would not approve the Depoſition of the Pope, nor the new Election of Felix: But they rejected the Meeting of Ferrara, and adhered to that at Baſil. The Decrees paſt at Baſil, were by them reduced into the Form of an Edict, and publiſh'd under the Title of Pragmatick Sanction, which the King declared he would have to be inviolably obſerved; and he reſolv'd to moderate Matters between the Pope and the Council.

THERE are very different Relations made of the Effects that this Edict had: Some ſay, that the Church of France began to put on a new Face upon it, and that Men were advanced by Merit, and not as formerly by Applications to the Court of Rome; nor Solicitations at the Court of France. "Others gave a moſt tragical Repre- "ſentation of Elections, as managed "by Faction, indirect Arts, the Solici- "tations of Women, and Simoniacal "Bargains, and in ſome Places by "open Violence; out of which, many "Suits were brought into the Courts "of Law. The Treaſure of the "Church was, as they ſaid, applied "to maintain theſe. The Fabrick was "let go to Ruin, and Biſhops Houſes "dilapidated. Pope Leo the Xth, in "his Bull that abrogates this Sanction, "enumerates many Evils that aroſe out "of the Elections, and that in parti- "cular, Simony and Perjury prevailed "in them, of which he ſays he had "undeniable Evidence, in the many "Abſolutions and Reabilitations that "were demanded of him." This might be boldly alledged, becauſe it could not be diſproved, how falſe ſoever it might be.

THERE might be ſome Inſtances of Faction, which were no Doubt aggravated by the Flatterers of the Court of Rome; for the Profits which came from France being ſtopped by the Pragmatick Sanction, all Arts were uſed to diſgrace it.

Eneas Silvius was counted one of the ableſt Men of that Time: He was Secretary to the Council of Baſil, and wrote copiouſly in Defence of it againſt the Pope; but he was gained over to the Intereſts of the Court of Rome; he had a Cardinal's Hat, and was afterwards advanced to the Popedom, and reigned by the Name of Pius the IId. He retracted all his former Writings, but never anſwered them; yet he was ſo barefaced in ſetting himſelf to Sale, that when he was reproached for changing Sides, he anſwered, the Popes gave Dignities, Abbies, Biſhopricks, and Red Hats to their Creatures; but he aſk'd, how many of ſuch good Things did the Council give.

HE diſtinguiſhed himſelf as Deſerters are apt to do, by railing at all that the Council of Baſil had done, and againſt the Pragmatick Sanction. He branded it as a Hereſy: And in a Council that he held at Mantua 20 Years after, he inveighed ſeverely againſt it. He ſaid, Biſhops thought to have eſtabliſhed their Power, but on the contrary their Authority was ruined by it; for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes were brought into the Secular Courts, and all Things were put into the King's Hands: Yet that Sanction was obſerved in France 'till the King's Death; and tho' ſome were perſuaded to go to Rome, and to procure Bulls, theſe were eſteemed no better than Traitors and Enemies to the Country. 'Tis true, upon this, the Courts of Parliament took upon them to judge in all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and to examine whether the Eccleſiaſtical Courts had proceeded according to the Laws of the Church or not; and that the Sentences of the Temporal Courts might be executed, they ordered the Revenues of Biſhops, if they ſtood out in Contumacy, to be ſeized into the King's Hands, and their Perſons to be arreſted.

WHEN Daneſius the Attorny-General heard how Pope Pius had arraign'd the

the Pragmatick Sanction, and that he was deſigning to proceed to Cenſures againſt the King and his Miniſters, he proteſted againſt all he had ſaid, referring the Deciſion of the Matter to a General Council.

UPON that King's Death he was ſucceeded by Lewis the XIth; and the Biſhop of Arras having great Credit with him, the Pope gained him by the Promiſe of a Cardinal's Hat, to uſe his Endeavours to get the King to abrogate the Sanction; and becauſe he thought that which might work moſt on the King, was the Apprehenſion that much Money, which was now kept within the Kingdom, would, upon the laying it aſide, be carried to Rome; this Expedient was offered, that there ſhould be a Legate Reſident in France, with Powers to grant ſuch Bulls as was neceſſary: Tho' this was never done, and it ſeems was only offered as a ſpecious Conceſſion to gain their Point. King Lewis the XIth's Character is given us ſo fully by Philip de Comines, who knew him well, that none who have read him, will wonder to find, that when he needed any Favour from the Court of Rome, he made the fulleſt Submiſſion that any King perhaps ever made: He in a Letter, that he wrote to the Pope, owns the Pope to be GOD's Vicar on Earth, to whoſe Words he will always hearken and obey; and therefore, though the Pragmatick Sanction was received upon long Deliberation, in a great Aſſembly, and was now fully ſettled, yet ſince the Pope deſired that it might be abrogated, and ſince the Biſhop of Arras had put him in Mind of the ſolemn Promiſe that he had made by him, before he came to the Crown, he reckoning that Obedience was better than all Sacrifice, ſince that Sanction was made in a Time of Sedition and Schiſm, ſo that by it his Kingdom was not conform to other Kingdoms; though many Men ſtudied to maintain it, yet he reſolved to follow and obey the Pope's Orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own Accord, not compelled in any Sort, reſtore him to the Authority that Martin the Vth, and Eugenius the IVth did exerciſe in former Times; and bids him uſe the Power, given him by GOD, at his Pleaſure; and promiſes on the Word of a King, that he will take Care that all his Commands ſhall be executed within his Kingdom, without Oppoſition or Appeal; and that he will puniſh ſuch as are contumacious, as the Pope ſhall direct.

HERE was an intire Submiſſion, penn'd no doubt by the Aſpiring Cardinal. It was received at Rome with no ſmall Joy: The Pragmatick was dragg'd about the Streets of Rome; the Pope wept for Joy, and at Maſs, on Chriſtmas-Eve, he conſecrated a Sword with a rich Scabbard, to be ſent to the King. The Title of the Moſt Chriſtian King had been given by former Popes to ſome Kings of France; but Pope Pius was the Perſon who upon this high Merit, made it one of the Titles of the Crown; ſuch as read De Comines's Hiſtory, will not find any other Merit in that King to entitle him to ſo glorious a Compellation.

THE Court of Parliament of Paris interpoſed; they made a noble Remonſtrance to the King, in which they preſſed him to maintain the Pragmatick Sanction, which had its Original from a General Council, and they affirmed that the King was obliged to maintain it. Yet afterwards, that King's Project of engaging the Pope to aſſiſt his Son in Law to recover Sicily, then poſſeſs'd by the Baſtard of Arragon, did miſcarry, the Pope refuſing to concur in it; upon which the King was offended, and carried his Submiſſions no farther; only he ſuffered Bulls of Reſervations and Survivances to take Place again.

THIS Matter was taken up again ſix Years after by Pope Paul the IId. A new Miniſter was gained by the ſame Bait of a Cardinal's Hat, to procure the Revocation; ſo the King's Edict was ſent to the Court of Parliament of Paris to be regiſtred there, in Vacation Time. The Court ordered the Attorney-General to examine it. St. Romain was then Attorney-General, and he behaved himſelf with ſuch Courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He "oppoſed the Regiſtring it, and ſpoke "much in the Praiſe of the Pragma-"tick Sanction; he ſhewed the ill "Conſequences of repealing it, that it "would let in upon them Abuſes of "all Sorts, which were by it con-"demned: All Affairs relating to the "Church would be ſettled at Rome; "many would go and live there, in "Hopes of making their Fortunes by "Proviſions. He ſet forth that 10 or "12 Bulls of Survivances were ſome-"times obtained upon the ſame Bene-"fice; and during three Years in Pope

" Pius's Time, (in which the extract " Obſervation of the Pragmatick Sanc- " tion was let fall) 22 Biſhopricks hap- " pening to fall void, 500,000 Crowns " were ſent to Rome to obtain Bulls; " and 62 Abbies being then vacant, a " like Sum was ſent for their Bulls; " and 120,000 Crowns were ſent to " obtain other Eccleſiaſtical Prefer- " ments. He added, that for every " Pariſh there might be a Bull, of a " Gratia Expectavia, or Survivance, " purchaſed at the Price of 25 Crowns, " beſides a vaſt Number of other " Graces and Diſpenſations. He inſiſt- " ed that the King was bound to main- " tain the Rights and Liberties of the " Church in his Kingdom, of which " he was the Founder and Defender.

THE aſpiring Cardinal offended with this honeſt Freedom of the Attorney-General, told him he ſhould fall under the King's Diſpleaſure, and loſe his Place for it. He anſwered, " The " King had put him in the Poſt freely, " he would diſcharge it faithfully, as " long as the King thought fit to con- " tinue him in it; and he was ready " to lay it down whenſoever it pleas'd " the King; but he would ſuffer all " Things, rather than do any Thing " againſt his Conſcience, the King's " Honour, and the Good of the King- " dom." The Favourite prevailed to get him turned out, but the crafty King gave him ſecretly great Rewards; he eſteemed him the more for his Firmneſs, and reſtored him again to his Place.

THE Univerſity of Paris alſo interpoſed, and the Rector told the Legate, that if the Matter was further proſecuted, they would appeal to a General Council: But this, notwithſtanding, and though the Court of Parliament ſtood firm, yet the King being under the Apprehenſions of ſome Practice of his Brothers of Rome, whom he hated mortally, in order to the defeating thoſe, renewed his Promiſes for abrogating the Pragmatick Sanction; and it was for many Years let fall into Diſuetude. Towards the End of this Reign an Aſſembly was held at Orleans, in order to the Re-eſtabliſhing the Pragmatick Sanction; and the hindring Money to be carried to Rome. The King died 1583.

UPON Charles the VIIIth's ſucceeding, an Aſſembly of the States was held at Tours, in which the Obſervation of the Pragmatick Sanction was earneſtly preſſed; the Third Eſtate inſiſted on having it intirely reſtored. The Prelates, who had been promoted contrary to it under King Lewis, oppoſed this vehemently; and were in Reproach, call'd the Court Biſhops, unduly promoted; and were charg'd, as Men that aſpired to Favour at Rome. St. Romain, now again Attorney-General, ſaid, He knew no Eccleſiaſtical Law better calculated to the Intereſt of the Kingdom, than the Pragmatick Sanction was; and therefore he would ſupport it. The King ſaw it was for his Advantage to maintain it, and ſo was firmly reſolved to adhere to it. The Courts of Parliament not only judged in Favour of Elections made by Virtue of that Sanction, but by earneſt Remonſtrances, they preſſed the King to prohibit the Applications made to the Court of Rome for Graces condemned by it.

Innocent the VIIIth continued by his Legates to preſs the entire Repeal of the Pragmatick Sanction; yet, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition, it continued to be obſerved during Charles the VIIIth's Reign. Lewis the XIIth did, by a Special Edict, appoint it to be for ever obſerved. Thus it continued till the Council of Lateran, ſummoned by Pope Julius the IId, to which Silveſter, Biſhop of Worceſter, and Sir Robert Wingfield, were Commiſſioned by King Henry the VIIIth, " to go in " his Name, and on Behalf of the " Kingdom, to conclude every Thing " for the Good of the Catholick " Church, and for a Reformation, " both in the Head, and in the Mem- " bers; and to conſent to all Statutes " and Decrees for the publick Good; " promiſing to ratify whatever they, " or any of them ſhould do." The King's empowering two Perſons in ſuch a Manner, ſeems no ſmall Invaſion of the Liberties of the Church; but it was in the Pope's Favour, ſo it was not challenged.

THIS Council was called by that angry Pope, chiefly againſt Lewis the XIIth: And the Pragmatick Sanction was arraigned in it; both becauſe it maintain'd the Authority of the Council to be ſuperior to the Pope; and becauſe it cut off the Advantages that the Court had made by the Bulls ſent into France. The Pope brought Lewis the XIth's Letters Patents, by which it was abrogated, into the Council; and the Advocate of the Council, after

ter he had ſeverely arraigned it, inſiſted to have it condemned: So a Monition was decreed, ſummoning all who would appear for it, to come and be heard upon it within 60 Days. The Pope died in February thereafter.

Pope Leo the Xth ſucceeded, and renewed the Monitory Letters iſſued out by his Predeceſſor: But the perſonal Hatred with which Julius proſecuted Lewis being at an End, Things were calmly manag'd. Some Biſhops were ſent from the Gallican Church, to aſſiſt in the Council: But before any Thing could be concluded, King Lewis dying, Francis ſucceeded. He underſtood that the Pope and the Council were intending to proceed againſt the Pragmatick Sanction; ſo he reſolved to bring the Matter to an Agreement, in which ſome Progreſs was made in an Interview that he had with the Pope at Bononia. It was concluded by a Sanction called the Concordat between the Cardinals of Ancona and of Sanctorum Quatuor, on the Pope's Side, and Chancellor Prat for the King. Some ſmall Differences remained, which were all yielded as the Pope deſired: And in the Month of December, the Pope's Bull, condemning the Pragmatick Sanction, was read, and approved by that Council, ſuch at it was.

THE Concordat was put inſtead of it. The Truth was, Francis was young, and was ſo ſet on purſuing his Deſigns in Italy, in which he ſaw the Advantage of having the Pope on his Side, that he ſacrificed all other Conſiderations to that, and made the beſt Bargain he could. "The King and "the Pope divided the Matter be-"tween them. When any Biſhoprick "became vacant, the King was with-"in ſix Months to name to it a Doc-"tor, or one Licenſed in Divinity, of "the Age of 27: If the Pope did not "approve of the Nomination, the King "had three Months more to nominate "another; but if he failed again, the "Pope was to provide one to the See. "The Pope had reſerved to himſelf "the providing of all that became va-"cant in the Court of Rome; (a Pre-"tenſion the Popes had ſet on Foot, "in which by Degrees they had en-"larged the Extent of it to very "great and undetermined Bounds, and "thereby diſpoſe of many Benefices;) "and the King was limited in his No-"mination by ſome Conditions with "Relation to the Perſon ſo nominated; "yet the Want of theſe was not to "be objected to the King's Kindred, "or to other illuſtrious Perſons. The "King was alſo to nominate to all "Abbies a Perſon of 28 Years of Age. "Gratiæ Expectaviæ, or Survivances "and Reſervations in Bulls, were ne-"ver to be admitted; only one Be-"nefice might be reſerved from a Col-"lator of 10, and two from one of 50. "Cauſes of Appeals were to be judged "in Partibus, in the Parts where the "Matters lay; excepting the Cauſes "enumerated in the Law, as greater "Cauſes. It was alſo provided, that "in all Bulls that were obtained, the "true Value of the Benefice was to "be expreſſed; otherwiſe the Grace "was null and void." No Mention was made of Annats; and in other Particulars the Articles in the Pragmatick Sanction were inſerted. The Pope promiſed he would ſend a Legate to France, to tax the Value of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. All former Excommunications were taken off, with an Indemnity for all that was paſſed.

THE King having the two Inſtruments, the one abrogating the Pragmatick Sanction, and the other eſtabliſhing the Concordat, ſent in great Pomp to him, in order to their being regiſtred in Parliament; reſolved only to offer the latter, as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in Perſon to the Court of Parliament, to which many great Men, Divines, and other Perſons of Diſtinction were called. The Chancellor ſet forth the Hatred Pope Julius bore King Lewis the XIIth, and the Violence with which he had proceeded againſt him: The King ſucceeding when the Council of the Lateran was aſſembled; which was compoſed chiefly of Members of the Court, or of Dependers on the Court of Rome, who were all engaged againſt the Pragmatick Sanction, as that which diminiſhed their Profits: the King ſaw it was in vain to inſiſt in defending it; but apprehending, if it were ſimply condemned, all the old Oppreſſions would again take Place, he being then engaged in a moſt dangerous War in Italy, ſaw no better Way to gain the Pope than by agreeing to the Concordat.

THE Eccleſiaſticks who were preſent, ſaid, by their Mouth, the Cardinal of Boiſi, That the Concordat did ſo affect the whole Gallican Church, that

that without a general Conſent it could not be approved. The King upon this ſaid with ſome Indignation, That he would command them either to approve it, or he would ſend them to Rome to diſpute the Matter there with the Pope. The Preſident anſwered in the Name of the Court, That he would report the King's Pleaſure to the Court, and they would ſo proceed in that Matter, as to pleaſe both GOD and the King: The Chancellor replied, The Court were wiſe: The King ſaid, He did enjoin them to obey without Delay. Then Letters Patents were made out, ſetting forth the Concordat; and requiring the Court of Parliament, and all other Judges to obſerve it, and to ſee it fully executed.

SOME Days after this the Chancellor, with ſome of the Officers of the Crown, came and brought the whole Courts together, and delivered the King's Letters Patents, requiring them to regiſter the Concordat. They upon that, appointed the King's Council to examine the Matters in it. The Advocate-General, did, in the Chancellor's Preſence, repreſent the Inconvenience of receiving the Concordats, by which the Liberties of the Gallican Church were leſſened, and ſaid, That by the paying of Annats, much Money would be carry'd out of the Kingdom: So he deſired they would appoint a Committee to examine it. Four were nam'd, who, after they had ſat about it 10 Days, deſired more might be added to them; ſo the Preſident of the Enquets, or Inquiſitions, and Four more, were joined to them. A Week after that, the Advocate-General mov'd the Court to proceed ſtill to judge according to the Pragmatick Sanction, and not to receive the Revocation of it, againſt which he put in an Appeal. Four Days after this the Baſtard of Savoy, the King's natural Uncle, came into the Court, with Orders from the King, requiring them to proceed immediately to the Publiſhing the Concordats; appointing him to hear all their Debates, that he might report all to the King. He told them how much the King was offended with their Delays: They on the other Hand complained of his being preſent to hear them deliver their Opinions. They ſent ſome of their Number to lay this before the King; it looked like a Deſign to frighten them, when one, not of their Body, was to hear all that paſs'd among them. The King ſaid there were ſome worthy Men among them, but others like Fools complained of him, and of the Expence of his Court: He was a King, and had as much Authority as his Predeceſſors. They had flattered Lewis the XIIth, and call'd him the Father of Juſtice: He would alſo have Juſtice done with all Vigour. In King Lewis's Time ſome were baniſhed the Kingdom, becauſe they did not obey him; he would ſend ſome of them to Bourdeaux, and others to Toulouſe, and put good Men in their Places; and told them he would have his Uncle preſent, during their Deliberation; ſo they were forced to ſubmit to it.

ON the 13th of June they began to deliver their Opinions, and that laſted 'till the 24th of July; and then they concluded that the Court could not, and ought not, to regiſter the Concordats; but that they would ſtill obſerve the Pragmatick Sanction; and that the Univerſity of Paris, and all others that deſired to be heard, ought to be heard: Therefore, they ſaid they muſt appeal from the Abrogation of the Pragmatick Sanction; and if the King would inſiſt to have the Concordat obſerved, a great Aſſembly ought to be ſummoned, ſuch as Charles the VIIth had called to ſettle the Pragmatick Sanction: They alſo charg'd the Savoyard to make a true Report to the King, of their Proceedings.

UPON this the King wrote to them to ſend ſome of their Body to give him an Account of the Grounds they went on: Two were ſent, but it was long before they were admitted to his Preſence: The King ſaying he would delay their Diſpatch, as they had delay'd his Buſineſs. When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in Writing; this they did, but deſired to be likewiſe heard; but being aſked, if they had any Thing to offer that was not in their Paper, they ſaid, They had not, but deſired the King would hear their Paper read to him; the King refuſed it. They were a Body of 100 Perſons, and had been preparing their Paper above ſeven Months, but the Chancellor would anſwer it in leſs Time; and the King would not ſuffer them to have a verbal Proceſs againſt what he had done. He told them there was but one King in France: He had done the beſt he could to bring all to a quiet State, and would not ſuffer that which he had done in Italy, to be undone in France;

France; nor would he ſuffer them to aſſume an Authority like that of the Senate of Venice. It was their Buſineſs to do Juſtice, but not to put the Kingdom in a Flame as they had attempted to do in the Predeceſſor's Time: He concluded, he would have them approve the Concordats; and if they gave him more Trouble, he would make them Ambulatory, and to follow his Court: Nor would he ſuffer any more Eccleſiaſticks to be of their Body. They were not entirely his Subjects, ſince he had no Authority to cut off their Heads; they ought to ſay their Breviary, and not to meddle in his Affairs.

THEY anſwer'd him, That theſe Things were contrary to the Conſtitution of their Court. He ſaid, He was ſorry his Anceſtors had ſo conſtituted it, but he was King as well as they were; and he would ſettle them on another Foot; ſo he bid them be gone early the next Morning: They begged a ſhort Delay, for the Ways were bad; but the Great Maſter told them, from the King, that if they were not gone by ſuch an Hour, he would put them in Priſon, and keep them in it ſix Months, and then he would ſee who would move to ſet them at Liberty; ſo they went to Paris. The Duke of Tremoville was ſent after them to the Parliament, to let them know that the King would have the Concordats to be immediately publiſhed, without any further Deliberation: They muſt obey the King as became Subjects; he told them the King had repeated that 10 Times to him, in the Space of a Quarter of an Hour; and concluded, that if they delay'd any longer to obey the King, the King would make all the Court feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure.

THE Court call'd for the King's learned Council, but they ſaid, they had receiv'd poſitive Orders from the King, by Tremoville, to conſent to the Concordats; otherwiſe the King would treat them ſo, that they ſhould feel it ſenſibly: The Advocate-General ſaid he was ſorry for the Methods the King took, but he wiſh'd they would conſider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was ſo earneſtly preſſed on them: The Publiſhing this could be of no Force, ſince the Church, that was ſo much concerned in it, was neither called for, nor heard; the Thing might be afterwards ſet right; for Lewis the XIth ſaw his Error, and changed his Mind. He offered two Things to ſoften that which was required of them: One was to inſert in the Regiſter, that it was done in Obedience to the King's Commands often repeated: The other was, that they ſhould declare that they did not approve the Abrogation of the Pragmatick Sanction, but were then only to publiſh the Concordats; and that they might reſolve in all their judiciary Proceedings to have no Regard to that: And in particular to that Clauſe, that all Bulls were void, if the true Value of the Benefice was not expreſſed in them. On the 18th of March they came to this Reſolution, that their Decree of the 24th of July, for obſerving the Pragmatick, was by them fully confirmed; but in Obedience to the King's Commands they publiſh'd the Concordats; adding a Proteſtation, that the Court did not approve it, but intended in all their Sentences to judge according to the Pragmatick Sanction.

THE Court made theſe Proteſtations in the Hands of the Biſhop of Langres, a Duke and Peer of France, ſetting forth that their Liberty was taken from them; that the Publication of the Concordats was not done by their Order, but againſt their Mind, by the King's expreſs Order; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their Judgments, but to obſerve their Pragmatick Sanction. They ordered likewiſe an Appeal to be made from the Pope, (to the Pope better adviſed,) and to the next General Council: Upon all which the Biſhop of Langres made an authentick Inſtrument; ſo it was reſolved to proceed to Publication on the 22d of March: But on the 21ſt, the Rector of the Univerſity of Paris, accompanied by ſome of that Body, and by ſome Advocates, appeared, deſiring to be heard before they ſhould proceed to ſuch Publication. The Court received his Petition, and promiſed to conſider it; but ſaid if they made the Publication, it ſhould not prejudice any of their Rights, for they were reſolved to judge as formerly, notwithſtanding that; yet they required him not to publiſh this. The Dean of Noſtredame came on the 22d to the Court, and ſaid they heard they were going to publiſh the Concordats, which both implied their condemning the Councils of Conſtance and Baſil, and tended to the Deſtruction of the Liberties of the

Gallican Church, which the Popes had always envied them. He desired they would not proceed to it, 'till the whole Gallican Church was consulted in the Matter, and protested that what they were about to do, should not be to the Prejudice of the Church. After this was received, they proceeded to the Publication, as they had promised, adding these Words to it, "Read, "Published, and Registered, by the "Order and Command of the King," often repeated to us, in the Presence of the Lord of Tremoville, his First Chamberlain, specially sent to have it done: And on the 24th of March they renewed their Protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former Appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their Judgments without Regard to it.

ON the 27th of March, the Rector of the University ordered a Mandat to be affixed, prohibiting their Printers to print the Concordats; he likewise appealed from the Pope to a General Council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe Place, and in full Freedom. This was printed and affix'd; and great Reflections were made by some Preachers in their Sermons, both on the King and on the Chancellor. The King being informed of this, wrote to the First President complaining both of the Rector, and of the Preachers: He ordered them to take Information of all those Matters, and to get the Concordats to be printed as soon as possible, and to punish the Authors of Sedition: But the Court said, they knew nothing tending that Way; for their Business took them up so entirely, that they could not attend on Sermons. The King complained likewise severely of the Appeal they had made; he was Monarch, and had no Superior to whom an Appeal could lie; he also sent an Order to inhibit all Meetings in the University.

IN the Concordat it was provided, that if it was not published within six Months in France, it should be null and void: But the Delays that had been made, put the King on getting that Term prolonged a Year longer. "The three chief Exceptions that the "Parliament had to the Concordats, "were, First, The declaring Bulls "void, if the true Value of the Bene-"fices was not set forth in them; "which might put the Obtainers of "them to great Charge, and many "Suits: The Second, was the carry-"ing the greater Causes to be judged "at Rome: The Third, was concern-"ing Elections. The First of these "was given up, and was no further "urged by the Court of Rome; but "it was not settled what those great-"er Causes were. By the Pragmatick "Sanction they were restrained to Bi-"shopricks and Monasteries; but the "Concordats held the Matter in gene-"ral Words; so the Number of these "Causes were infinite, and on all Oc-"casions it would encrease as the Ca-"nonists pleased. They condemned "that Device of the Court of Rome, "of granting Provisions for all that "was held by any who died in the "Court, considering the great Extent "to which that had been carried: "They also found that by the Con-"cordats, all Nunneries were left to "the Pope's Provision; and likewise "all inferior Dignities, such as Dean-"ries, and Provostships. All Churches "that had special Privileges, were "exempted from the King's Nomina-"tion; and at Rome, Exceptions might "be unjustly made to the Persons "named by the King: But above all "they stood on this, that the Right "of Election was founded on the "Law of GOD, and on natural Right. "This was established by the Autho-"rity of General Councils, by the "Civil Law, and by many Royal "Edicts, during all the three Races of "their King: This Right was now ta-"ken away without hearing the Par-"ties concerned to set it forth. If "there had crept in Abuses in Elec-"tions, these might be corrected; but "they thought the King usurped that "which did not belong to him, on "this Pretence, that the Pope granted "it to him, which was contrary both "to the Doctrine and Practice of the "Gallican Church. They found ma-"ny less Exceptions in Point of "Form, to the Method of abrogating "the Pragmatick Sanction: One was, "that the Council of the Lateran did "forbid all Persons that held Lands "of the Church to observe or main-"tain that Sanction, under the Pain "of forfeiting those Lands; which "was a plain Invasion of the King's "Prerogatives, who is supreme Lord "of all those Lands within his Do-"minions: The Pope also took upon "him to annul that Sanction, that "then subsisted by the Royal Authori-"ty:

" ty: This might be made a Prece-
" dent in Time to come, for annulling
" any of their Laws. They likewiſe
" thought the taking away the Prag-
" matick Sanction, which was made
" upon the Authority of the Councils
" of Conſtance and Baſil, and had de-
" clared the Subjection of the Pope
" to the Council, did ſet aſide that
" Doctrine, and ſet up the Pope's
" Authority above the Council; tho'
" the Pragmatick Sanction was made
" while the Pope was reconciled to
" the Council; and the Breach upon
" which Eugenius was depoſed, hap-
" pened not 'till almoſt a Year after
" that, it being publiſhed in July
" 1438, and his Depoſition was not
" 'till June 1439; beſides that, 10
" Years after that Pope Nicholas the
" Vth confirmed all the Decrees made
" at Baſil. They likewiſe put the
" King in Mind of the Oath he took
" at his Coronation, to maintain all
" the Rights and Liberties of the Gal-
" lican Church: So they moved the
" King either to prevail with the Pope
" to call a General Council, or that
" he would call a National One in
" France, to judge of the whole Mat-
" ter: And as for the Threatenings
" given out, that the Pope would de-
" poſe the King, and give away his
" Kingdom, if he did not ſubmit to
" him, they ſaid the King held his
" Crown of GOD, and all ſuch Threat-
" nings ought to be rejected with
" Scorn and Indignation.

TO all theſe, the Chancellor made a long and flattering Anſwer; for which he had the uſual Reward of a Cardinal's Cap. He ſet forth the Danger the King was in, being engaged in the War of Italy, the Pope threatening him with Cenſures; for the Pragmatick Sanction was then condemned by the Pope, and that Cenſure was ratified by the Council in the Lateran; upon which he would have re-aſſumed all the old Oppreſſions if the King had not entered into that Treaty, yielding ſome Points to ſave the reſt. He ſaid the Kings of the firſt Race nominated to Biſhopricks; for which he cited Precedents from Gregory of Tours: So the Kings of England did name, and the Popes upon that gave Proviſions: The Kings of Scotland did alſo name, but not by Virtue of a Right, but rather by Connivance. He ſaid Elections had gone thro' various Forms; ſometimes Popes did elect, ſometimes Princes with the People, ſometimes Princes took it into their own Hands, ſometimes the whole Clergy without the People, and of late the Canons choſe without the Concurrence of the Clergy, that the King being in theſe Difficulties, all thoſe about him, and all thoſe in France who were adviſed with in the Matter, thought the accepting the Concordats was juſt and neceſſary. Pope Leo repented that he had granted ſo much; and it was not without great Difficulty that he brought the Cardinals to conſent to it; he went very copiouſly as a Canoniſt thro' the other Heads, ſoftening ſome Abuſes, and ſhewing that others had a long Practice for them, and were obſerved in other Kingdoms.

AND thus was this Matter carried in the Parliament of Paris, in which, as the Court ſhewed great Integrity and much Courage, which deſerve the higheſt Characters, with which ſuch noble Patriots ought to be honoured; ſo in this Inſtance, we ſee how feeble the Reſiſtance even of the worthieſt Judges will prove to a Prince, who has poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Legiſlative Authority, when he intends to break thro' eſtabliſhed Laws and Conſtitutions, and to ſacrifice the Rights of his Crown, and the Intereſt of his People, to ſerve particular Ends of his own. In ſuch Caſes the generous Integrity of Judges, or other Miniſters, will be reſented as an Attempt on the Sovereign Authority: And ſuch is the Nature of Arbitrary Power, that the moſt modeſt Defence of Law and Juſtice, when it croſſes the Deſigns of an inſolent and corrupt Miniſter, and an abuſed Prince, will paſs for Diſobedience and Sedition.

IF the Aſſembly of the States in France had maintained their Share of the Legiſlative Power, and had not ſuffered the Right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no Taxes, but by their own Conſent, theſe Judges would have been better ſupported; and the Oppoſition they made upon this Occaſion, would have drawn after it all the moſt ſignal Expreſſions of Honour and Eſteem, that a Nation owes to the Truſtees of their Laws and Liberties, when they maintained them reſolutely, and diſpence them equally: And the corrupt Chancellor would have received ſuch Puniſhment as all wicked Miniſters deſerve,

who

who for their own Ends betray the Intereſt of their Country.

THE Court of Parliament ſhewed great Firmneſs after this; and it appeared that the Proteſtation that they made of judging ſtill according to the Pragmatick Sanction, was ſomething more than a Piece of Form to ſave their Credit. The Archbiſhop of Sens died ſoon after, and the King ſent to inhibit the Chapter to proceed to an Election. It was underſtood that he deſigned to give it to the Biſhop of Paris; ſo the Chapter wrote to that Biſhop not to give ſuch a Wound to their Liberties, as to take it upon the King's Nomination: But ſeeing that he had no Regard, they elected him, that ſo they might by this ſeem to keep up their Claim. The Biſhop of Alby died ſoon after that; the King named one, and the Chapter choſe another; upon that, Alby being within the Juriſdiction of Tholouſe, the Court of Parliament there judged in Favour of him who was elected by the Chapter, againſt him who had obtained Bulls upon the King's Nomination; at which the King was highly offended. The Archbiſhoprick of Bourges falling void ſoon after, the King nominated one, and the Chapter elected another. The Chapter pretended a ſpecial Privilege to elect; ſo the Pope judged in their Favour. Some Years after this, the King carried on his Wars in Italy, leaving his Mother Regent of France; ſo the Court of Parliament made a Remonſtrance to her, ſetting forth the Invaſions that had been made upon the Rights of the Gallican Church, deſiring her to interpoſe, that the Pragmatick Sanction, and the Liberty of Elections might again have their full Force; but that had no Effect.

SOON after this, the King was taken Priſoner by the Army of Charles the Vth, at the Battle of Pavia; and upon that his Mother declared, that ſhe look'd on her Son's Misfortunes as a Judgment of GOD upon him, for his Aboliſhing the Pragmatick Sanction; and tho' ſhe would not take it upon her to make any Alteration during her Son's Abſence, yet ſhe promiſed, that when he ſhould be ſet at Liberty, ſhe would uſe her utmoſt Endeavours with him, to ſet it up again, and to aboliſh the Concordats. This was regiſtered in the Records of the Court of Parliament; yet it had no Effect upon the King's Return out of Spain: He finding the Parliament reſolved to maintain all Elections, ordered that Matter to be taken wholly out of their Cognizance, and he removed all Suits of that Sort from the Courts of Parliament to the Great Council; upon ſome Diſputes that were then on Foot concerning a Biſhoprick, and an Abbey given to Chancellor Prat, then made a Cardinal, in Recompence of the Service he had done the Court of Rome; ſo by that an End was put to all Diſputes.

THE Parliament ſtruggled hard againſt this Diminution of their Juriſdiction: They wrote to the Dukes and Peers of France, to move the Regent not to proceed thus to leſſen their Authority: On the other Hand ſhe ſaid, they were taking all Things into their own Hands in Prejudice of the King's Prerogative: But the King confirmed that, and ſettled the Chancellor in the Poſſeſſion of the See and Abbey, and the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt him were annulled, and ordered to be ſtruck out of their Regiſters; and it appearing that ſome Chapters and Abbies had ſpecial Privileges for free Elections, the King obtained a Bull from Clement the VIIth, ſuſpending all thoſe during the King's Life: The Court of Rome ſtood long upon this, and thought to have gained new Advantages, before it ſhould be granted: But the Pope was at that Time in a ſecret Treaty with the Court of France, which was afterwards accompliſhed at Marſeilles: So he was eaſier in this Matter, and the Bull was regiſtered in Parliament in May thereafter. And upon this the Chancellor, pretending that he would ſee and examine thoſe Privileges, called for them all, and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the Fire.

THE Clergy of France, in a Remonſtrance that they made to King Henry the IIId, affirm'd, That Francis at his Death declared to his Son, that nothing troubled his Conſcience more than his taking away Canonical Elections, and his aſſuming to himſelf the Nomination to Biſhopricks. If this was true, his Son had no Regard to it, but went on as his Father had done. Upon his Death, when the Cardinal of Lorrain preſs'd the Parliament to proceed in the vigorous Proſecution of Hereſy, they remonſtrated, that the Growth of Hereſy flowed chiefly from

from the Scandals that were given by bad Clergymen and ill Biſhops; and that the ill Choice that had been made by the Court, ſince the Concordats were ſet up, gave more Occaſion to the Progreſs that Hereſy made, than any other Thing whatſoever. The Courts were ſo monſtrouſly corrupt, during that and the two former Reigns, that no other could be expected from them.

AN Aſſembly of the States was call'd in the Beginning of Charles the IXth's Reign. In it the firſt Eſtate pray'd, that the Pragmatick Sanction might again take Place, particularly in the Point of Elections: They backed this with great Authorities of Councils, antient and modern; w'.h them the two other Eſtates agreed. The Court tried to ſhift this off, promiſing to ſend one to Rome to treat about it, but that did not ſatisfy; ſo a Decree was drawn up to this Effect, That an Archbiſhop ſhould be choſen by the Biſhops of his Province, by the Chapter of his Cathedral, and 12 Perſons of the chief of the Laity; and a Biſhop by the Metropolitan and the Chapter. The Court of Parliament oppoſed this: They thought the Laity ought to have no Share in Elections, ſo they preſſed the reſtoring the Pragmatick Sanction without any Alteration: Yet, in Concluſion, the Decree was thus amended, An Archbiſhop was to be choſen by the Biſhops of the Province and the Chapter of the See; but a Biſhop was to be choſen by the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops of the Province, and the Chapter, and by 24 of the Laity to be thus nominated: All the Gentry were to be ſummoned to meet, and to chuſe 12 to repreſent them at the Election, and the City was to chuſe other 12. All theſe were to make a Liſt of three Perſons to be offered to the King, and the Man named by the King was to have the See. Thus they deſigned to bring this Matter into a Form as near the Cuſtoms mentioned in the Roman Law as they could. But this Deſign vaniſhed and was never put in Practice.

THE Clergy ſtill called for reſtoring the Elections: Preſident Ferrier was ſent to Rome to obtain it. He in a long Speech ſhew'd, That neither the Gallican Church, nor the Courts of Parliament, had ever received the Concordats; that Shadow of Approbation given to it by the Parliament of Paris, being extorted from them by Force; and he laid out all the Inconveniences that had happened ſince the Concordats were ſet up: But that Court felt the Advantages they had by them too ſenſibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: And thus that great Affair was ſettled in the View of this Church and Nation, at the Time that King Henry broke off all Correſpondence with it. It may be very reaſonably preſumed, that Inferences were made from this to let all People ſee what Merchandize the Court of Rome made of the moſt ſacred Rites of the Church, when they had their own Profits ſecured: And therefore the wiſe Men in this Church at that Time might juſtly conclude, that their Liberties were ſafer while they remained an entire Body within themſelves, under a legal Conſtitution, by which, if Princes carried their Authority too far, ſome Check might be given to it by thoſe from whom the publick Aids were to be obtained, for ſupporting the Government, than while all was believed to belong to the Popes, who would at any Time make a Bargain, and divide the Spoils of the Church with Crown'd Heads; taking to themſelves the gainful Part, and leaving the reſt in the Hands of Princes.

ALTHO' this Relation does not belong properly to the Hiſtory of the Reformation; yet ſince it is highly probable that it had a great Influence on Peoples Minds, Biſhop Burnet ſays, he hopes the Digreſſion will be eaſily forgiven him.

THE firſt Thing, he continues, that occurred to him in Order of Time, was a Letter of Queen Catharine's to King Henry; who, upon his croſſing the Sea, left the Regency of the Kingdom in her Hands; the Commiſſion bears Date the 11th of June 1513. King James the IVth, of Scotland, having invaded England with a great Army, was defeated and killed by the Earl of Surrey. The Earl gave the Queen the News in a Letter to her, with one to the King; this ſhe ſent him with a Letter of her own. The Familiarities of calling him in one Place My Huſband, and in another, My Henry, are not unpleaſant: She ſent with it a Piece of the King of Scots Coat to be a Banner: She was then going to viſit, as ſhe calls it, our Lady of Walſingham.

THE next Thing the Biſhop mentions is, an Account of the Progreſs of

Cardinal Wolſey's Fortunes, and the Aſcendant he had over the King. The firſt Step he made into the Church, was to be Rector of Lymington, in the Dioceſe of Bath and Wells; then on the 30th of July 1508, he had a Papal Diſpenſation to hold the Vicarage of Lyde, in the Dioceſe of Canterbury, with his Rectory. There is a Grant to him as Almoner, on the 8th of November, 1509. The next Preferment he had, was to be a Prebendary of Windſor: He was next advanced to be Dean of Lincoln. A Year after that, Pope Leo having reſerv'd the diſpoſing the See of Lincoln to himſelf, gave it to Wolſey, deſigned in the Bulls, Dean of St. Stephen's Weſtminſter: But no Mention is made of the King's Nomination. This is own'd by the King in the Writ for the Reſtitution of the Temporalities. On the 14th of July, that Year Cardinal de Medicis, afterwards Pope Clement the VIIth, wrote to King Henry, that upon the Death of Cardinal Bembridge, he had prayed the Pope not to diſpoſe of his Benefices, 'till he knew the King's Mind, which the Pope out of his Affection to the King granted very readily. Perhaps the King did recommend Wolſey, but no Mention is made of that in his Bulls. The King granted the Reſtitution of the Temporalities of York before his Inſtalment; for in the Writ he is only called the Elect Archbiſhop; and it is not expreſs'd that he had the King's Nomination. He had Tournay in Commendam, but reſigned it into the Hands of Francis, who for that gave him a Penſion of 12,000 Livres during Life: At the ſame Time Prince Charles, afterwards Charles the Vth, gave him a Penſion of 3000 l. It ſeems he afterwards deſired to have it better ſecured; ſo in the End of that Year, Prince Charles lodged a Penſion of 5000 Ducats to him on the Biſhoprick of Pace in Caſtile. Above a Year after that, Pope Leo gave him a Penſion of 2000 Ducats out of Palencia, inſtead of that which was charged on the Biſhoprick of Pace: Beſides all this, when Charles the Vth was in London, he gave him another Penſion of 9000 Crowns, dated the 8th of June, 1522. It ſeems he had other Penſions from France; for five Years after this, there was an Arrear ſtated there as due to him, of 121,898 Crowns. He had alſo other Penſions from other Princes of a lower Order. The Duke of Milan's Secretary did, by his Maſter's expreſs Order, engage in the Year 1515, to pay Wolſey 10,000 Ducats a Year, he on his Part engaging, that there ſhould be a perpetual Friendſhip ſettled between the Kings of England and France, with that Duke.

THE French King being a Priſoner, his Favour was neceſſary in that Diſtreſs; ſo the Regent engaged to pay it in ſeven Years Time: But whatever might be in Wolſey's Proviſions, when the Biſhoprick of Saliſbury was given to Cardinal Campegius, by a Bull, Mention is expreſsly made in it, of the King's Letters, interceeding humbly for him.

WHEN King Henry wrote his Book of the Seven Sacraments, it ſeems it was at firſt deſigned to ſend it over in Manuſcript; for Wolſey ſent one to the King, finely dreſs'd, that was to be preſented to the Pope; and he writes that he was to ſend him more, which were to be ſent about with the Pope's Bulls to all Princes, and Univerſities: One in particular, as he writes, was far more excellent and princely; he alſo ſent with it the Choice of certain Verſes to be written in the King's own Hand, in the Book that was to be ſent to the Pope, and ſubſcribed by him, to be laid up in the Archives of the Church, to his immortal Glory and Memory. The Matter was ſo laid, that the Book was preſented to the Pope on the 10th of October; and the very Day after, the Bull, giving him the Title of Defender of the Faith, bears Date: And in a private Letter that Pope Leo wrote to him, he runs out into copious Strains of Flattery, affirming, That it appeared that the HOLY GHOST aſſiſted him in writing it.

THE King was ſo pleaſed with the Title, that Wolſey directed his Letters to him with it on the Back, as appears in a Letter of his, that ſets forth the low State of the Affairs of Spain in Italy. It appears it was written (for the Year is not added in the Date) after that Luther wrote his Anſwer to the King's Book, at leaſt after Letters came from him on the Subject, the Original of which he deſires might be ſent him, that he might ſend it to the Pope; and he intended to ſend Copies both of thoſe, and of the King's Anſwers to the Cardinal of Mentz, and to George Duke of Saxony.

AFTER

AFTER the King's Interviews both with the Emperor, and the King of France were over, new Quarrels broke out; by which the Emperor and Francis engaged in Hoſtilities; but King Henry, pretending to be the Umpire of their Differences, ſent Wolſey over to compoſe them. He came to Calais in the Beginning of Auguſt. From Dover he wrote to the King, and ſent two Letters to him, which the King was to write in his own Hand, to the Emperor, and to the Lady Regent of Flanders, which he deſired the King would ſend to him; for he would move ſlowly towards him. Thus he took the whole Miniſtry into his own Hands, and prepared even the King's ſecret Letters for him. He was with the Emperor 13 Days, who gave him a ſingular Reception, for he came a Mile out of Town to meet him. The Town is not named, but it was Bruges; for in one of Eraſmus's Letters, he mentions his meeting Wolſey in that Town, he being then with the Emperor. The Cardinal returned by the Way of Gravelin, and from thence, beſide the publick Letter, in which he gave the King an Account of his Negotiation, he wrote a private one to him, with this Direction on it, To the King's Grace's own Hands only. It ſeems he had no private Converſation with the Emperor formerly: "For in this "he obſerves, that for his Age he was "very wiſe, and underſtood his Affairs "well. He was cold and temperate in "Speech, but ſpoke to very good Purpoſe. He reckoned that he would "prove a very wiſe Man: He thought "he was much inclined to Truth, and "to the Keeping of his Promiſes: He "ſeemed to be inſeparably joined to "the King; and was reſolved to follow his Advice in all his Affairs, "and to truſt the Cardinal entirely. "He twice or thrice, in ſecret, promis'd "to him, by his Faith and Truth, to "abide by this: He promiſed it alſo "to all the reſt of the Privy Council "that were with the Cardinal, in ſuch "a Manner, that they all believed it "came from his Heart, without Artifice or Diſſimulation: So Wolſey "wrote to the King, that he had Reaſon to bleſs GOD, that he was not "only the Ruler of his own Realm, "but that now by his Wiſdom, Spain, "Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries ſhould be ruled and governed." Whether the Emperor did, by his prudent and modeſt Behaviour, really impoſe upon Wolſey, or whether by other ſecret Practices he had ſo gained him, as to oblige him to perſuade the King to ſuch a Confidence in him, is left to the Reader to judge.

IT paſſes generally among all the Writers of that Age, that he aſpired to the Popedom; and that the Emperor then promiſed him his Aſſiſtance; in which he failing to him afterwards, Wolſey carried his Revenges ſo far, that all the Change of Councils, and even the Suit of the Divorce, is in a great Meaſure aſcribed to it. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he went into the Stream in his Hiſtory, and ſeemed perſuaded of it; yet ſome Original Letters of Wolſey's, communicated to him by Sir William Cook of Norfolk, make this very doubtful. The firſt was upon the News of Pope Adrian's Death, upon which he immediately wrote to the King, "That his Abſence "from Rome was the only Obſtacle "of his Advancement to that Dignity: There were great Factions then "at Rome; he proteſts before GOD, "that he thought himſelf unfit for it, "and that he deſired much rather to "end his Days with the King; yet "remembering that at the laſt Vacation "(Nine Months before) the King was "for his being preferred to it, thinking it would be for his Service, and "ſuppoſing that he was ſtill of the "ſame Mind, he would prepare ſome "Inſtructions, as has been before ſent "to Pace, Dean of St. Paul's, then "Ambaſſador at Rome, and ſend them "to him by the next." With this he alſo ſent him the Letters and Inſtructions, directed to the King's Ambaſſadors, who were the Biſhops of Bath, Pace, and Hanibal, for procuring his Preferment; or that failing, for Cardinal de Medicis: Theſe he deſired the King to ſign and diſpatch: And that the Emperor might more effectually concur, though purſuant to the Conference he had with the King on that Behalf, he verily ſuppoſed he had not failed to advance it, he drew a private Letter for the King to write with his own Hand to the Emperor, putting to it the ſecret Sign and Mark that was between them. The Diſpatch, that upon this, he ſent to the King's Ambaſſador at Rome, the Biſhop of Saliſbury thinks will be acceptable to the Reader, tho' not in its proper Place, for he did not get it into his Hands

Time

Time enough to give it there. In this Diſpatch, after ſome very reſpectful Words of Pope Adrian, he tells them, "That before the Vacancy, both the "Emperor and the King had great "Conferences for his Advancement, "tho' the Emperor's Abſence makes "that he cannot now join with them; "yet the Regent of the Netherlands, "who knows his Mind, has expreſſed "an earneſt and hearty Concurrence "for it: And by the Letters of the "Cardinal de Medicis, Sanctorum "Quatuor, and Campegio, he ſaw "their Affections: He was chiefly de-"termined by the King's Earneſtneſs "about it, tho' he could willingly "have lived ſtill where he was; his "Years encreaſing, and he knew him-"ſelf unworthy of ſo high a Dignity: "Yet his Zeal for the Exaltation of "the Chriſtian Faith, and for the Ho-"nour and Safety of the King, and "the Emperor, made him refer him-"ſelf to the Pleaſure of GOD; and in "the King's Name he ſends them "double Letters; the firſt to the Car-"dinal de Medicis, offering the King's "Aſſiſtance to him, and if it was pro-"bable he would carry it, they were "to uſe no other Powers: But if he "thought he could not carry it, then "they were to propoſe himſelf to him, "and to aſſure him, if he was choſen, "the other ſhould be as it were Pope: "They were to let the other Cardi-"nals know what his Temper was, "not auſtere, but free: He had great "Things to give, that would be void "upon his Promotion: He had no "Friends nor Relations to raiſe, and "he knew perfectly well the great "Princes of Chriſtendom, and all "their Intereſts and Secrets: He pro-"miſes he will be at Rome within "three Months, if they chuſe him; "and the King ſeems reſolved to go "thither with him; he did not doubt "but, according to the many Promiſes "and Exhortations of the Emperor to "him, that his Party, will join with "them.

"THE King alſo ordered them to "promiſe large Rewards and Promo-"tions, and great Sums of Money to "the Cardinals; and tho' they ſaw "the Cardinal de Medicis full of "Hopes, yet they were not to give "over their Labour for him, if they "ſaw any Hope of Succeſs; but they "were to manage that ſo ſecretly, that "the other might have no Suſpicion of it. This was dated at Hampton-Court, the 4th of October.

TO this a Poſtſcript was added in the Cardinal's own Hand, to the Biſhop of Bath: He tells him, "What a great "Opinion the King had of his Policy; "and he orders him to ſpare no rea-"ſonable Offers, which perhaps might "be more regarded, than the Quali-"ties of the Perſon. The King be-"lieved all the Imperialiſts would be "with him, if there was Faith in the "Emperor: He believed the young "Men, who for moſt Part were neceſ-"ſitous, would give good Ear to fair "Offers, which ſhall undoubtedly be "performed. The King willeth you nei-"ther to ſpare his Authority, nor his "good Money nor Subſtance; ſo he "concludes, praying GOD to ſend him "good Speed." But all this fine Train of Simony came too late, for it found a Pope already choſen.

HIS next Letter upon that Sub-ject tells the King, "That after great "Heat in the Conclave, the French "Party were quite abandoned; and "the Cardinals were fully reſolved to "chuſe Cardinal de Medicis or him-"ſelf: That this coming to the "Knowledge of the City of Rome, "they came to the Conclave-Windows, "and cried out, what Danger it would "be to chuſe a Perſon that was abſent; "ſo that the Cardinals were in ſuch "Fear, that tho' they were principal-"ly bent on him, yet to avoid this "Danger, they, by the Inſpiration of "the HOLY GHOST (ſo he writes) did, "on the 19th of November, chuſe "Cardinal de Medicis, who took the "Name of Clement the VIIth; of "which good and fortunate News, "the King had great Cauſe to thank "Almighty GOD; ſince as he was his "faithful Friend, ſo by his Means he "had attained that Dignity; and that "for his own Part he took GOD to "record, that he was much gladder "than if it had fallen on his own Per-"ſon."

IN theſe Letters there is no Reflec-tion on the Emperor, as having failed in his Promiſe at the former Election: Nor is that Election any Way imputed to him, but laid on a Caſualty ordi-nary enough in Conclaves; and more natural in that Time, becauſe Pope Adrian's ſevere Way had ſo diſguſted the Romans, that no Wonder if they broke out into Diſorders upon the Ap-prehenſion of another Foreigner being

like

like to ſucceed. If it is ſuſpected, that tho' Wolſey knew this was a Practice of the Emperor's, he might diſguiſe it thus from the King; ſo that he might be leſs ſuſpected in the Revenge that he was meditating, the Thing, ſays Biſhop Burnet, muſt be left as I found it; only tho' the Emperor afterwards charg'd Wolſey, as acting upon private Revenge for miſſing the Popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himſelf in it, or had ſtudied to obtain a Promiſe from him; which would have put that general Charge of his Aſpiring, and of his revenging himſelf for the Diſappointment, more heavily on him.

THE King and the Cardinal continued in a good Correſpondence both with that Pope and the Emperor till the Battle of Pavy; that Francis's Misfortune changed the Face of Affairs, and obliged the King according to his conſtant and true Maxim, to ſupport the weaker Side, and to balance the Emperor's growing Power, that by that Accident was like to become quickly ſuperior to all Chriſtendom. It has been ſuggeſted that the Emperor wrote before to Wolſey, in Terms of Reſpect, ſcarce ſuitable to his Dignity; but that he afterwards changed both his Stile and Subſcription: But the Biſhop ſays, he has ſeen many of his Letters, to which the Subſcription is either, Your good, or, Your beſt Friend; and he ſtill continued that Way of Writing.

HAVING looked thus far into Wolſey's Correſpondence with the King, our Hiſtorian now ſets him in another Light from a very good Author, the Lord Burghly, who in that Memorial prepared for Queen Elizabeth, againſt Favourites, probably intended to give ſome Stop to the Favour ſhe bore the Earl of Lieceſter, has ſet out the Greatneſs of Wolſey's Power, and the ill Uſe he made of it. "He had a "Family equal to the Court of a great "Prince; there was in it one Earl and "nine Barons, and about one Thou"ſand Knights, Gentlemen, and infe"rior Officers: Beſides the vaſt Ex"pence of ſuch a Houſhold, he gave "great Penſions to thoſe in the Court "and Conclave of Rome; by whoſe "Services he hoped to be advanced to "the Papacy. He lent great Sums to "the Emperor, whoſe Poverty was ſo "well known, that he could have no "Proſpect of having them repaid; "(probably this is meant of Maximilian.) Thoſe conſtant Expences put "him on extraordinary Ways of provi"ding a Fund for their Continuance. "He granted Commiſſions under the "Great Seal to oblige every Man up"on Oath to give in the true Value of "his Eſtate; and that thoſe who had "50 l. or upwards, ſhould pay 4 s. in "the Pound. This was ſo heavy, that "tho' it had been impoſed by Autho"rity of Parliament, it would have "been thought an Oppreſſion of the "Subject: But he adds, that to have "this done by the private Authority "of a Subject, was what wants a "Name. When this was repreſented "to the King, he diſowned it, and "ſaid, No Neceſſities of his ſhould be "ever ſo great, as to make him at"tempt the raiſing Money any other "Way, but by the Peoples Conſent in "Parliament. Thus his illegal Project "was defeated; ſo he betook himſelf "to another not ſo odious, by the "Way of Benevolence; and to carry "that thro', he ſent for the Lord "Mayor and Aldermen of London, "and ſaid to them, that he had pre"vailed with the King to recall his "Commiſſions for that heavy Tax, "and to throw himſelf on their free "Gifts: But in this he was likewiſe "diſappointed; for the Statute of Ri"chard the IIId was pleaded againſt "all Benevolences: The People obſti"nately refuſed to pay it, and tho' "the demanding it was for ſome Time "inſiſted on, yet the Oppoſition made "to it, being like to end in a Civil "War, it was let fall.

BESIDES this Memorial, the Biſhop ſays, he found a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Calham, and others, ſetting forth the great Wars that the King had in France, in which the Duke of Bourbon, call'd one of the greateſt Princes in France, was now the King's Servant: They are by it required to practiſe with all in Kent, whoſe Goods amounted to 4 l. or above, and whoſe Names were given to a Schedule to anticipate the Subſidy granted in Parliament. This the Biſhop of Saliſbury ſays, was all that occurred to him, with Relation to Wolſey's Miniſtry: He ſets out in the next Place what he attempted or did in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, with the Proceedings in Convocation during this Period. When King Henry called his firſt Parliament, by a Writ teſted October the 17th, 1509, to meet at

Weſtminſter the 21ſt of January following, he did not intend to demand a Supply; ſo there appears no Writ for a Convocation; but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſummoned one, as it ſeems, by his own Authority; yet none ſate then at York. The Houſe of Lords was ſometimes adjourned by the Lord Treaſurer, becauſe the Chancellor (Warham) and the other Spiritual Lords were abſent, and engaged in Convocation; but it don't appear what was done by them.

IN the Year 1511, on the 28th of November, a Writ was ſent to Warham to ſummon a Convocation, which met the 6th of February: They had ſeveral Seſſions, and gave a Subſidy of 24,000 l. but did nothing beſides, with Relation to Matters of Religion. There was ſome Heat among them on the Account of ſome Grievances and Exceſſes in the Archbiſhop's Courts. A Committee was appointed of ſix Perſons, the Biſhops of Norwich and Rocheſter, the Prior of Canterbury, the Dean of St. Paul's, and an Archdeacon, but without Addition of his Place; theſe were to examin the Encroachments made by the Archbiſhop's Court, and the Inhibitions ſent to the inferior Courts; but eſpecially as to the Probates of Wills, and the granting Adminiſtrations to inteſtate Goods, when there was any to the Value of 5 l. in ſeveral Dioceſes: An Eſtimate firſt ſettled by Warham, for which he had Officials and Apparitors in every Dioceſe, three or four in ſome, and five or ſix in others, which were looked on by them as contrary to Law. Cardinal Morton is ſaid to be the firſt who ſet up this Pretence of Prerogative: Againſt theſe the Biſhops alledged the Conſtitutions of Ottobonus and of Archbiſhop Stratford: It is alſo ſet forth, that when Warham was an Advocate, he was imployed by Hill, Biſhop of London, in whoſe Name he appeared againſt them, and appealed to Pope Alexander againſt theſe Invaſions made by the Archbiſhop on the Rights of his See: And when Warham was promoted to the See of London, he maintained his Claim againſt them, and oppoſed them more than any other Biſhop of the Province, and ſent his Chancellor to Rome to find Relief againſt them: But when he was advanced to be Archbiſhop, he not only maintained thoſe Practices, but carry'd them further than his Predeceſſor had done. All this, with 13 other Articles of Grievances, were drawn up at large in the State of the Caſe between the Archbiſhops and the Biſhops, and Propoſals were made of an Accommodation between them, about the Year 1514; but the Event ſhewed that this Oppoſition came to nothing. This muſt be acknowledged to be none of the beſt Parts of Warham's Character. In the Year 1514, they were again ſummoned by Writ; they met and gave Subſidies, but they were not to be levied till the Terms of paying the Subſidies formerly granted were out. In the Year 1518, Warham ſummoned a Convocation to meet at Lambeth, to reform ſome Abuſes; and in the Summons he affirmed that he had obtained the King's Conſent ſo to do. At this Wolſey was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty Letter. In it he ſaid, "It be- "longed to him as Legate à Latere, to "ſee to the Reformation of Abuſes; "and he was well aſſured, that the "King would not have him to be ſo "little eſteemed, that he ſhould enter- "prize ſuch Reformation to the Dero- "gation of the Dignity of the See "Apoſtolick, and otherwiſe than the "Law will ſuffer you, without my "Advice and Conſent." And he in plain Words denies, that he had any ſuch Command of the King, but that the King's Order was expreſsly to the contrary; ſo he orders him to come to him, to treat of ſome Things concerning his Perſon. This it ſeems Warham was required to ſend round to his Suffragan Biſhops; ſo he recalled his Monitions in Expectation of a Legatine Council: The Peſtilence was then raging, ſo this was put off a Year longer; and then Wolſey ſummoned it by a Letter, which he tranſmitted to the Biſhops: That to the Biſhop of Hereford is in his Regiſter. He deſires him to come to a Council at Weſtminſter, for the Reforming the Clergy, and for conſulting in the moſt convenient and ſoundeſt Way, of what we ſhall think may tend to the Increaſe of the Faith. He hoped this Letter would be of as much Weight with him as Monitories in due Form would be.

IT appears not by any Record what was done in the Legatine Synod thus brought together, except by the Regiſter in Hereford, in which we find, that the Biſhop ſummoned his Clergy to meet in a Synod at the Chapter-Houſe, to conſult about certain Affairs,

and

and the Articles delivered by Wolſey as Legate in a Council of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, to the Biſhops there aſſembled, to be publiſhed by them. All that is mentioned in this Synod, is concerning the Habits of the Clergy, and the Lives and Manners of thoſe who were to be ordained; which the Biſhop cauſed to be explained to them in Engliſh, and ordered them to be obſerved by the Clergy: And theſe being publiſhed, they proceeded to ſome Heads relating to thoſe Articles; and he gave Copies of all that paſs'd in every one of them.

THE next Step he made was of a ſingular Nature: When the King ſummoned the Parliament in the 14th Year of his Reign, Warham had a Writ to ſummon a Convocation of his Province, which did meet five Days after on the 20th of April. The Cardinal ſummoned his Convocation to meet at York, almoſt a Month before, on the 22d of March; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at Weſtminſter the 22d of April. The Convocation of Canterbury was opened at St. Paul's: But a Monition came from Wolſey to Warham, to appear before him, with his Clergy, at Weſtminſter, on the 22d: And thus both Convocations were brought together: It ſeems he intended that the Legatine Synod, thus irregularly brought together, ſhould give the King Supplies: But the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury ſaid, Their Powers were only directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and theſe would not warrant them to act in any other Manner, than in the Provincial Way: So the Convocation of Canterbury returned back to St. Paul's, and ſate there 'till Auguſt, and gave the Supply a Part, as did alſo that of York. But Wolſey finding thoſe of Canterbury could not act under him, by the Powers which they had brought up with them, iſſued out on the 2d of May, Monitory Letters to the Biſhops of that Province to meet at Weſtminſter the 8th of June, to deliberate "of "the Reformation of the Clergy, both "of Seculars and Regulars, and of "other Matters relating to it." In this he mentions Warham's ſummoning a Convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon ſome Doubts ariſing, becauſe the Proctors of the Clergy had no ſufficient Authority to meet in the Legatine Synod, he therefore ſummoned them to meet with him, and to bring ſufficient Powers to that Effect, by the 2d of June; but it does not appear that any Aſſembly of the Clergy followed purſuant to this; ſo it ſeems it was let fall. This is the true Account of that Matter; which, Biſhop Burnet ſays, he gave indeed differently before, implicity following ſome Writers that lived in that Time; more particularly, that Account given of it by either Archbiſhop Parker, or Joceline, a Book of ſuch Credit that the following it deſerved no hard Cenſure. The Grant of the Subſidy, is indeed, in the Name of the Province of Canterbury; but the other Relation of that Matter being too eaſily followed by him, it ſeemed to him that it was a Point of Form, for each Province to give their Subſidy in an Inſtrument a Part, tho' it was agreed to, they being together in one Body. It was indeed an Omiſſion not to have explained that, but now upon better Evidence, the whole Matter is thus fully opened. Our Author ſays he finds no other Proceedings of Wolſey's, as Legate on Record, ſave that he took on him, by his Legatine Authority, to give Inſtitutions at Pleaſure into all Benefices in the Dioceſes of all Biſhops, without ſo much as aſking the Biſhops Conſent. In the Regiſter of London, an Inſtitution given by him to South Wickington, on the 10th of December, 1526, is entered with this Addition, that the Cardinal had likewiſe given ſeven other Inſtitutions in that Dioceſe, without aſking the Conſent of the Biſhop: And on the Margin it is added, that the giving and accepting ſuch Inſtitutions, byt he Legate's Authority, being Papal Proviſions, involved the Clergy into the Præmunire, from which they were obliged to redeem themſelves. Wolſey did alſo publiſh a Bull, condemning all thoſe who married in the forbidden Degrees: And he ſent Mandates to the Biſhops to publiſh it in their ſeveral Dioceſes: He alſo publiſhed Pope Leo's Bull againſt Luther, and order'd it to be every where publiſhed: He alſo required all Perſons, under the Pain of Excommunication, to bring in all Luther's Books that were in their Hands: He enumerated 42 of Luther's Errors; and required a Return of the Mandate to be made to him, together with ſuch Books as ſhould be brought in upon it, by the 1ſt of Auguſt.

THIS laſt ſhews the Apprehenſions they were under of the ſpreading of Luther's

Luther's Books and Doctrine. All People were at this Time ſo ſenſible of the Corruptions that ſeemed, by common Conſent, to be, as it were univerſally received, that every Motion towards a Reformation was readily hearkened to every where; Corruption was the common Subject of Complaint: And in the Commiſſion given to thoſe whom the King ſent to repreſent himſelf, and this Church, in the Council of the Lateran, the Reformation of the Head and Members, is mentioned as that which was expected from that Council.

THIS was ſo much, at that Time, in all Mens Mouths, that one of the beſt Men in that Age, Collet, Dean of St. Paul's, being to open the Convocation with a Sermon, made that the Subject of it all, and he ſet forth many of thoſe Particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all ſuch Sermons are, in Latin, and was ſoon after tranſlated into Engliſh.

HIS Text was, "Be ye not conformed to this World, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your Mind." He told them, "He came thither that he might admoniſh them to apply their Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of the Church." He goes on thus, "Moſt of thoſe who are Dignitaries, carry themſelves with a haughty Air, and Manner; ſo that they ſeem not to be in the humble Spirit of Chriſt's Miniſters, but in an exalted State of Dominion: Not obſerving what Chriſt, the Pattern of Humility, ſaid to his Diſciples, whom he ſet over his Church, It ſhall not be ſo among you; by which he taught them, that the Government of the Church is a Miniſtry; and that Primacy in a Clergyman, is nothing but an humble Servitude.

"OH Covetouſneſs! From thee come thoſe Epiſcopal, but chargeable Viſitations, the Corruptions of Courts, and thoſe new Inventions daily ſet on Foot, by which the poor Laity are devoured. Oh Covetouſneſs! The Mother of all Wickedneſs, from thee ſprings the Inſolence and Boldneſs of Officials, and that Eagerneſs of all Ordinaries in amplifying their Juriſdiction: From thee flows that mad and furious Contention about Wills, and unſeaſonable Sequeſtrations; and the ſuperſtitious Obſerving of thoſe Laws that bring Gain to them, while thoſe are neglected that relate to the Correction of Manners.

"THE Church is diſgraced by the ſecular Employments, in which many Prieſts and Biſhops involve themſelves: They are the Servants of Men more than of GOD; and dare neither ſay, nor do any thing, but as they think it will be acceptable and pleaſant to their Princes; out of this ſpring both Ignorance and Blindneſs: For being blinded with the Darkneſs of this World, they only ſee earthly Things.

"THEREFORE, O ye Fathers, ye Prieſts, and all ye Clergymen! Awaken at laſt out of the Dreams of a Lethargick World, and hearken to Paul who calls upon you, Be ye not confirmed to this World. This Reformation and Reſtoration of the Eccleſiaſtical State, muſt begin at you, who are our Fathers; and from you muſt come down to us your Prieſts. We look on you as the Standards, that muſt govern us: We deſire to read in you, and in your Lives, as in living Books, how we ought to live: Therefore if you would ſee the Motes that are in our Eyes, take the Beam firſt out of your own.

"There is nothing amiſs among us, for which there are not good Remedies ſet out by the antient Fathers: There is no Need of making new Laws and Canons, but only to obſerve thoſe already made: Therefore at this your Meeting, let the Laws already made be recited. Firſt thoſe that admoniſh your Fathers, not to lay Hands ſuddenly on any: Let the Laws be recited which appoint that Eccleſiaſtical Benefices ſhould be given to deſerving Perſons, and that condemn Simonical Defilement: But above all Things, let thoſe Laws be recited which relate to you our Reverend Fathers, the Lords Biſhops, the Laws of juſt and canonical Elections, after the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST.

"BECAUSE this is not done in our Days, and Biſhops are choſen rather by the Favour of Men, than by the Will of GOD: We have ſometimes Biſhops who are not ſpiritual, but worldly rather than heavenly; and who are led by the Spirit of the World, rather than by the Spirit of Chriſt. Let the Laws be recited for Biſhops reſiding in their Dioceſes.

" laſt of all, let theſe Laws be recited " for frequent Councils, which appoint " Provincial Councils to be more fre- " quently called, for the Reformation " of the Church; for nothing has " happened more miſchievous to the " Church, than the not holding of " Councils, both General and Pro- " vincial.

" I do therefore, with all due Re- " verence, addreſs myſelf to you, O " Fathers! For the Execution of Laws " muſt begin at you; if you obſerve " the Laws, and transform your Lives " to the Rules ſet by the Canons, then " you ſhine ſo to us, that we may " ſee what we ought to do, when we " have the Light of excellent Exam- " ples ſet us by you; we ſeeing you " obſerve the Laws, will chearfully " follow your Steps. Conſider the " miſerable Face and State of the " Church, and ſet about the Reform- " ing it, with all your Strength. Do " not you, O Fathers! ſuffer this fa- " mous Meeting to end in vain, and " in doing nothing: You do indeed " meet often; but (by your Favour " ſuffer me to ſay what is true) what " Fruit has the Church yet had of all " your Meetings? Go then with that " Spirit which you have pray'd for, " that being aſſiſted by his Aid, you " may contrive, eſtabliſh, and decree " ſuch Things as may tend to the Ad- " vantage of the Church, to your " own Honour, and to the Glory of " GOD."

THIS Collet had travell'd through France and Italy, and upon his Return, ſettled for ſome Time at Oxford, where he read Divinity Lectures, without any Obligation, or Reward for it. His Readings brought about him all the learned and ſtudious Perſons in the Univerſity. He read not according to the Cuſtom that prevailed univerſally at that Time, of commenting on Thomas Aquinas; or on Scotus, but his Readings were upon St. Paul's Epiſtles. He was brought afterwards to the Deanary of St. Paul's, where old Fitz-James, then Biſhop of London, was his Enemy, but he was protected both by Warham and by the King himſelf. He did in one of his Sermons reflect on Boſom Sermons, which Fitz-James took as a Reflection on himſelf; for he read all his Sermons. He did not recommend himſelf at Court by Strains of Flattery: On the contrary, he being to preach there, when the King was entering in a War, preached on Chriſtians fighting under the Banner of Chriſt, whom they ought to make their Pattern, in all the Occaſions of Quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a Cæſar, or an Alexander. After Sermon the King ſent for him, and told him, He thought ſuch Preaching would diſhearten the Military Men; but Collet explained himſelf ſo, that the King was well ſatisfy'd with him, and ſaid, Let every Man chuſe what Doctor he pleaſed, Collet ſhould be his Doctor. He died in the Year 1519.

IT ſeems this Sermon was preach'd in the Year 1513, tho' it is printed as preached in the Year 1511; for the Mention that he made in it, of the Immunities of the Clergy, and of thoſe Words, Touch not mine Anointed, ſeems to relate to the Oppoſition that the Clergy made to the Act that paſſed in Parliament in the Year 1512, againſt the Immunity of the inferior Orders of the Clergy.

THE Biſhop next adds a few Paſſages out of a late Impreſſion of the Engliſh Tranſlation, which, he ſays, deſerved to be publiſhed by him that picked out a few with ſome particular View that it ſeems he had. Before the firſt Period printed by him, he has theſe Words:

" HOW much Greedineſs and Ap- " petite of Honour and Dignity is ſeen " now a-Days in Clergymen? How " run they (yea almoſt out of Breath) " from one Benefice to another, from " the Leſs to the Greater, from the " Lower to the Higher? Who ſeeth " not this? And who ſeeing ſorroweth " not?

BEFORE the next Period, theſe Words are to be found, " What other " Things ſeek we now a-Days in the " Church; but fat Benefices, and high " Promotions? And it were well if " we minded the Duty of thoſe, when " we have them: But he that hath " many great Benefices, minds not the " Office of any ſmall one. And in " theſe our high Promotions, what " other Things do we paſs upon, but " only our Tythes and Rents? We care " not how vaſt our Charge of Souls " be? How many or how great Be- " nefices we take, ſo they be of large " Value."

IN the next Period, theſe remarkable Words are omitted, " Our Warfare " is to pray devoutly, to read and ſtu- " dy

" dy Scriptures diligently, to preach " the Word of GOD ſincerely; to ad- " miniſter Holy Sacraments rightly; " and to offer Sacrifices for the Peo- " ple."

A little before the next Period, he has theſe Words, " In this Age we " are ſenſible of the Contradiction of " Lay People; but they are not ſo " much contrary to us, as we are to " ourſelves. Their Contrarines hurteth " not us ſo much, as the Contrarines " of our own Evil Life, which is " contrary both to GOD, and to " Chriſt."

AFTER Collet had mentioned that of laying Hands ſuddenly on none, he adds, " Here lies the Original and " Spring Head of all our Miſchiefs: " That the Gate of Ordination is too " broad: The Entrance too wide and " open. Every Man that offers him- " ſelf is admitted every where with- " out putting back. Hence it is that " we have ſuch a Multitude of " Prieſts, that have little Learning, " and leſs Piety. In my Judgment it " is not enough for a Prieſt to conſtrue " a Collect, to put forth a Queſtion, " to anſwer a Sophiſm; but an honeſt, " a pure, and a holy Life, is much " more neceſſary: Approved Manners, " competent Learning in Holy Scrip- " tures, ſome Knowledge of the Sa- " craments, but chiefly above all " Things, the Fear of GOD, and Love " of a heavenly Life."

A little after this, " Let the Canons " be rehearſed that command Perſonal " Reſidence of Curates (Rectors) in " their Churches: For of this many " Evils grow, becauſe all Offices now " a-Days are performed by Vicars and " Pariſh Prieſts: Yea, and theſe fooliſh " and unmeet, oftentimes wicked."

AT ſome Diſtance from this, but to the ſame Purpoſe, he adds, " You " might firſt ſow your ſpiritual Things, " and then ye ſhall reap plentifully " their carnal Things. For truly that " Man is very hard and unjuſt, who " will reap where he never did ſow, " and deſires to gather where he never " ſcattered."

THESE Paſſages ſeemed proper to be added to the former, as ſetting forth the Abuſes and Diſorders that were then in this Church. I wiſh, ſays the the Biſhop, I could add, that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. Collet was a particular Friend of Eraſmus, as appears by many very kind Letters that paſs'd between them.

TO this Account of the Senſe that Collet had of the State of Religion at that Time, is added an Account of Sir Thomas More's Thoughts of Religion. Thoſe of the Church of Rome look on him as one of their Glories, the Champion of their Cauſe, and their Martyr: He in this Period, in the Year 1516, wrote his Utopia; at which Time it may be believed that he dreſſed up that ingenious Fable, according to his own Notions. He wrote that Book probably before he had heard of Luther; the Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only Hereticks then known in England. In that ſhort but extraordinary Book, he gave his Mind full Scope, and conſidered Mankind and Religion with the Freedom that became a true Philoſopher. By many Hints it's very eaſy to collect what his Thoughts were of Religion, of the Conſtitutions of the Church, and of the Clergy at that Time: And therefore tho' an obſerving Reader will find theſe in his Way, yet having read it with great Attention, Biſhop Burnet ſays, when he tranſlated it into, Engliſh, he will lay together ſuch Paſſages as give clear Indications of the Senſe he then had of thoſe Matters.

PAGE 21, when he cenſures the incloſing of Grounds, he ranks thoſe Holy Men, the Abbots, among thoſe who thought it not enough to live at their own Eaſe, and to do no Good to the Publick, but reſolved to do it Hurt inſtead of Good, which ſhews that he called them Holy Men in Deriſion: This is yet more fully ſet forth, Page 37, where he brings in Cardinal Morton's Jeſter's Advice, to ſend all the Beggars to the Nuns, reckoning the Fryars as Vagabonds that ought to be taken up and reſtrained; and the Diſcourſe that follows, for two or three Pages, gives ſuch a ridiculous View of the Want of Breeding, of the Folly and ill Nature of the Fryars, that they have taken Care to ſtrike it out of the later Impreſſions. From thence it is plain what Opinion he had of thoſe who were the moſt eminent Divines, and the moſt fam'd Preachers at that Time. This is yet plainer, Page 56, in which he taxes the Preachers of that Age for corrupting the Chriſtian Doctrine, and practiſing upon it: For they obſerving that the World did not ſuit their Lives to the Rules that Chriſt has given,

given, have fitted his Doctrine as if it had been a Leaden Rule to their Lives, that ſome Way or other they might agree with one another: And he does not ſoften this ſevere Cenſure, as if it had been only the Fault of a few, but lets it go on them all, without any Diſcrimination or Limitation.

PAGE 83, he taxes the great Company of idle Prieſts, and of thoſe that are called Religious Perſons, that were in other Nations; againſt which he tells us in his laſt Chapter, how carefully the Utopians had provided: But it appears there what juſt Eſteem he paid to Men of that Character, when they anſwered the Dignity of their Profeſſion: For as he contracts the Number of the Prieſts in Utopia, Page 186, ſo he exalts their Dignity as high as ſo noble a Function could deſerve: Yet he repreſents the Utopians, as allowing them to marry, Page 114; and Page 130, he exalts a ſolid Virtue much above all rigorous Severities, which were the moſt admired Expreſſions of Piety and Devotion in that Age. He gives a perfect Scheme of Religious Men, ſo much beyond the Monaſtick Orders, that it ſhews he was no Admirer of them.

PAGE 152, "He commends the "Europeans for obſerving of their "Leagues and Treaties ſo religiouſly; "and aſcribes that to the good Exam"ples that Popes ſet other Princes, "and to the Severity with which they "proſecuted ſuch as were prefidious." This looks like Reſpect; but he means it all ironically; for he who had ſeen the Reigns of Pope Alexander the VIth, and Julius the IId, the two falſeſt and moſt perfidious Perſons of the Age, could not ſay this, but in the Way of Satyr; ſo that he ſecretly accuſes both Popes and Princes for violating their Faith, to which they were induced by Diſpenſations from Rome. Page 192, his putting Images out of the Churches of the Utopians, gives no obſcure Hint of his Opinion in that Matter. The Opinion, Page 175, that he propoſes, doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the firſt Converts to Chriſtianity in Utopia, who (there being no Prieſts among thoſe who inſtructed them) were inclined to chuſe Prieſts that ſhould officiate among them, ſince they could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that they ſeemed reſolved to do it; this ſhews that in Caſes of Neceſſity he had a Largeneſs of Thought, far from being engaged blindfold into the Humours or Intereſts of the Prieſts of that Time; to whom this muſt have appeared one of the moſt dangerous of all Hereſies.

AND whereas Perſecution and Cruelty ſeem to be the indelible Characters of Popery; he, as he gives us the Character of the Religion of the Utopians, that they offered not Divine Honours to any but GOD alone, Page 173: So Page 177, he makes it one of the Maxims of the Utopians, That no Man ought to be puniſhed for his Religion: The utmoſt Severity practiſed among them being Baniſhment, and that not for Diſparaging their Religion, but for Inflaming the People to Sedition: A Law being made among them, that every Man might be of what Religion he pleaſed, Page 191: And tho' there were many different Forms of Religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main Point of "Wor"ſhipping the Divine Eſſence; ſo that "there was nothing in their Temples, "in which the ſeveral Perſuaſions "among them might not agree.

"The ſeveral Sects performed the "Rites that were peculiar to them in "their Private Houſes; nor was there "any thing in the publick Worſhip "that contradicted the particular Ways "of the ſeveral Sects:" By all which he carried not only Toleration, but even Comprehenſion, further than the moſt Moderate of our Divines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he repreſents all this in a Fable of his Utopians: But this was a Scene dreſs'd up by himſelf, in which he was fully at Liberty to frame every thing at Pleaſure: So here we find in this a Scheme of ſome of the moſt eſſential Parts of the Reformation: "He propoſes no "Subjection of their Prieſts to any "Head; he makes them to be choſen "by the People, and conſecrated by "the College of Prieſts; and he gives "them no other Authority, but that "of excluding Men that were deſpe"rately wicked, from joining in their "Worſhip, which was ſhort and ſim"ple; and tho' every Man was ſuf"fered to bring over others to his Per"ſuaſion, yet he was obliged to do it "by amicable and modeſt Ways, and "not to mix with theſe either Re"proaches or Violence; ſuch as did "otherwiſe, were to be condemned to "Baniſhment or Slavery.

THESE

THESE were his firſt and cooleſt Thoughts; and probably if he had dy'd at that Time, he would have been reckoned among thoſe, who, tho' they lived in the Communion of the Church of Rome, yet ſaw what were the Errors and Corruptions of that Body, and only wanted fit Opportunities of declaring themſelves more openly for a Reformation. Theſe Things were not writ by him in the Heat of Youth; he was then 34 Years of Age, and was at that Time employed, together with Tonſtal, in ſettling ſome Matters of State with (then Prince) Charles; ſo that he was far advanced at that Time, and knew the World well. It's not eaſy to account for the great Change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to: He not only ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Reformation in many Treatiſes, that, put together, make a great Volume: But when he was raiſed up to the chief Poſt in the Miniſtry, he became a Perſecutor even to Blood; and defiled thoſe Hands, which were never polluted with Bribes, by acting in his own Perſon ſome of thoſe Cruelties, to which he was, no Doubt, puſhed on by the bloody Clergy of that Age and Church.

HE was not governed by Intereſt; nor did he aſpire ſo to Preferment, as to ſtick at nothing that might contribute to raiſe him; nor was he ſubject to the Vanities of Popularity. The Integrity of his whole Life, and the Severity of his Morals cover him from all theſe Suſpicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a ſuperſtitious Education, it had been no extraordinary Thing to ſee ſo good a Man grow to be miſled by the Force of Prejudice: But how a Man who had emancipated himſelf, and had got into a Scheme of free Thoughts, could be ſo entirely changed, cannot be eaſily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his Underſtanding, and deliver himſelf up as a Property to the blind and enraged Fury of the Prieſts. It cannot be accounted for, but by charging it on the Intoxicating Charms of that Religion, that can darken the cleareſt Underſtandings, and corrupt the beſt Natures: And ſince they wrought this Effect on Sir Thomas More, we may conclude, that if theſe Things were done in the Green Tree, what ſhall be done in the Dry?

HIS Friend Tonſtal was made Biſhop of London by the Pope's Proviſion, but it was upon the King's Recommendation, ſignified by Hannibal, then his Ambaſſador at Rome. Tonſtall was ſent Ambaſſador to Spain, when Francis was a Priſoner there. That King grew, as may be eaſily believed, impatient to be ſo long detained in Priſon; and that began to have ſuch Effects on his Health, that the Emperor, fearing it might end in his Death, which would both loſe the Benefit he had from having him in his Hands, and lay a heavy Load on him thro' all Europe, was induced to hearken to a Treaty which he pretended he concluded chiefly in Conſideration of the King's Mediation. The Treaty was made at Madrid, much to the Emperor's Advantage; but becauſe he would not truſt to the Faith of the Treaty, Francis was obliged to bring his two Sons as Hoſtages, for the Obſervance of it. So he had his Liberty upon that Exchange; ſoon after he came back to France, and then the Pope ſent him an Abſolution in full Form, from the Faith and Obligation of the Treaty. It ſeems his Conſcience reproached him for breaking ſo ſolemn an Engagement, but that was healed by the Diſpenſation from Rome; of which the Original was ſent over to the King, perhaps only to be ſhewed the King, who upon that kept it ſtill in his ſecret Treaſure, where Rymer found it. The Reaſon inſinuated in it, is the King's being bound by it to alienate ſome Dominions that belonged to the Crown of France: For he had not yet learned a Secret, diſcovered, or at leaſt practiſed ſince that Time, of Princes declaring themſelves free from the Obligations of their Treaties, and departing from them at their Pleaſure.

Of MATTERS that happened during the Time comprehended in the Second BOOK of the HISTORY of the REFORMATION.

THE Biſhop ſays, he will repeal nothing ſet forth in his former Work; but ſuppoſe that his Reader remembers how Charles the Vth had ſworn to marry the King's Daughter, when ſhe ſhould be of Age, under Pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of 100,000 l. Yet when his Match

Match with Portugal was thought more for the Intereſts of the Crown, he ſent over to the King, and deſired a Diſcharge of that Promiſe. It has been ſaid, and printed by one who lived in the Time, and out of him by the Lord Herbert, that Objections were made to this in Spain, on the Account of the Doubtfulneſs of her Mother's Marriage. From ſuch Authors, the Biſhop ſays, he took this too eaſily, but in a Collection of original Inſtructions, among the Manuſcripts of the Biſhop of Ely, he ſaw that Matter in a truer Light.

Lee, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, was ſent Ambaſſador to Spain, to ſolicit the ſetting Francis at Liberty, and in reckoning up the King's Merits, his Inſtructions mention, "The King's Diſ-"charge of the Emperor's Obligation "to marry his deareſt Daughter, the "Princeſs Mary; whom, though his "Grace could have beſtowed upon the "Emperor, before any Prince living; "yet for the more Security of his "Succeſſion, the Furtherance of his "other Affairs, and to do unto "him a Gratuity: His Grace has li-"berally, benevolently, and kindly "condeſcended unto it." There are other Letters of the 12th of Auguſt, but the Year is not added, which ſet forth the Emperor's earneſt Deſire, to be with all poſſible Diligence diſcharged of his Obligation to marry the Princeſs. At firſt the King thought fit to delay the granting it, 'till a general Peace was fully concluded, ſince it had been agreed to by the Treaty at Windſor; but ſoon after, a Diſcharge in full Form under the Great Seal was ſent over by an Expreſs to Spain: But from ſome Hints in other Papers, it ſeems, there were ſecret Orders not to deliver it; and King Henry continued to claim the Money due upon the Forfeiture, as a Debt ſtill owing him. The Peace was then treated, chiefly with a View to reſiſt the Turk, and to repreſs Hereſy, that was then much ſpread both through Germany and Poland.

ANOTHER Original Letter was writ after Francis was at Liberty, ſetting forth, "That the Nobles, and "Courts in France would not confirm "the Treaty that Francis had ſigned, "to obtain his Liberty; and therefore "earneſt Perſuaſions were to be uſed "to prevail with the Emperor to re-"ſtore the Hoſtages, and to come into "reaſonable Terms, to maintain the "Peace, and to call his Army out of "Italy." By theſe it appears, that the League againſt the Emperor was then made, of which the King was declared the Protector; but the King had not then accepted of that Title. He ordered his Ambaſſadors to propoſe a Million of Crowns for redeeming the Hoſtages, to be paid at different Times; yet they were forbid to own to the Emperor, that if the Offices, in which the King interpoſed, were not effectual, he would enter into the League.

THERE are in that Collection ſome of Wolſey's Letters: By one of the 17th of July he claims his Penſions of 7500 Ducats, upon the Biſhopricks of Palentia and Toledo; beſides 9000 Crowns a Year in Recompence for his parting with the Biſhoprick of Tournay, and the Abbey of St. Martin's there; for which there was an Arrear of four Years due. On the 29th of Septemper he wrote over a ſevere Charge to be laid before the Emperor for the Sack of Rome, the Indignities put on the Perſon of the Pope, the Spoiling the Church of St. Peter, and other Churches, and the ignominious treating the Ornaments of them: All the Blame was caſt on the Cardinal Colonna, and Hugo de Moncado, they being perſuaded that it was done without the Emperor's Knowledge or Order. He propoſes the King to be Mediator, as a Thing agreed on by all Sides: He uſes in this, that bold Way of joining himſelf with the King, very often ſaying, The King and I; and on the 20th of October, he preſſes with great Earneſtneſs, the mediating a Peace between France and the Emperor; in all which, nothing appears either partial or revengeful againſt the Emperor. The true Intereſt of England ſeems to be purſued in that whole Negotiation.

THERE was then in the Emperor's Court a very full Embaſſy from England; for in one or other of theſe Letters Mention is made of the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, and of Bath; of Dr. Lee, and Sir Francis Bryan; but ſince the diſmal Fate of Rome, and of Pope Clement, is mentioned in theſe Letters, the Biſhop ſays, I muſt now change the Scene.

POPE Clement, as ſoon as he could, after his Impriſonment, wrote over to Wolſey, an Account of the miſerable State he was in, which he ſent over by Sir Gregory Caſſal, who ſaw it all,

and ſo could give a full Account of it. "The Pope's only Comfort and Hope, "was in Wolſey's Credit with the "King, and in the King's own Piety "towards the Church, and himſelf, "now ſo ſadly oppreſſed, that he had "no other Hope, but in the Protection "he expected from him." There were many other Letters written by the Cardinals, ſetting forth the Miſeries they were in, and that in the moſt doubtful Strains poſſible: All their Eyes being then towards the King, as the Perſon on whoſe Protection they chiefly depended. Upon this, Wolſey went over to France in a moſt ſplendid Manner, with a prodigious and magnificent Train, reckoned to conſiſt of 1000 Perſons, and he had the moſt unuſual Honours done him, that the Court of France could invent, to flatter his Vanity. He was to conclude a Treaty with Francis, for ſetting the Pope at Liberty, and to determine the Alternative of the Marriage of the Princeſs Mary, either to the King of France, or to the Duke of Orleans's Son, and to lay a Scheme for a General Peace. He came to Campiegne in the End of September, and from thence he made the firſt Motion about the Divorce to the Pope: "He and "four Cardinals wrote to the Pope, "ſetting forth the Senſe that they had "of the Calamity that he was in, and "their Zeal for his Service, in which "they hoped for good Succeſs: Yet "fearing leſt the Emperor ſhould take "Occaſion, from his Impriſonmet, to "ſeize on the Territories of the "Church, and to force both him to "confirm it, and the Cardinals now "impriſoned with him, to ratify it, "which they hoped neither he, nor "they would do; yet if human Infirmity ſhould ſo far prevail, they proteſted againſt all ſuch Alienations. "They alſo declare, That if he ſhould "die, they would proceed to a new "Election, and have no Regard to any "Election, to which the impriſoned "Cardinals might be forced. In Concluſion, they do earneſtly pray, that "the Pope would grant them a full "Deputation of his Authority, in the "Uſe of which they promiſe Zeal and "Fidelity; and that they would invite all the other Cardinals that were "at Liberty, to come and concur with "them." This was ſigned by Wolſey, and by the Cardinals of Bourbon, Sabriati, Lorrain, and Cardinal Prat. Wolſey wrote to the King, expreſſing the Concern he had for him, with Relation to his great and ſecret Affair; it ſeems expecting a General Meeting of Cardinals that was to be called together in France, which he reckoned would concur to the Proceſs that he intended to make; but apprehending that the Queen might decline his Juriſdiction, he would uſe all his Endeavours to bring the King of France to agree to the Emperor's Demands, as far as was reaſonable; hoping the Emperor would abate ſomewhat, in Conſideration of the King's Mediation; but if that did not ſucceed, ſo that the Pope was ſtill kept a Priſoner; then the Cardinals muſt be brought to meet at Avignon, and thither he intended to go, and to ſpare no Trouble, or Charge, in doing the King Service. When he was at Avignon, he ſhould be within 100 Miles of Perpignan, and he would try to bring the Emperor, and the French King's Mother thither, if the King approved of it, to treat for the Pope's Deliverance, and for a General Peace. This is the Subſtance of the Minute of a Letter writ in the Cardinal's own Hand.

THE King at this Time intended to ſend Knight, the Secretary of State, to Rome, in Point of Form, to condole with the Pope, and to prevent any Application that the Queen might make by the Emperor's Means in his great Matter: So he appointed the Cardinal to give him ſuch Commiſſions and Inſtructions as ſhould ſeem requiſite, with all Diligence; and he preſſed the Cardinal's Return Home, with great Acknowledgments of the Services he had done him. By this Letter it appears, that the Queen then underſtood ſomewhat of the King's Uneaſineſs in his Marriage. The King of France ſent from Compiegne a great Deputation, at the Head of which, Montmorancy, then the Great Maſter, was put to take the King's Oath, confirming the Treaties that Wolſey had made in his Name; one in the Commiſſion was Bellay, then Biſhop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris, and Cardinal.

WHEN that was done, the King's Matter that had been hitherto more ſecretly managed, began to break out. Mr. Le Grand has publiſhed a Letter that Pace wrote to the King, as he ſays, in the Year 1526; but no Date is added to the Letter. The Subſtance of it is, "That the Letter and Book "which was brought to the King the

Day

" Day before, was writ by him; but " by the Advice and Help of Dr. " Wakefield, who approved it, and " was ready to defend every thing in " it, either in a Verbal Diſputation, " or in Writing. The King had told " them, that ſome of his learned Coun- " ſellors had writen to him, that Deu- " teronomy abrogated Leviticus; but " that was certainly falſe; for the Ti- " tle of that Book in Hebrew was the " two firſt Words of it: It is a Com- " pend and Recapitulation of the Mo- " ſaical Law; and that was all that " was imported by the Word Deutero- " nomy. He tells the King, that af- " ter he left him, Wakefield pray'd " him to let him know, if the King de- " ſired to know the Truth in that Mat- " ter, whether it ſtood for him or " againſt him. To whom Pace an- " ſwered, That the King deſired no- " thing but what became a Noble and " virtuous Prince; ſo he would do " him a moſt acceptable Thing, if he " would ſet the plain Truth before " him. After that, Wakefield ſaid, " He would not meddle in the Mat- " ter, unleſs he were commanded by " the King to do it; but that when " he received his Commands, he would " ſet forth ſuch Things both for and " againſt him, that no other Perſon in " his Kingdom could do the like." The Letter is dated from Sion, but our Author ſays, he has Reaſon to believe, that it was written in the Year 1527; for this Wakefield (who ſeems to be the firſt Perſon of this Nation, that was learned in the Oriental Tongues, not only in the Hebrew, the Caldaic, and the Syriac, but in the Arabic) wrote a Book for the Divorce: He was at firſt againſt it, before he knew that Prince Arthur's Marriage with Queen Catharine was conſummated: But when he underſtood what Grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his Mind, and wrote a Book on the Subject; and in his own Book, he with his own Hand inſerts the Copy of his Letter to King Henry, dated from Sion, 1527; which it ſeems was written at the ſame Time that Pace wrote his; for theſe are his Words, (as the Author of Ath. Oxon relates, who ſays he ſaw it) " He " will defend his Cauſe, or queſtion in " all the Univerſities of Chriſtendom: " (But adds,) That if the People " ſhould know that he, who began to " defend the Queen's Cauſe, not know- " ing that ſhe was carnally known of " Prince Arthur, his Brother, ſhould " now write againſt it, ſurely he ſhould " be ſtoned of them to Death, or " elſe have ſuch a Slander and Oblo- " quy raiſed upon him, that he would " die a Thouſand Times rather than " ſuffer it.

HE was prevailed on to print his Book in Latin, with an Hebrew Title; in which he undertook to prove, that the Marrying the Brother's Wife, ſhe being carnally known of him, was contrary to the Decrees of Holy Church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the Law of Nature and the Law of GOD, the Laws of the Goſpel, and the Cuſtoms of the Catholick and Orthodox Church.

IT appears from the Letters writ in Anſwer to thoſe that Knight carried to Rome, that the Pope granted all that was deſired. This was never well underſtood 'till Mr. Rymer in his diligent Search, found the firſt Original Bull, with the Seal in Lead hanging to it. He has printed it in his 14th Volume, Page 237, and therefore the Biſhop only gives a ſhort Abſtract of it. It is directed to Cardinal Wolſey, and bears Date the Ides of April, or the 13th Day, in the Year 1528. " It empow- " ers him, together with the Archbi- " ſhop of Canterbury, or any other " Engliſh Biſhop, to hear, examin, pro- " nounce, and declare concerning the " Validity of the Marriage of King " Henry and Queen Catharine, and of " the Efficacy and Validity of all " Apoſtolical Diſpenſations in that " Matter, and to declare the Marriage " juſt and lawful, or unjuſt and un- " lawful, and to give a plenary Sen- " tence upon the whole Matter, with " Licence to the Parties to marry " again, and to admit no Appeal from " them; for which End he creates " Wolſey his Vice-gerent, to do in the " Premiſes all that he himſelf could " do, with Power to declare the Iſſue " of the firſt, as well as of any ſub- " ſequent Marriage Legitimate. All " concludes with a Non Obſtante to all " General Councils and Apoſtolical " Conſtitutions.

THIS rare Diſcovery was to us all a great Surprize, as ſoon as it was known: But it does not yet appear how it came about, that no Uſe was ever made of it. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that he is not Lawyer enough to diſcover whether it was, that ſo full a Depu-

Deputation was thought null of itſelf; ſince by this the Pope determined nothing, but left all to Wolſey; or whether Wolſey having no Mind to carry the Load of the Judgment on himſelf, made the King apprehend that it would bring a Diſreputation on his Cauſe, if none but his own Subjects judged it; or whether it was that Wolſey would not act in Conjunction with Warham, or any under the Degree of a Cardinal. He continues, that he leaves the Reaſons of their not making Uſe of the Bull, as a Secret, as great as the Bull itſelf was, 'till it was found out by Rymer. Another Bull was after that deſired and obtained, which bears Date the 8th of June, (6to Idus) from Viterbo. This is taken from the Licence granted under the Great Seal to the Legates to execute the Commiſſion of that Date; but it ſeems they did not think they had the Pope faſt enough tied by this; and therefore they obtained from him, on the 23d of July following, a ſolemn Promiſe, called in their Letters, Policitatio, by which he promiſed, in the Word of a Pope, that he would never, neither at any Perſon's Deſire, nor of his own Motion, inhibit, or revoke the Commiſſion he had granted to the Legates to judge the Matter of the King's Marriage.

IN the mean Time Warham called ſuch Biſhops as were in Town to him, and propoſed to them the King's Scruples; which being weighed by them, a Writing was drawn up to this Purpoſe, That having heard the Grounds of the King's Scruples, relating to his Marriage, they all made this Anſwer, That the Cauſes which gave the King the preſent Agitation, and Diſturbance of Conſcience, were great and weighty, and that it did ſeem neceſſary to them all, for him to conſult the Judgment of their Holy Father the Pope in that Matter. This was ſigned by Warham, Tonſtal, Fiſher, and the Biſhops of Carliſle, Ely, St. Aſaph, Lincoln, and Bath, on the 1ſt of July, 1529. And this, Biſhop Burnet ſays, he is inclin'd to think, was the Paper of which Cavendiſh, whom he follow'd too implicitly in his former Work, gave a wrong Account, as brought out when the Legates were ſitting on the King's Cauſes. There is no Reaſon to doubt of Fiſher's ſigning this; and Cavendiſh, who wrote upon Memory, almoſt Thirty Years after, might be miſtaken in the Story; for the falſe Account that he gives of the Battle of Pavy, ſhews how little he is to be depended on. At this Time the Pope, in a Letter to Wolſey, offered to go in Perſon to Spain, or to any Place, where an Interview ſhould be agreed on, to mediate a general Peace. This Wolſey wrote over to the King's Ambaſſador at Rome, on the 19th of December; and in the ſame Letter he orders them to offer the Guard to the Pope in the Name of the two Kings; and adds, that Turenne ſhould command that Part of it which was to have their Pay ſent from France, and for Gregory Caſſal that which the King was to pay.

IN proſecuting the Hiſtory of the Divorce, the Biſhop adds a great deal out of ſome French Authors. Bellay, the Sieur de Langey, has writ Memoirs of that Time with great Judgment; and very ſincerely. There are alſo many Letters relating to thoſe Tranſactions, both in the Melanges Hiſtoriques, and in Le Grand's Third Tome. Theſe the Biſhop follows in the Series in which Things were tranſacted, which will be found to give no ſmall Confirmation, as well as large Additions to what he formerly publiſhed in his Hiſtory. The firſt of theſe was much employed in Embaſſies, and was well informed of the Affairs of England, both his Brothers being at different Times employed to negotiate Affairs in that Court. John in particular, then Biſhop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris, and Cardinal Le Grand, as Lord Herbert had done before, has given the Relation of the Anſwer that the Emperor gave by Word of Mouth, and afterwards in Writing, to Clarencieux, when he came with a French King at Arms, to denounce War in the Name of the Two Kings to the Emperor.

DEMAND was made of great Debts that the Emperor owed the King; among theſe, the Sum forfeited for his not marrying the Princeſs Mary is one. To that the Emperor anſwered, That before he was married he required the King to ſend her to him, which was not done; and by Letters that he intercepted, he ſaw that the King was treating a Marriage for her with the King of Scotland, long before the Emperor was married. It was farther ſaid to that Herald, That a Report was current, that the King deſigned a Divorce, and upon that to marry another Wife. The Emperor ſaid, "He had in his Hands "ample Diſpenſations for the Marriage;

nor

" nor could the King go on that De-
" ſign, without ſtriking at the Pope's
" Authority, which would give great
" Scandal, and occaſion much Diſtur-
" bance, and give the Emperor juſt
" Cauſe of War. This would ſhew
" what Faith, what Religion, what
" Conſcience, and what Honour the
" King had before his Eyes. He had
" offered his Daughter to him in Mar-
" riage, and was now going to get her
" declared a Baſtard; he aſcribed all
" this to the ill Offices done by the
" Cardinal of York, who was puſh'd
" on by his Ambition and Avarice, be-
" cauſe he would not order his Army
" in Italy to force the Electing him to
" the Popedom; which, he ſaid, both
" the King and the Cardinal deſir'd of
" him in Letters that they wrote to
" him on that Occaſion: And becauſe
" he had not in that ſatisfied his Pride,
" he had boaſted that he would ſo em-
" broil the Emperor's Affairs, tho' Eng-
" land ſhould be ruined by it, that he
" ſhould repent his uſing him ſo."
This ſeems to be much aggravated; for it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that the King and Wolſey might, in the Letters that they wrote to the Emperor at the laſt Conclave, deſire him to order his Troops to draw near Rome, to keep all quiet, till, if he was choſen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable, that they could deſire ſo bare-fac'd a Thing, as the Emperor here faſtened on them. He in that, perhaps, was no truer, than when he ſaid he had in his Hands ample Diſpenſations for the King's Marriage, tho' it appears theſe were forged; for the Date of the Breve, being the ſame with the Bull, both bearing Date the 26th of December, 1503, it was plainly falſe; for Rymer has printed one Atteſtation from Rome, that the Year in the Breves begins on Chriſtmas-Day; ſo if it had been a true Piece, it muſt have had the Date of 1504. He has likewiſe publiſhed an Authentick Atteſtation, ſigned by the Cardinal Chamberlain, that in the Regiſter of the Breves, there was none to be found relating to the King's Diſpenſation for his Marriage, but one dated the 6th of July, 1504, and another the 22d of February, 1505.

THE Biſhop of Bayonne made a bold Propoſition to Wolſey: He thought it might be a proper Method, to engage the Pope to depoſe the Emperor for ſuch enormous Felony, as he had committed againſt him; which would ſecure that See from all ſuch Attempts for the future. The Cardinal, after a little Reflection on it, ſwore to him that he would purſue that Thought; but, it ſeems, it was let fall.

WHEN Gardiner and Fox were ſent to Rome, they paſs'd thro' France, with Letters from Wolſey to Montmorancy for his aſſiſting them. It ſeems the People were expreſſing their Uneaſineſs upon theſe Steps made in Order to the Divorce, of which the Biſhop of Bayonne wrote to the Court of France; which was, upon his Letters, ſo talked of at Paris, that Wolſey reprimanded him for it; tho' in his own Excuſe he writes, that the Biſhop of Bath had ſaid it more openly, than he had written it.

ON the 8th of June, it ſeems, Matters went not well at Rome; for Wolſey complained to the Biſhop of Bayonne of the Pope, for not doing them Juſtice; who had ſerved him ſo well, both before his Advancement, and ever ſince. They alſo apprehended, that Campegio, then named to come over as Legate, who was ſubject to the Gout, would, by that Pretence, manage Matters ſo as to keep them long in Suſpenſe.

AT that Time the Sweating-Sickneſs raged ſo, that the Court was in Dread of it. It broke out in the Legate's Houſe; ſome died of it: He, upon that, ſtole away privately, without giving Notice whither he went. The King made his laſt Will, and received all the Sacraments. He confeſs'd himſelf every Day, and received the Sacrament every Holiday. The Queen did the ſame, and ſo did Wolſey.

IN another Letter, without Date, Bayonne gives an Account of a free Conference he had with Wolſey; who told him, " He had done many Things
" againſt the Opinion of all England;
" upon which, many took Occaſion to
" reproach him, as being wholly
" French; ſo he muſt proceed warily:
" The French would feel their Loſs,
" if his Credit was leſſen'd; therefore
" it was neceſſary that the Biſhop
" ſhould make the King and his Coun-
" cil here, apprehend that this Alliance
" was not to their Prejudice. The
" King had of late (as Bayonne had
" from good Hands) ſaid ſome terrible
" Words to the Cardinal, apprehend-
" ing that he was cold in his Matter.
" Wolſey ſaid to him, that if GOD

" gave him the Grace once to ſee the " Hatred of the two Nations extin- " guiſhed, and a firm Friendſhip ſet- " tled between the two Kings; and " that he could get the Laws and Cuſ- " toms of the Nation a little changed, " the Succeſſion ſecured, and upon " the King's ſecond Marriage an Heir " Male born, he would immediately " retire, and ſerve GOD all the reſt " of his Life." Here were many Things to be done before his Retirement; yet the Biſhop did believe he indeed intended, upon the firſt good Occaſion, to retire from all Affairs; for he could not but ſee, that his Credit muſt leſſen upon the King's ſecond Marriage. He was alſo making Haſte to furniſh his Epiſcopal Palaces, and to finiſh his Colleges; and he ſeemed to him to prepare for a Storm. Gardiner was at this Time advancing the King's Buſineſs all that was poſſible at Rome. He wrote a Letter after his firſt coming there in April, the Subſtance of which was, " That he had " acquainted the Pope with the ſecret " Meſſage that the Princes of Germa- " ny had ſent the King to ſee if that " would work on his Fears; for he " ſays, the Pope was a Man of ſuch a " Nature, that he is never reſolved in " any Thing but as he is compelled by " ſome violent Affection. He aſſures the " King, the Pope will do nothing that " may offend the Emperor; nor was " it reaſonable for him to do it, ex- " cept he would remove his See to " ſome other Place; for while he was " at Rome, he was in the Emperor's " Power. By his Words and Manner " the Pope ſeemed to favour the King; " but he was confident he would do " nothing. He believed if the Cauſe " was determined by the Legates, " they at Rome would be glad of it; " and if the Emperor ſhould begin a " Suit againſt that, they would ſerve " him, as they now did the King, and " drive off the Time by Delays: So " he put the King on getting Campegio " to judge for him, which ſhould be a " ſhort Work, and he aſſures him no- " thing was to be expected from Rome " but Delays. They had put the " King's Cauſe, if it ſhould be brought " to Rome, in the Hands of two Ad- " vocates, (the ſame that pleaded for " the King afterwards in the Excuſa- " tory Plea.) The Pope would hear " no Diſputation about his Power of " Diſpenſing: But ſo the Pope did not " decide upon that Ground, he would " not care whether the King's Cauſe " was decided upon it or not; and he " believed the Pope was reſolved to " meddle no more in the King's Mat- " ter, but to leave it with the Legates. " He deſired his Letter might not be " ſhewed to either of the Legates; " with that Bearer he ſent over the " Pope's Promiſe, in which he had got " ſome Words to be put, that he " thought favoured the King's Cauſe, " as much, and more than if the De- " cretal Commiſſion, that was in Cam- " pegio's Hands, ſhould be ſhew'd; ſo " he thought the Pope ought to be " more moved in that Matter." The Words he mentioned are, " Cum nos " juſtitiam ejus Cauſæ perpendentes, " We conſidering the Juſtice of his " Cauſe." Theſe are in the Promiſe or Pollicitation, and prove this to be a true Copy, ſince we have an authentick Proof of the very Words, that ſeemed the greateſt Ground to doubt of its Truth.

ABOUT a Fortnight after this Gardiner wrote another Letter to the King. A Motion was then made at Rome for recalling the Powers ſent to the Legates, but he did not think it was made in Earneſt, but only to ſtop the Ambaſſadors in their own Suits. The Pope told them, that the Emperor had advertiſed him, that the Queen would do nothing in the Matter, but as the King ſhould command her; therefore he would look after the Cauſe the more earneſtly. This the Pope ſeemed to tell them that they ſhould not enquire who was the Queen's Proctor. The Ambaſſadors were amazed to ſee by Campegio's Letters that were ſhewed them, that neither he, nor Campanus, had made any Promiſe in the Pope's Name to the King, but only in general Terms; conſidering that they had mentioned the Plenitude of the Pope's Power, which they truſted he would uſe in that Cauſe. He writes he did not ſucceed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained: He lays the Blame on the Pope, or ſome other, but it became not him to faſten that on any (perhaps this pointed at Wolſey); the reſt relates to the Bulls, probably demanded by the Cardinal of his College: This was dated the 4th of May. He had a Letter writ to him a Month before this, by Anne Boleyn, in which ſhe expreſſes a great Senſe of

the

the Service he was doing her. It ſeems by it, that at his firſt coming to Rome, he had great Hopes of Succeſs, but theſe were then much abated.

AT this Time King Henry was writing every Day Letters of Paſſion to that Lady. Some Way or other, they fell into the Hands of thoſe who carried them to Rome, where they lie in the Library of the Vatican. Biſhop Burnet ſays he ſaw them there, and knew King Henry's Hand too well, not to be conviced at firſt Sight that they were wrote by him. He did not think it fit for him to copy them out himſelf, but he prevailed with his worthy Friend Dr. Fall to do it for him. They were very ill wrote, the Hand ſcarce legible, and the French ſeemed faulty: But ſince our Travellers are encourag'd to look on them, he gave a Copy of them to his Printer, to be printed a-part. Objections, he ſays, lay in his Way, even to this, they were trifling Letters; ſome Inſinuations are not very decent, and little Wit occurred in them to ſeaſon them in any Sort; yet they carry the Characters of an honourable Love, directed all to Marriage; and they evidently ſhew that there was nothing amiſs, as to the main Point, in their Commerce: So ſince thoſe at Rome make ſo ill an Uſe of them, as to pretend that they are full of Defilement, and in Deriſion, call them the true Original of our Reformation; all theſe Conſiderations prevailed on him to ſuffer them to be printed a-part, for he did not think it fitting that ſuch Stuff ſhould be mixed with graver Matters; ſo he ordered them to be printed exactly from the Copy, and to take no other Care about them: But as he mentions that Lady, he adds ſome Paſſages out of a Relation made by a Son of Sir Thomas Wyat's, of his Father's Concerns, marked on the Back by a Hand very like Lord Burleigh's. He ſhews how falſe that Story muſt be, of his Father's pretending to King Henry, that he had corrupted her. He was then 'Squire of the Body, and did continue ſtill about his Perſon in that Poſt, except when he was employed in Embaſſies Abroad. This ſhews how incredible that Fiction of Saunders's was; ſince if he had been pretended to make any ſuch Diſcovery, he muſt have fallen either under the King's Jealouſy, or the Queen's Power; or to avoid both, he would have withdrawn himſelf: And probably he would have been ſet up a Witneſs to diſgrace her at her Trial. That Relation adds, that ſhe was ſecretly tried in the Tower. Some of the Lords declared, that her Defence did fully clear her; none of the Women that ſerved her, were brought to witneſs the leaſt Circumſtance againſt her; and all the Evidence upon which ſhe was convicted was kept ſo ſecret, that it was never known. This, the Biſhop ſays, he knows is here put out of its Place, but the Thread of other Things led him into it; and he ſhall have Occaſion to mention this Paper again in Queen Mary's Reign.

THE Biſhop of Bayonne writes, that even after Campegio came into England, both the King and Queen did eat at one Table, and lodged in one Bed. The Queen put on ſo good a Countenance, that to ſee them together one could diſcern no Breach between them: He tells in that Letter, that the Earl of Angus, who was married to the Queen of Scotland, King Henry's Siſter, was come up, being baniſhed out of Scotland, becauſe the Queen had taken another Huſband, who was a handſomer Man than he was, (plus beau compagnon que luy). In his next Letter he writes that Wolſey ſaid to him, that the General of the Cordeliers, that good Prophet, then a Cardinal, had capitulated with the Pope in the Emperor's Name, when the Pope was ſet at Liberty: That Cordelier Cardinal was then to ſail to Spain, he wiſhed the French would ſet out ſome Veſſels to ſeize on him, and draw from him the Particulars of that Treaty; for they knew that in the Articles of that Treaty, the Reaſon that obſtructed the King's Matter would appear. Upon this, after ſome Expoſtulations that the King of France did not help them in it as he might, Wolſey added, that the firſt Project of the Divorce, was ſet on Foot by himſelf to create a perpetual Separation between England and the Houſe of Burgundy; and he told the King's Mother at Campiegne, that if ſhe lived a Year to an End, ſhe would ſee as great an Union with them, and as great a Diſ-union from the other as ſhe could deſire, and bid her lay that up in her Memory.

IN his next he writes, that both the Legates had been with the King and Queen. In Campegio's Speech to the King, he ſet forth his Merits upon the Apoſtolick See with great Pomp. Fox

anſwered

anſwered him decently in the King's Name: The Queen anſwered them more roundly: She ſpoke with reſpect to Campegio, but ſaid, "She thanked "the Cardinal of York for the Trou- "ble ſhe was put to: She had always "wondered at his Pride and Vain- "Glory; ſhe abhorred his voluptuous "Life, and abominable Lewdneſs, and "little regarded his Power and Tyran- "ny: All this roſe from his Malice "to her Nephew, the Emperor, whom "he hated worſe than a Scorpion; be- "cauſe he would not ſatisfy his Am- "bition, and make him Pope. She "blamed him, both for the War, in "which the King was engaged, and "for the Trouble he put her to, by "this new found Doubt." The Cardinal bluſhed, and ſeemed confounded: He ſaid, "He was not the Beginner, "nor the Mover of the Doubt, and "that it was ſore againſt his Will, "that the Marriage was brought into "Queſtion; but ſince the Pope had "deputed him as a Judge to hear the "Cauſe, he ſwore by his Profeſſion, "he would hear it indifferently."

ON the Firſt of November, the Biſhop writes, that the Queen had choſen for her Council, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Bath, Rocheſter, Ely, and Exeter, with the Dean of the Chapel; but of theſe, the Biſhops of London, and Rocheſter, and the Dean of the Chapel, were the only Perſons, that in their Opinion, were of the Queen's Side. She expected an Advocate, a Proctor, and a Counſellor from Flanders. It was not allowed her to bring any over from Spain, for there was then War between England and Spain, but the Netherlands had a Neutrality granted them. "The Biſhops reckoned that the Mar- "riage muſt be condemned; for tho' "the Pope, and all the Cardinals had "approved it, they could not maintain "it, if it was proved, as he was told "it would be, that her former Mar- "riage was conſummated: For in that "Caſe, GOD himſelf had determined "the Matter."

ON the 8th of November he writes, "That Wolſey had asked him if he "could ſay nothing to invalidate the "Pope's Diſpenſation, and to prove "the Marriage unlawful, ſo that the "Pope could not diſpenſe in that Caſe; "ſince nothing could unite the two "Kingdoms ſo entirely, as the carry- "ing on the Divorce muſt do: He "heard he was a great Divine; ſo he "prayed him to ſpeak his Mind freely. "The Biſhop excuſed himſelf; but be- "ing very earneſtly preſſed, he put "his Thoughts in Writing, referring "for theſe to his laſt Letter: He ſent "over a Copy of it to Montmorancy, "and deſired he would ſhew it to the "Biſhop of Bourges, who would ex- "plain it to him. Wolſey deſired that "the King's Mother would write "earneſtly to Campegio, in Favour of "the King's Cauſe. The Biſhop makes "great Excuſes for giving his Opinion "in the Matter; he did not ſign it; "and he gave it only as a private Per- "ſon, and not an Ambaſſador."

ON the 27th of November the Biſhop writes, That he had been with Campegio, and had talked of the Pope's Diſpenſation. Campegio would not bear to hear the Pope's Power brought into Debate: He thought his Power had no Limits, and ſo was unwilling to let that be touched; but he was willing to hear it proved, that the Diſpenſation was ill founded. He gave in that Letter, a Relation of the King's ſending for the Lord Mayor of London, to give the Citizens an Account of the Scruples he had, concerning his Marriage: And he writes, that he had ſaid, the Biſhop of Tarbe was the firſt Perſon that made him entertain them; nor does the Biſhop of Bayonne pretendto call the Truth of that in Queſtion.

THE ſameBiſhop, in his Letter of the 9th of December, writes, "That Anne "Boleyn was then come to Court, "and was more waited on than the "Queen had been for ſome Years: By "this they prepared all People for what "was to follow. The People were "uneaſy, and ſeemed diſpoſed to re- "volt. It was reſolved to ſend all the "Strangers out of the Kingdom; and "it was reckon'd there were above "15900 Flemings in London. So the "driving all theſe away, would not be "eaſily brought about: Care was taken "to ſearch for Arms, and to keep all "quiet. Wolſey in a great Company, "above 100 Perſons of Quality, be- "ing preſent, reported, that the Em- "peror had ſaid, he would drive the "King out of his own Kingdom, by "his own Subjects; one only of all "that Company expreſſed an Indigna- "tion at it: The Advocates that the "Queen expected from Flanders were "come, but had not yet their "Audience."

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IN one of the 20th of December, the Biſhop writes, "That the King "had ſhew'd him what Preſumptions "there were of the Forgery of the "Breve, that they pretended was in "Spain; and upon that he went thro' "the whole Matter ſo copiouſly with "him, that he ſaw he underſtood it "well, and indeed needed no Advo-"cate: He deſired that ſome Opinions "of learned Men in France might be "got, and be ſigned by them, if it "could be obtained.

BUT in the Letter of the 25th of December, it appears there was an Argument of more Weight laid before Campegio; for he was offered Dureſme inſtead of Saliſbury. He ſaid to them who offered it, That the Pope was about to give him a Biſhoprick of that Value in Spain; but the Emperor would not conſent to it. The Lawyers that came from the Netherlands had an Audience of the King, in which they took great Liberties; for they ſaid to him, They wondered to ſee him forſake his antient Friends, and to unite himſelf to his mortal Enemies. They were anſwered very ſharply. They applied themſelves to Campegio with Reſpect, but neglected Wolſey; and after that they had lodged ſuch Advices as were ſent by them, with the Queen, they returned Home.

ON the 25th of January the Biſhop of Bayonne writes, "That the "Court apprehending the Pope was "changing his Meaſures, with Rela-"tion to the King's Affair, had ſent "Gardiner to Rome, to let the Pope "know, that if he did order Campe-"gio to proceed in the Divorce, the "King would withdraw himſelf from "his Obedience: He perceived Wolſey "was in a great Fear; for he ſaw that "if the Thing was not done, the "Blame would be caſt wholly on him, "and there it would end. Sir Tho-"mas Cheyney had ſome Way offend-"ed him, and was for that diſmiſs'd "the Court; but by Anne Boleyn's "Means he was brought back; and "ſhe had upon that Occaſion ſent Wol-"ſey a ſevere Meſſage. The Biſhop had "in a Letter ſent him from Paris, a Liſt "of the College of Cardinals, by "which they reckoned 15 of them "were Imperialiſts; and Campegio is "reckoned among theſe: Eighteen "were of the contrary Party: Three "had not declared themſelves, but "might be gained to either Side; and "Six were abſent. This Canvaſſing "was occaſioned by the Pope's Sick-"neſs; and it was writ as News from "France, that an Engliſhman paſſing "through, and going to Spain, had "reported, with Joy, that there would "be no Divorce, that Campegio ſerv'd "the Pope well, that this was very "acceptable to all the great Men of "England, and that the Blame of all "was laid on Wolſey, whoſe Credit "with the King was ſinking; that he "was not at the Feaſt of St. George, "for which the King had chid him ſe-"verely, he being the Chancellor of "the Order.

IN a Letter of the 22d of May he writes, "That Wolſey was extreme "uneaſy. The Dukes of Norfolk and "Suffolk, and others, made the King "believe, that he did not advance his "Affair ſo much as he could: He "wiſhes that the King of France and "his Mother would make the Duke of "Suffolk deſiſt; for he did not believe, "that he, or the other Duke, would "be able to manage the King as Wol-"ſey had done. They at Court were "alarmed at the laſt News from "Rome; for the Pope ſeemed inclined "to recall the Commiſſion: Upon "which Bennet was ſent thither, to "uſe either Promiſes, or Threatnings, "as he ſhould ſee Cauſe. They preſ-"ſed the Pope to declare the Breve "from Spain null; but he refuſed to "do it." He adds, "That in the "Breve lay one of the moſt impor-"tant Points of the whole Matter: "(Probably that was, that Conſumma-"tion of the former Marriage was "expreſsly affirmed in it.) Wolſey "had preſſed the Biſhop very earneſt-"ly to move his Maſter to concur zea-"louſly to promote the King's Cauſe; "upon which he preſſed Montmoran-"cy, that the King of France ſhould "ſend one to the Pope, to let him "know, that he believed the King's "Cauſe was juſt, and that both King-"doms would withdraw from his Obe-"dience, if Juſtice had been denied. "To this were to be added, all Sorts "of Promiſes when it ſhould be done; "which Wolſey proteſted; ſuch was "his Love to the King; which he "would value much more, than if "they made him Pope. The Point "then to be inſiſted on, was to hin-"der the Recalling the Commiſſion.

BY Letters of the 30th of June, it appears, That Gardiner was returned

from Rome, with the Proofs of the Breves being a Forgery. Campegio was then forced to delay the Matter no longer. The Biſhop of Bayonne had preſs'd Campegio to it, by Authority from the Court of France. On the 13th of July, Caſſali wrote from Rome, that the Pope had recalled the King's Cauſe, at the Emperor's Suit.

BUT Biſhop Burnet ſays, he is now come to give an Account of the Proceedings of the two Legates, in which he muſt correct the Errors of all the Writers of that Time, whom he had too implicitly followed. He goes now, he ſays, upon ſure Grounds; for he has before him the Original Regiſter of their Proceedings, made up with ſuch Exactneſs, that, at the End, the Regiſter and Clerk of the Court do not only atteſt it with their Hands and Marks, but reckoned up the Number of the Leaves, with the Interlinings that are in every Page; and every Leaf is likewiſe ſigned by the Clerk, all in Parchment. This noble Record was lent him by his Reverend and Learn'd Brother Dr. More, Biſhop of Ely, who gathered together a moſt invaluable Treaſure, both of printed Books and Manuſcripts, beyond what one can think that the Life and Labour of one Man could have compaſſed, and which he was as ready to communicate, as he had been careful to collect it.

THE Legates ſat in a Room called the Parliament-Chamber, near the Church of the Black Friars. Their firſt Seſſion was on the 31ſt of May. The Biſhop of Lincoln preſented to them the Bull, by which the Pope empowered them to try and judge the Cauſe concerning the King and Queen's Marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the Iſſue of it was Legitimate or not. The Legates, after the Reading of the Bull, took it into their Hands, and ſaw it was a true and untouched Bull, ſo they took upon them to execute it: And they ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of June; and appointed, that the Biſhop of Lincoln ſhould cite the King, and the Biſhop of Bath and Wells the Queen.

ON the 18th the Form of the Citation was brought before them, in which the Bull was inſerted at full Length, and the two Biſhops certified that they had ſerved the Citation both on the King and Queen, on the 15th; and Sampſon, Dean of the Chapel, and Dr. Bell appeared with a Proxy from the King in due Form; but the Queen appeared Perſonally, and read an Inſtrument, by which ſhe declined the Legates, as not competent Judges, and adhered to an Appeal ſhe had made to the Pope: Upon Reading this, ſhe withdrew; and tho' ſhe was required to return, ſhe had no Regard to it: Upon which they pronounced her Contumacious; and on the 21ſt of June, they ordered the Biſhop of Bath and Wells to ſerve her with a Monition and a Peremptory Citation, certifying, that if ſhe did not appear, they would proceed in the Cauſe. And on the 25th of June, the Biſhop certified upon Oath, that he had ſerved the Citation, but that the Queen adhered to her Proteſtation, ſo ſhe was again judged Contumacious: And as ſhe never came more into the Court, ſo the King was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the Speeches that the Hiſtorians have made for them, are all plain Falſities.

THE next Step made, was, that the Legates exhibited 12 Articles, ſetting forth the whole Progreſs of the Queen's firſt and ſecond Marriage, and of the Diſpenſations obtained from Rome, all grounded upon publick Fame; and the Queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of June. The Biſhop certified upon Oath, that he had ſerved the Queen with the Citation; but ſhe not appearing, was again judged Contumacious, and Witneſſes were ſworn to prove the Articles. The King's Anſwer to the Articles was laid before them; in which, by his Anſwer to the 7th, it appeared, that he was married to the Queen, by Virtue of a Papal Diſpenſation.

ON the 5th of July, the King's Proctors brought the Bull of Pope Julius, diſpenſing with the Impediments in the Marriage, as likewiſe the Copy of the Breve, of which the Original was in Spain, but atteſted very ſolemnly from thence. The Legates ordered more Witneſſes to be ſworn on the 9th of July. In another Seſſion, additional Articles were offered; in which it was ſet forth, that Impediments lay againſt the Marriage, as being prohibited both by the Divine and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; ſo that it could not be maintained by the Diſpenſations, and that they were of no Force, but were Null and Void. Then they ſet forth all the Objections formerly made againſt the Bull; by which it appeared, that the

Pope

Pope was ſurprized by the falſe Suggeſtions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no War, nor Appearance of War, between England and Spain, at that Time. They did alſo ſet forth the Preſumptions on which they concluded that the Breve was not a genuine, but a forged Piece. On the 12th of July, Commiſſion was given to examine the Witneſſes. On the 14th, Additional Articles were brought in; and on the 16th of July, the King's Proctors were required to bring all Inſtruments whatſoever, relating to the Articles, before the Legates; and another Commiſſion was given, to examine ſome abſent Witneſſes.

ON the 19th of July, Publication was made of the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes: By which it appears, that Warham in his Examination ſaid, He referred the Matter of the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, to Divines; but that he himſelf believed, that it was contrary both to the Laws of GOD, and to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and that otherwiſe, there was no Need of a Diſpenſation from the Pope. He confeſſes, That there were great Murmurings againſt the Marriage; for nothing of that Sort had ever been heard of in this Kingdom before; and that he himſelf murmured againſt it, and thought it unnatural; and that he had expoſtulated with the Biſhop of Wincheſter for his adviſing it, but he acquieſced, when the Pope's Diſpenſation was obtained. The Biſhop of Ely depoſed, That he doubted concerning the Conſummation of the Queen's Marriage with Prince Arthur; for the Queen had often, upon her Conſcience, denied it to him: Yet many Witneſſes were brought to prove the Conſummation; ſome, becauſe the Prince and the Queen conſtantly lodged in the ſame Bed; and that Prince Arthur continued in a State of good Health, till the Beginning of Lent: Some inferred it from what they themſelves had done, when they were of his Age; ſome worſe, to Words that he ſpoke next Morning after his Marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other Witneſſes were brought to prove, that there was no War between England and Spain, when the Diſpenſation was granted; but that a free Intercourſe had been kept up between theſe Nations for many Years. It was likewiſe proved, that the Matter ſet forth in the Preamble of the Bull was falſe, and that the Breve was a Forgery. On the 21ſt the Proteſtation the King had made, that he did not intend to marry the Queen, was read and proved. With that, the King's Council cloſed their Evidence, and demanded a Final Sentence: So the 23d of July was aſſigned for concluding the Cauſe.

ON that Day, the King's Proctor moved, that Judgment ſhould be given; but Cardinal Campegio did affirm, on the Faith of a True Prelate, that the Harveſt Vacation was then begun in Rome; and that they were bound to follow the Practice of the Conſiſtory; ſo he adjourned the Court to the 28th of September.

AT the End of every Seſſion, ſome of the Men of Quality are named; and at this Time, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Biſhop of Ely, are only named; which ſeems to contradict what is commonly reported of the Duke of Suffolk's being there, and of what paſſed between him and Cardinal Wolſey. This Record is atteſted by Clayberg the Regiſter, and Watkins the Clerk of the Court. And four Years after that, on the 1ſt of October, Anno 1533, it is alſo atteſted by Dr. Wootton; which he ſays, he does, being required to atteſt it by Clayberg and Watkins. By this Extract, it appears, that Campegio carried on this Cauſe with ſuch a trifling Slowneſs, that if the King had not thought he was ſure of him, he could never have ſuffered ſuch Delays to be made; by which the Cardinal had a Colour from the Vacation, then begun in the Conſiſtory in Rome, to put off the Cauſe, on the Day in which a preſent Sentence was expected. It is very natural to think, that as the King was much ſurprized, ſo he was offended out of Meaſure, when he found he was treated with ſo much Scorn and Falſhood.

ON the 23d of Auguſt a ſad Embroilment happened upon the Duke of Suffolk's returning from France. Wolſey complained to the King that he had done him ill Offices at that Court. Suffolk denied it: The Cardinal ſaid he knew it by the Biſhop of Bayonne: Upon which Suffolk came and challenged him: The Biſhop denied he had ſaid it. Suffolk confeſſed, indeed, he had ſaid ſome Things to his Diſadvantage; but the Biſhop prayed him that the Matter might be carried no further: Yet he offered to deny, in Wolſey's Preſence, that which was charged on

him; but he ſaw that the Duke of Suffolk intended to oblige him to deny it in the King's Preſence. The Biſhop apprehending the ill Effects this might have, reſolved to keep out of the King's way for ſome Time, and he hoped to avoid the being further queſtioned in the Matter: He found both the King and Wolſey deſired that he might make a Journey to Paris, to get the Opinions of the learned Men in the King's Cauſe: He would not undertake it, till he knew whether the King of France approved of it or not: He deſired an Anſwer might be quickly ſent him; adding, that if it was not agreed on by France, it would increaſe the Jealouſies the King had of that Court. He ſaw they deſigned to hold a Parliament in England, and they hoped by that to make the Pope feel the Effects of his Injuſtice.

By the Biſhop's Letter of the 18th of September, it appears, "That Campe-
"gio having got his Revocation, reſolved
"to go to Court, that he might have
"an Audience of Leave; where it
"was thought beſt to diſmiſs him ci-
"villy: In the mean while, Wolſey,
"who ſeemed to be full of Fear, preſ-
"ſed the Biſhop to get the Matter to be
"examined by the Divines; and tho'
"he diſguiſed his Fears, yet he could
"not quite cover them: Some had
"left him whom he had raiſed; (pro-
"bably this was Gardiner:) For he
"united himſelf to the Duke of Nor-
"folk in all Things. The Biſhop of
"Bayonne deſired Leave to go over, on
"the Pretence of his Father's old Age,
"and Weakneſs; but, really, to know
"the Senſe of the French Divines;
"and alſo deſired, that his Brother,
"William de Bellay, might be ſent to
"the Court of England, during his
"Abſence."

On the 4th of October, he writes, "That he ſaw the Parliament was ſet
"to ruin Wolſey. Campegio was well
"treated by the King, and had good
"Preſents at parting; and the King
"deſired that they would uſe him well,
"as he paſſed thro' France; and par-
"ticularly, that they would ſuffer
"him to reſign an Abbey he had there,
"in Favour of his Son. He was ſtopt
"at Dover; for it was ſuſpected that
"he was carrying over Wolſey's Trea-
"ſure.

On the 17th of October, he deſcribes the Cardinal's Fall: "The Biſhop
"thought it was the greateſt Example
"of Fortune that could be ſeen: Both
"Heart and Voice failed him; he wept
"and prayed that the King of France
"and his Mother would pity him, if
"they found that he had been true in
"all that he had promiſed to them:
"His Viſage was quite altered; and
"the Diſgrace was ſo ſudden and hea-
"vy, that even his Enemies pitied
"him: The Biſhop ſaw he would be
"hotly purſued, and that nothing but
"Interceſſions from France could ſave
"him: He did not pretend to conti-
"nue either Legate or Chancellor; he
"ſeemed ready to quit all to his Shirt,
"ſo he might recover the King's Fa-
"vour again: He was capable of no
"Comfort: He propoſed, that the
"French King and his Mother ſhould
"write to the King, to this Purpoſe;
"That they heard of his Diſgrace, and
"of the Deſign to ruin him: That
"they pray'd him not to proceed too
"ſuddenly: He had been a good In-
"ſtrument between them, if there
"was juſt Cauſe for it. His Power
"might be leſſened; but that they
"prayed the King would not carry
"Things to Extremity. The Biſhop
"lays this before Montmorancy, with-
"out preſuming to give Advice in it;
"only he thought this could do no
"Hurt. Whatſoever was done, muſt
"ſeem to be of their own Motion, and
"not coming from a Deſire of the Car-
"dinal; for that would precipitate his
"Ruin. It ſeems, he had received
"great Preſents from the King's Mo-
"ther, of which he hopes ſhe would
"ſay nothing, that might hurt him.
"It was intended, as he thought, on
"his Ruin, to deſtroy the State of the
"Church, and ſeize on their Lands,
"which had been openly talked at
"ſome Tables. If the King of France
"intended to interpoſe in his Favour,
"no Time was to be loſt. Anne Bo-
"leyn, as it was believed, had got a
"Promiſe of the King, that he would
"not admit him to a Private Audience,
"leſt that might be get ſome Pity in
"him.

On the 22d of October, he wrote, "That all his Goods were ſeized on,
"and that his Spirit was quite ſunk.
"It was not known who ſhould have
"the Great Seal; it was believed it
"would no more be put into a Prieſt's
"Hands; but he ſaw Gardiner was
"like to have a great Share in Affairs.
"The Gardinal's Goods that were
"ſeized on, were valued at 500,000
Crowns.

" Crowns. More, who had been Chan-
" cellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter,
" was made Lord Chancellor. The
" See of York was to be left in his
" Hands; and ſome of his Goods were
" to be ſent back to him. The Biſhop
" did apprehend, that if the New Mi-
" niſtry did not agree, which he be-
" lieved they would not do long, he
" might be brought back to Court
" again."

UPON his going to York, he behaved himſelf much better than he had done in the former Parts of his Life. In a Book that was printed in the Year 1536, entitled A Remedy for Sedition, writ by one that was no Friend to Popery; this Character is given of the laſt Part of Wolſey's Life. " None was
" better beloved than he, after he had
" been there a while. He gave Biſhops
" a good Example, how they might
" win Mens Hearts. There were few
" Holidays, but he would ride five
" or ſix Miles from his Houſe; now
" to this Pariſh Church, now to that;
" and there, cauſe one of his Doctors
" to make a Sermon unto the People:
" He ſat among them, and ſaid Maſs
" before all the Pariſh. He ſaw why
" Churches were made, and began to
" reſtore them to their right and pro-
" per Uſe. If our Biſhops had done
" ſo, we ſhould have ſeen, that Preach-
" ing the Goſpel is not the Cauſe of
" Sedition, but rather Lack of Preach-
" ing it. He brought his Dinner with
" him, and bad divers of the Pariſh to
" it. He enquired if there was any
" Debate, or Grudge between any of
" them; if there were, after Dinner
" he ſent for the Parties to the Church,
" and made them all one."

IT may ſeem ſtrange, that when the Biſhop of Bayonne firſt ſuggeſted to Wolſey, that if the King's Marriage was againſt the Law of God, the Pope's Diſpenſation could be of no Force; yet no Inferences were made from this. All our Writers give Cranmer the Honour of having ſtarted that firſt; and they make that the Foundation of his Advancement. Biſhop Burnet ſays, He can ſee no other Way to reconcile all this, but that it may be ſuppoſed Wolſey, as true to the Intereſts of the Papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in Publick; and that he kept this between the Biſhop of Bayonne and himſelf, without communicating it to the King: Now the Cauſe was called away to Rome, and ſo a new Proceſs followed with a very ſlow Progreſs: Delays upon Delays were granted; and yet all was precipitated in Concluſion.

IN the mean while, the King ſent his Queſtion to the Faculties of the Law and Divinity, in the ſeveral Univerſities of Europe: And underſtanding that Martin de Bellay, the Elder Brother of the Biſhop of Bayonne, diſtinguiſhed by the Title of Sieur de Langey, had great Credit in the Univerſities, both in France, Italy, and Germany; he engaged him to procure their Opinions upon the Point of the Unlawfulneſs of his Marriage: Who in the View of this Service, prevailed with the King, to lend the King of France 150,000 Crowns, being to be advanced as a Part of the Two Millions, that he was to Pay for the Redemption of his Sons; which was to be repaid to King Henry in five Years. Beſides, he aſſigned over to him the Forfeiture due by the Emperor, for not marrying his Daughter: And he ſent in a Preſent to his God-Son Henry, afterwards King of France, a Jewel, with ſome of that which was believed to be the True Croſs, that had been left in Pawn with the King, by Philip, Charles's Father, for 50,000 Crowns: So ready was the King to engage the King of France into his Intereſt, at no ſmall Charge to himſelf.

OUR Author comes next to open the Tranſactions in the Convocation that was ſummoned to meet on the 5th of November, 1529, two Days after the Opening of the Parliament. At their Firſt Meeting, a Reformation of Abuſes was propoſed: And with that, an Enquiry was made concerning Heretical Books. A Committee of Biſhops was appointed with Relation to Hereticks. On the 19th of December, Secreſy was enjoined, and that was again a ſecond Time enjoined under the Pain of Excommunication: Then the Prolocutor came up, and had ſecret Conference with the Upper Houſe. They remitted to the King, the Loan that they had made him; and they put an End to that Work on Chriſtmaſs-Eve, a Week after the Parliament was riſen.

THE Biſhops were much offended at the Tranſlations of the New Teſtament by Tindall, Joyce, and others: and proceeded againſt thoſe that read them: Yet it was not eaſy to put a Stop to the Curioſity and Zeal of the People. The King came to the Star-Chamber, and conferred with the Biſhops,

and other learnd Men on this Subject: The Biſhops ſaid theſe Tranſlations were not true, and complained of the Prologues ſet before them; ſo the King commanded, by a Proclamation, iſſued and printed in June, 1530, that theſe Tranſlations ſhould be called in, and promiſed that a new one ſhould be made. On this Occaſion it was not unfit to mention what Dr. Fulks writes, that he heard Miles Coverdale ſay, in a Sermon he preached at St. Paul's-Croſs. After he had finiſhed his Tranſlation, ſome cenſured it: Upon which King Henry ordered divers Biſhops to peruſe it: After they had it long in their Hands he aſked their Judgment of it; they ſaid there were many Faults in it: But he aſked upon that, if there were any Hereſies in it; they ſaid, they found none: Then ſaid the King, In GOD's Name, let it go Abroad among my People. The Time is not marked when this was ſaid, and therefore it is inſerted here: For in the Beginning of the following Year, the King ordered a Bible of the largeſt Volume to be had in every Church, but it does not appear to Biſhop Burnet by whom it was tranſlated.

ON the 19th of September, 1530, another Proclamation was made againſt all who ſhould purchaſe any Thing from the Court of Rome, contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to hinder his intended Purpoſes. The Convocation was again brought together, about the 7th of January; their greateſt Buſineſs was to purchaſe their Pardon; for as the Cardinal had fallen under a Præmunire, by the Act of the 16th of Richard the IId; ſo they were generally involved, more or leſs, in the ſame Guilt: The Sum was ſoon agreed to, with the Conſent of the Lower Houſe; 100,000 l. was to be their Ranſom.

ON the 7th of February, ſome of the King's Counſellors and Judges came and conferred with them about ſome Words that were to be put in the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy; which were theſe, The King who is the Protector, and the only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England. Upon this, the Prolocutor and Clergy were called up to confer about it: The Lord Chief Juſtice, with others, came into the Convocation, and conferred with the Archbiſhop and his Brethren: The next Day the Prolocutor deſired a further Time, and the Archbiſhop aſſigned them One o'Clock: Then the Archbiſhop had ſome Diſcourſe with them concerning the King's Pardon: Some of the Judges came and communicated to them a Copy of the Exceptions in the Act of Grace: This was in the 23d Seſſion: In the 24th Seſſion, there was yet further Talk about the King's Supremacy.

THE Judges came and aſk'd them, Whether they were agreed upon the Exceptions; and added, that the King would admit of no Qualifications: When theſe were gone, the Prolocutor came up and aſk'd yet more Time; the Archbiſhop appointed Two o'Clock the ſame Day; a long Debate followed. The next Day the Archbiſhop had a Conference with the Biſhops, and Cromwell came and had ſome Diſcourſe with him; when he went away, the Biſhop reſolved to ſend the Biſhops of Lincoln and Exeter to the King, it ſeems, to ſoften him; but they came back, and reported, that the King would not ſpeak with them; they had no Orders to ſettle the King's Pardon, 'till the Afternoon, and then there was ſo great a Variety of Opinions, that no Agreement was like to follow. The Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's Father, was ſent by the King with ſome Expedients: The Archbiſhop directed them to conſider of theſe, and that when they were come to a Reſolution upon them, that they ſhould ſend Three or Four of each Houſe to treat with the King's Council, and with the Judges: But the King would admit of no Treaty, and aſk'd a clear Anſwer. It was put off a Day longer, and on the 11th of February, the Article was thus conceived in Latin, Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani ſingularem Protectorem & unicum & Supremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet, etiam Supremum Caput, ipſius Majeſtatem Recogniſcimus." In Engliſh thus, "We recognize the "King's Majeſty to be our only Sovereign Lord, the ſingular Protector "of the Church and Clergy of England, and as far as is to be allowed "by the Law of Chriſt likewiſe our "Supreme Head.

THE Form being thus agreed on, the Archbiſhop offered it to the whole Body: All were ſilent, upon which he ſaid, Whoever is ſilent ſeems to conſent: To this one anſwered, Then we are all ſilent. The Meeting was put off 'till the Afternoon; and then after a long Conference, all of the Upper Houſe

Houſe agreed to it, none excepted: Fiſher is expreſly named as preſent; and in the Evening the Prolocutor came and ſignified to the Archbiſhop, that the Lower Houſe had alſo conſented to it; and thus the Bill of Subſidy was repaired and offered to the King on the 1ſt of April. Thus this Matter was carried, by adding this Limitation, which all Parties underſtood, according to their different Notions.

THOUGH theſe Words of Limitation had not been added, the Nature of Things required that they ſhould have been ſuppoſed; ſince among Chriſtians, all Authority muſt be underſtood to be limited by the Laws that Chriſt has given: But thoſe who adher'd to their former Notions underſtood this Head-ſhip to be only a Temporal Authority, in Temporal Matters: And they thought that by the Laws of Chriſt, the Secular Authority ought not to meddle in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; whereas others of the new Learning, as it was then called, thought that the Magiſtrate had a full Authority, even in Eccleſiaſtical Matters: But that the Adminiſtration of this, was ſo limited to the Laws of the Goſpel, that it did not warrant him to command any Thing, but what was conform to theſe, ſo that theſe Words were Equivocal, and differently underſtood by thoſe who ſubſcribed, and afterwards ſwore them.

IT ſeems the King thought it was a great Advantage to him, to have this Matter ſettled with any Limitation: For that in Time would be dropt and forgotten, as indeed it was: This, no Doubt, was intended to terrify the Court of Rome, ſince it was publiſhed over all Europe, that it went unanimouſly in the Convocation of this Province.

Tonſtal was now tranſlated to Dureſme; and being a Man of great Probity, he could not at firſt approve of a Thing in which he ſaw a fraudulent Management, and an ill Deſign; ſo he proteſted againſt it: He acknowledged the King's Head-ſhip in Temporal Matters, but did not allow it in Spirituals; but the King who had a particular Friendſhip for him, wrote him a Letter, which ſo far ſatisfy'd him, that he took the Oath afterwards, without any Limitation.

BY the reſt of the Abſtract of that Convocation, it will appear what was the Spirit that prevailed among them. In the 49th Seſſion, after all had agreed to the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy, the Biſhop of London laid before them a Libel againſt the Clergy: In the next Seſſion, Crome, Latimer, and Bilney, were examined upon ſome Articles: It does not appear whether the Libel was laid to their Charge, or not; only their Examination following the other Motion ſo ſoon, gives Ground to apprehend, that it might be the Matter under Examination. In the 55th Seſſion, the Emendations, that the King's Council had made, were read to them, in which it ſeems they acquieſced, for we hear no more of it.

AFTER that, there was a long Conference, with Relation to Crome's Errors: But the Matter was preferred to the Prolocutor and the Clergy. The Prolocutor had in the 45th Seſſion, complained of Tracy's Teſtament, but no Anſwer being made he renewed his Complaint in the 62d Seſſion, and deſired that it might be condemned, and that Crome ſhould be proceeded againſt; as alſo that Bilney and Latimer might be cited: But for ſome Reaſons not expreſſed, the Archbiſhop thought fit to delay it. In the 64th Seſſion, the Prolocutor repeated his Motion for condemning Tracy's Teſtament; ſo in the 66th Seſſion, on the 23d of March, the Archbiſhop gave Judgment againſt it; Tracy's Son was examined about it: He ſaid, it was all written in his Father's Hand; and that he had never given a Copy to any Perſon except to one only. In the 69th Seſſion, the Archbiſhop examined Lambert, (alias Nicolſon, who was afterwards burnt,) before two Notaries; and in the 70th Seſſion, the Sentence condemning Tracy's Teſtament was publickly read; and, after two other Seſſions, the Convocation was prorogued to October.

IT appears from all this, that the Convocation was made up of Men violently ſet againſt our Reformation: But our Author now turns to another Scene. The King ſeeing no Hope left of ſucceeding in his Suit at the Court of Rome, reſolved to try the Faculties of Divinity in the ſeveral Univerſities: His chief Reliance was upon France, and on thoſe three Brothers formerly mentioned: He began to ſuſpect there was ſome ſecret Negotiation between the Court of Rome and the King of France; yet tho' he opened this to the Biſhop of Bayonne, he did on all other Occaſions expreſs an entire Confidence in

in that King: And the new Miniſtry ſeemed zealous in the Intereſts of France, and ſtudied to remove all the Jealouſies that they apprehended Wolſey might have given of them.

AT this Time, the Biſhop of Tarbe, then Cardinal Grandimont, was with the Pope; and had a particular Charge ſent to him to aſſiſt the Engliſh Ambaſſadors: He wrote to the French King on the 27th of March, "That "he had ſerved Boleyn, then Lord "Rochford, all he could; that he had "preſſed the Pope to ſhew the Regard "he had to the King of France, as well "as to the King of England: He "writes that the Pope had three ſeve-"ral Times declared to him in ſecret, "that he wiſhed that the Marriage had "been already made in England, ei-"ther by the Legate's Diſpenſation or "otherwiſe, provided it was not done "by him, nor in Diminution of his "Authority, under the Pretence of "the Laws of GOD. He alſo wrote, "that the Emperor had preſſed the "Pope to create ſome new Cardinals "upon his Recommendation: But that "the Pope complained, that when he "was a Priſoner, he had made ſome "Cardinals who were a Diſgrace to "the College: The Emperor ſaid, he "was ſorry for it, but it was not by "his Order. The Pope ſaid, he knew "the contrary, for he ſaw the Inſtruc-"tions ſent to the Cardinal Cordelier, "ſigned by the Emperor, in which "they were nam'd: So the Pope re-"fuſed to give the two Caps that he "deſired.

THERE was then an Italian, Joachim Sieur de Veaux, at the Court of England, who was an Agent of France: He in a Letter to the King of France, March the 15th, writes, That the King thought that by his Means he might have the Opinion of the Faculty at Paris, in his Cauſe. On the 4th of April he writes, that the King expected no Good from the Pope, and ſeemed reſolved to ſettle his Matter at Home, with the Advice of his Council and Parliament. He looked on the Pope as Simonical, and as an ignorant Man, and not fit to be the Univerſal Paſtor; and reſolved not to ſuffer the Court of Rome to have any Advantage from the Benefices in his Kingdom, but to govern it by a Provincial Authority, and by a Patriarch; and he hoped other Kingdoms would do the ſame.

AFTER ſome Intervals, the Biſhop of Bayonne's Letters are again continued. In one of the 29th of December, he writes, "That the King was "marvellouſly well pleaſed with the "Account his Ambaſſadors wrote to "him, of what the Divines of Paris "had done; tho' he underſtood there "is one Beda, a dangerous Perſon "among them. That Declaration "which their Divines had made, was "ſuch, that all other Things were for-"given, in Conſideration of it.

THE next Letter is from his Brother William, who writes, "That "the good Anſwer that came from "the Doctors and Univerſities of Ita-"ly, made the King wonder that thoſe "of Paris were ſo backward. It was "ſuſpected in England, that the King "of France, or his Counſellors, had "not recommended the Matter effec-"tually to them. He had a Letter "from one Gervais, a Doctor there, "who had made him great Acknow-"ledgments. He ſhewed this Letter "to King Henry; who, upon that, "carried him to his Cloſet where his "Books lay, and there he entertained "him four Hours: He told him, he "was in ſuch Perplexity, that it was "not poſſible for him to live long "in it.

THIS De Bellay was to go to Paris, to talk with the Doctors; therefore he prayed Montmorancy, that he might find a Letter from the King empowering him ſo to do; that ſo he might not ſeem to act without his Orders; and he promiſed to manage the Matter with Direction.

In a Letter that the Biſhop of Bayonne wrote from Luſignon, on the 18th of April, where he was then with the French King, he writes, That the Matter of the Divorce was entirely diſpatched at Paris as it had been before that done at Orleans, by his Brother's Means. But he adds, ſome repreſented to the King, that he had ſhewed too much Diligence in procuring it, as if he was ſerving two Maſters. Joachim had before that, on the 15th of February, written to the King, that King Henry thanked him for his Commands to the Doctors in Paris in his Matter, which he laid to Heart more than all other Things; and deſired they would give their Opinions in Writing, that they might be laid before the Pope.

IT

IT does not appear, that the Pope took any other Pains to be well informed in the Matter, but the conſulting Cardinal Cajetan, who was then juſtly eſteemed the learnedeſt Man of the College. He, when he wrote Commentaries upon Thomas's Summ, tho' that Father of the School-Men thought, that the Laws in Leviticus concerning the Degrees of Marriage that are prohibited, were moral, and of eternal Obligation Cajetan, in his Commentary, declares himſelf to be of another Mind, but takes a very odd Method to prove it: For inſtead of any Argument to evince it, he goes only on this Ground: That they cannot be moral, ſince the Popes diſpenſed with them, whereas they cannot diſpenſe with a moral Law. And for that he gives an Inſtance of the Marriage of the King of Portugal; to which he adds, the preſent Queen of England had likewiſe conſummated her Marriage, with the late Brother of the King of England her Huſband. By which, as it appears that they took it then for granted at Rome, that her firſt Marriage with Prince Arthur was conſummated, ſo he departed only from Aquinas's Opinion, becauſe the Pope's Practice of Diſpenſing in ſuch Caſes, could not be juſtify'd, unleſs he had forſaken his Maſter in that Particular. And here he offers neither Reaſon nor Authority to maintain his Opinion, but only the Practice of the Court of Rome, which is, in plain Words, to ſay, That what Opinion ſoever is contrary to the Practice of the Popes, muſt for that Reaſon be laid a-ſide: For he offers no other Argument, but three modern Inſtances, of which this of the Queen of England is one, of Popes diſpenſing with thoſe Laws: But now being required by the Pope to conſider the preſent Caſe more particularly, he, on the 13th of March this Year, gave his Opinion in Writing to him. Raynaldus has inſerted it in his Annals. In it, after he had compared the Laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy together, he concludes, "That the Marrying a Bro-
"ther's Wife was ſimply unlawful;
"but that in ſome Circumſtances it
"might have been good, if a much
"greater Good ſhould follow on ſuch
"a Marriage, than that provided for
"in Deuteronomy, of continuing the
"Name of a Brother dead with our
"Children. Now he argues, that the
"Reaſon of a Proviſion made in a pri-
"vate Caſe, would be much ſtronger
"in a Caſe of a publick Nature: So
"that a Marriage being made to keep
"Peace between two Nations, muſt be
"held lawful, ſince a Diſpenſation was
"attained for it. This was not only
"good in itſelf but it was warranted
"by the Apoſtolical Authority. He
"confeſſes, that the Pope cannot in
"the leaſt alter or derogate from the
"Laws of GOD, or of Nature: But
"in doubtful Caſes, he may determin
"with Relation to the Laws of GOD
"and of Nature: He inſiſts chiefly
"upon England's being delivered from
"a War by the Marriage. He ac-
"knowledges that both Councils,
"Popes and Holy Doctors, have con-
"demned ſuch Marriages, as contrary
"to the Laws of GOD and Nature;
"but they do not condemn them
"when other Circumſtances accompa-
"ny them, when it is for the Good
"of both Parties, and for a common
"Good; and therefore he juſtifies Pope
"Julius's Diſpenſation." Who, as the ſame Raynaldus tells us, did it with the View of the Advantages that Spain and England would have; but chiefly becauſe it was hoped, that by this Conjuction of Force, they would be able to depreſs the French.

THIS Opinion of ſo great a Man, was ſent over to King Henry, ſigned by himſelf, bearing Date the 27th of January, 1534; but this Date is perhaps only the Date of his Signing that Copy. It had not the Effect they expected from it, eſpecially becauſe it was defective in the Way of Writing, that was then the moſt cried up againſt Hereticks. For he brought no Authority from any antienter Writing to confirm his Opinion: So he argued, from his private Way of Commenting on Scripture, againſt the Streams of Tradition, which was called the Hereticks Way of Writing.

THE Pope made a new Step on the 7th of March; for he ſent a Breve to the King, ſetting forth a Complaint made by Queen Catharine, "That
"King Henry intended to proceed to
"a ſecond Marriage; he therefore pro-
"bited that under the Pain of the ſe-
"vereſt Cenſures, threatening to put
"the whole Kingdom under an Inter-
"dict; and charged the King, in the
"ſolemneſt Manner, to live with the
"Queen as formerly:" This was granted at Bologne, upon the Emperor's preſſing Inſtances. This had been

attempted before, but was afterwards disowned by the Pope: For when the Avocation was sent over to England, there was sent with it an Inhibition, to proceed further in the Matter; threatening Censures and Punishments, in Case of Disobedience: But Complaint being made of this, the Pope did, by a Bull, dated the 5th of October, 1529, declare, that the Censures threatened in the Inhibition, were added against his Mind, so he annuls them, and suspends the Cause on the 25th of December.

IN a Letter that the Cardinal Grandmont wrote to Montmorancy, he tells him, that the Emperor said he would have the Matter of the Marriage carry'd through: If it was judged unlawful, he would support her. And when Boleyn once offered to answer him, he stopt him, and said, He was a Party, and ought not to speak in the Matter. The Cardinal told Boleyn, he had Orders from the King of France to solicit that Matter as if it was his own; but Boleyn thought it was best to look on for some Time, to see how Matters went; for if the Pope and the Emperor should fall into new Quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard.

ON the 12th of June, Bellay wrote to the King a long Account of his Proceedings with the Doctors of the Sorbonne; by which, it seems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving Opinion in the King's Favour, was only as private Doctors, and not in a Body, as a Faculty. "The young Princes "of France were yet detained in "Spain; so it was necessary to pro-"ceed with such Cauton, as not to ir-"ritate the Emperor. He had delay'd "moving in it for some Days; but the "English Ambassadors were Impatient. "He complains, that there were few "honest Men in the Faculty, but ap-"prehending the Inconvenience of de-"laying the Matter any longer, he "presented the King's Letter to them. "The Assembly was great; the Bishop "of Senlis, several Abbots and Deans, "the Guardians of the Four Mendi-"cal Orders, and many others, were "present; so that of a great while "there had not been so numerous an "Assembly. The Proposition was "made on King Henry's Part, with "great Advantage: An express Law "in the Scripture was quoted; the "four great Doctors of the Church, "eight Councils, and as many Faculties or Universities, were of his Side; "so, in Respect to them, the King de-"sired they would determine the Mat-"ter, in the Doctrinal Way. The "Emperor, on the other Hand, who "was likewise the King's Ally, oppos'd "the Divorce; the Queen of England "being his Aunt: For he thought "himself bound to interpose on her "Account. So the King being press'd "by two Allies, who both were re-"solved to be governed by the Laws "of GOD, and of right Reason, laid "the whole Matter before them, who "were now assembled in an extraordi-"nary Manner, and enjoined them to "recommend themselves to GOD, and, "after a Mass of the HOLY GHOST, "to consider that which was to laid "out to them, without Fear or Fa-"vour; and after full Consideration, to determine it as GOD should "inspire their Consciences. This was "the Substance of Bellay's Speech. "Beda spoke next: He said, They all "knew how much the King studied "to please the King of England. Ma-"ny Strangers that were of the Facul-"ty seemed to applaud this. Bellay "reply'd, There was certainly a great "Friendship between the two Kings: "The Emperor was likewise the King's "Ally: But they ought to have GOD "only before their Eyes, and to search "for the Truth. And having said "that he withdrew.

"Those who spoke first, thought "the King's Desire was reasonable, "and that therefore they ought to ex-"amine the Matter: This could not "be refused, if asked, on the Behalf "of the meanest Person. Others said, "the Faculty was subject to the Pope, "from whom they had their Privi-"leges: And since this Question rela-"ted to his Power, they ought not to "speak of it, till they sent to know "his Mind; or at least 'till they sent "to know how the King approved of "it, and if he would ask the Pope's "Leave, to suffer them to debate "about it. Another Party moved, "that while their Letters were dis-"patched to that Purpose, they should "proceed to examine the Question, "but supposed the coming to a final "Resolution, 'till an Answer was "brought them. They said, they "thought that they had their Privi-"leges from the King, as well as from "the Pope; and that it was a Reflec-"tion on the Pope, to imagine he

"would

" would be offended, if they ſhould " examine a Caſe, in which the Con- " ſcience of a Chriſtian was diſquieted, " and even an Order from the Pope to " the contrary, ought not to reſtrain " them from examing the Matter: Up- " on theſe different Opinions, the Bea- " dle began to gather their Votes; " whether they ought to proceed to " examine the Queſtion, or not; but " one of the Doctors roſe from his " Place, and plucked the Scroll out of " the Beadle's Hands, and tore it in " Pieces; and ſo they all roſe up in a " Tumult, crying out, that nothing " ought to be done, without writing " firſt to the King, and then to the " Pope. Thus the Meeting broke up " in Confuſion: The Engliſh Ambaſſa- " dors were near enough to ſee and " hear all this. They ſaid, they knew " this was laid by Beda and his Party: " Bellay did not then think ſo, and " prevailed with them not to write to " England 'till he tried what might be " done. He went to Lizet, the Firſt " Preſident of the Court of Parlia- " ment, to whom the King in eſpecial " Manner, had recommended the man- " aging of that Affair. Lizet ſent to " Beda, and other his Accomplices, " and prevailed with them to meet " again the next Day, and to proceed " according to the third Opinion, " which was, to diſcuſs the Queſtion " proviſionally, and to ſeal up their " Concluſion, and ſend it to the King: " So next Morning they met, and ap- " pointed to begin the Monday fol- " lowing, to examine the Queſtion.

" THIS did not ſatisfy the Engliſh " Ambaſſadors; they thought this was " only an Artifice to gain Time; and " indeed, they had juſt Ground of " Suſpicion from what ſeveral of the " Doctors did only talk. Bellay there- " fore deſired the King to write to the " Dean, that he would cut of imper- " tinent Digreſſions, and bring the " Matter to as ſpeedy a Concluſion as " was poſſible; for ſome ſaid they " would make it laſt a Year, Beda " did give it out, that he knew what " he did was for the King's Service: " Of this he made no Secret. Bellay " complaining of this to Lizet, he ſent " for Beda, and ſpake earneſtly to him, " that he ſwore very poſitively, he " would be ſo far from hindring the " Doctors from obeying the King's " Commands, that he would imploy " himſelf, as if it were for the ſaving " of his Life, to get the Matter to " paſs without Noiſe or Scandal: But " Bellay ſaw, that the Preſident truſted " him, ſo he did Acquieſce, though he " knew that by the Noiſe he had " already made, he had broke a Pro- " miſe, which he had made to Mont- " morency. The Biſhop of Senlis was " very ſenſible of the Diſorders of that " Body: It appearing, that the Engliſh " Ambaſſadors did ſuſpect the Court " of France was dealing doubly in the " Matter: The Biſhop of Senlis was " reſolved to go to the King, and let " him ſee how Matters were managed " in that Faculty, and to ſhew him the " Neceſſity of reforming them.

AT this Time the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency, that they wondred to find the Faculty was ſo much altered, that before the 56 Doctors were in their Opinion on the King's Side, and there were only ſeven againſt him: But that in the late Congregation, 36 were againſt it, and 22 only were for it. The King of England had Reaſon upon this, to ſuſpect ſome underhand Dealings; therefore he hop'd they would manage the Matter, as to clear all Suſpicions.

THE next Letters of de Bellay, did certainly give the Progreſs of the Deliberations of the Sorbonne; but we find Nothing of that in Le Grand's Collection. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, and may be liable to Suſpicion, that after ſo cloſe a Series of Letters concerning that Affair, no Letter is produced from the 12th of June, to the 15th of Auguſt: Thus we have no Account given us of the Deliberations of the Sorbonne, and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular Relation was written to the Court of every Step that was made in it. The producing no Letters for theſe two Months, muſt leave a very heavy Suſpicion of unfair Dealings ſomewhere: For the firſt Letter of de Bellay's, that is publiſhed by him, after that of the 12th of June, is of the 15th of Auguſt.

RYMER has publiſhed the original Diciſion of the Sorbonne, on the 2d of July 1530. but he adds avulſo ſigillo; yet after that, he publiſhes an Atteſtation of the Notaries of the Court of Paris (Curiæ Pariſienſis) of the Authenticalneſs of this Original Diciſion. The Atteſtation of the Notaries, dated the 6th of July, mentions both Seal and Subſcription, free from all Blemiſh, and liable to no Suſpicion. It is probably, this

this Precaution was thought Neceſſary, in Caſe the Meſſenger, that was to carry it to England, had fallen into the Hands of any of the Emperor's Parties, in their Way to Calais, who, no doubt, would have deſtroyed this Inſtrument: But this notorial Atteſtation, would have been a full Proof of it, for the Difficulties in obtaining it, might make thoſe who had not conducted the Matter, think it would be no eaſy Thing to procure a new Inſtrument from the Sorbonne itſelf. How it came the Seal was pulled from the Inſtrument itſelf, muſt be left to Conjecture, perhaps it was pulled from it in Queen Mary's Time.

" Bellay, in his Letter of the 15th " of Auguſt, writes, that he had moved " Lizet to ſend for Beda, and to let " him know the King's Intentions: " Beda talked as a Fool, he would not " ſay as an ill Man: But the Preſident " was poſſeſſed of a good Opinion of " him: The King of France, had at " the Earl of Wiltſhire's Deſire, or- " dered an Examination to be made of " his Behaviour: He had alſo, ordered " the Preſident to demand of the Beadle " an authentick Copy of an Act, that " Beda had once ſigned, but then wiſh- " ed he had not ſigned it: But Lizet " would not command the Beadle to do " this, 'till he had the Conſent of the " Faculty to give it, though he had " an Order from the King to require " it. So Bellay, having got the King's " Letter, went to the Preſident, and " delivered it to him: He promiſed he " would execute it, and get the au- " thentick Copy into his Hands: To- " wards the Evening, he went to the " Preſident to ſee what he had done: " He ſaid, the Beadle told him, he " could not get it without the Conſent " of the Faculty: Upon which, Bel- " lay ſaid, that might be a Rule, in " caſe a private Perſon asked it; but " when the Prince demanded it, he " thought it was not a juſt Excuſe. The " Act which was demanded, was ap- " proved by the Faculty, by the Dean, " and the Students, and by all con- " cerned in it: The Beadle pretended, " that it might be ſaid, that he had " falſify'd the Act: Bellay anſwered, " that was the Reaſon they deſired the " Act. He was preſent when it paſſed, " and had minuted it; but ſince Beda " and his Complices repented, that " they had ſigned it, and that the " Minute they had ſigned, was in " ſome Places daſhed and interlined, " they might make new Daſhings and " Interliniations, therefore he prayed " the Preſident to command the Beadle " to bring him the Minute, that he " ſaid was conform to the Original: " For an Hour together the Preſident " would do no more, but deſire the " Beadle to do it; at laſt, he com- " manded him, but ſo mildly, that the " Beadle did not think fit to obey him; " upon which, Bellay ſaid to him, if " he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo treated, " he was unworthy of the Character " he bore: This quickened Lizet, ſo, " that he commanded the Beadle, all " Excuſes ſet aſide, to obey him. " The Act was brought and read, and " he promiſed to bring him a Copy of " it by the next Morning: The Preſi- " dent thought, that Bellay had ſpoken " too boldly to him, and he would not " let him have it, but ſent it directly " to the King. Lizet had that Eſteem " for Beda, that he thought him a " Saint, and he would not believe him " capable of the Faults, that he ſaw " him guilty of, which were ſuch, that " Bellay wrote, that if he had been to be " charged with them, and had a Dozen of " Heads, he had deſerved to loſe them " all. He writes, that Beda was the " only bad Man of the Faculty, he " had many Companions, who ſeem to " deſire an Occaſion to provoke the " King to do that to them, which " would make them paſs for Martyrs " among the People. He had often " heard of their wicked Deſigns, un- " der the hypocritical Diſguiſe of Sin- " cerity, but could not have believed " the tenth Part, if he had not ſeen it.

Next to this, we have in Le Grand's Collection, the Letter that Lizet wrote to Montmorency of the ſame Date, " mentioning, that according to the " King's Letters to him, he had pro- " cured the Copy of the Act, which " the King of England deſired: For " though the Biſhop of Bayonne asked " it of him, that he might carry it to " that King, yet that not being order- " ed in the King's Letters to him, he " therefore though it his Duty to ſend " it directly to the King himſelf: And " as touching the Examination, that " the King had ordered to be made of " the Conduct of that Matter; he de- " ſired it may be delayed, 'till he was " heard give an Account of it: For " that Information would perhaps be " a Prejudice, rather that a Service

" to

" to the King of England: In it he " desires to know the King's Pleasure, " that he might follow it as carefully " as was possible.

THE Bishop of Bayonne gives a further Account of this Matter, and writes, " That after the Assembly of " Sorbonne was dismissed by the Dean, " and that the Bishop of Senlis, with " many Abbots, and nine or ten either " Generals, Provincials, Guardians, " or Priors of the Chief Convent of " the Kingdom, and others of great " Rank and Credit were gone, Beda " and his Accomplices did, by their " own private Authority, meet, and " study to overturn that which had " been settled in so great an Assembly. " He writes, that this Disease was of a " long Continuance, and was still in- " creasing. The Company pretending " they were a Capitular Congregation, " sent an Order to the Bishop of Sen- " lis, who was gone into his Diocese, " and had carried the original Act of " the Determination with him, re- " quiring him under the Pain of Dis- " obedience, to send it to them: He " wrote in Answer to them, That he " had Orders to deliver it to none but " to the King: He was resolved to " obey the King's Orders, and advised " them to do the same: Upon which " they moved to deprive him as a Re- " bel to the Faculty: He was not " frightened with this, but wrote to " them, that he was bound to obey " the Faculty as his Mother, but to " obey the King as his Father: Yet " they resolved to proceed farther after " the Feasts." In this Letter he tells what Pains his Brother had taken to prevent the Scandal that such Proceedings would give, which were better hindered than punished: But he complains that those who had Authority to restrain such Insolencies, did secretly encourage them. By which it is clear he means Lizet. The Date of this Letter is printed the 14th of August; but it is more probable it was the 14th of July, some Days after the Determination was made: For this Matter has no Relation to the Business of the former Letter, that was written by his Brother, a Day after this, if it is the true Date.

IT is plain from this, that there were two Instruments: The one was the Act of Determination, which, at the Time of the writing this Letter, was in the Bishop of Senlis's Hands: The other was a Minute, signed by them all, to which the former Letter relates; and that might have had Rasures and Glosses in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the Authentick Act: It seems the English Ambassadors desired both.

THERE is another Letter on the 15th of August, of the Bishop of Bayonne's to Montmorancy; in which he complains, " That the Faction was " going to make a Determination con- " trary to the former; and had made " an Order, that none of the Faculty " might sign against the Marriage, but " left it free for any to sign for it: But " that the King had ordered, that the " Determination already made should " remain entire. The Bishop had pres- " sed the President to obey the King's " Orders; he had promised him to do " it; but Beda promised the contrary " to his Party. Bellay feared the King " of England would suspect, that the " King did not act sincerely. He con- " fessed, that from the Appearances of " Things, he should do so himself, if " he had not seen the Concern that " the King was in, upon this Occasion. " When he pressed Lizet to obey the " King's Orders, he spoke two or three " Hours to him in bad Latin, (he calls " it the Latin of Auvergne) but he " could not understand what he meant. " He says, the Beadle pretended there " was one little Fault in the Act, upon " which he might be accused of For- " gery. Upon this the Bishop suspec- " ted Beda's Practice more than he had " done, and he had required the Presi- " dent to obey the King's Orders, other- " wise, he would protest, if he did not. " And he secretly told him, he did say " that, to justify him at their Hands, " whom he saw he was resolved not to " offend. The President then pro- " mised him the Act that Night; but " then delay'd it 'till next Morning at " Five: When he sent for it, some- " times the Gate was not opened, and " the Key was lost; sometimes the Pre- " sident was asleep; and then it was " said he had taken Physick, and that " the Bishop must have Patience: But " he understood, that he had gone out " by a Back-Door, to the Abbey of St. " Germains; thither he followed him, " and asked for the Act: But he said, " he had sent it to the King. He " reckoned many other Impertinencies, " that gave a mean Character of Lizet.

BUT while this Matter was tranſacted thus at Paris, though the Univerſity of Angiers had determined againſt the Marriage, yet the Faculty of Divinity there did, on the 7th of May, 1530, determine, "That it was lawful for a "Chriſtian to marry his Brother's Wi- "dow, he dying without Children;" but having conſummated the Marriage, that ſuch Marriage was not contrary to the Laws of GOD, and of Nature, and therefore the Pope might upon reaſonable Grounds diſpence in that Caſe. This was the Judgment of the Faculty; but that Univerſity did, in a Body, on that ſame Day, decree the quite contrary, without any Mention of this Opinion of the Divines; ſo it ſeems, that was kept ſecret.

THUS is fully opened all that Mr. Le Grand has thought fit to publiſh concerning the Divines of France. By the Relation given of the Proceedings in the Sorbonne, it appears, that in the Opinion of the Biſhop of Bayonne, and his Brother, that Body was then much corrupted; that a few Incendiaries influenced many there, ſo that it was far from deſerving the high Character that it had in the World. It is highly probable, they apprehended, that the carrying on the Divorce might open a Door to let in that which they called Hereſy into England; which conſidering the Heat of that, was enough to biaſs them in all their Deliberations.

THE Biſhop next turns homeward, to give a more particular Account of the Proceedings both in Cambridge and Oxford. He begins with the former, becauſe it was firſt ended there, and had a ſure Ground to go on. A worthy Perſon found among the Manuſcripts of Bennet College, a Manuſcript of Dr. Buckmaſter, then Vice-Chancellor, in which there is a very particular Relation of that Affair. It was procured to that Houſe in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by Dr. Jegon, then Head of that Houſe, and was by him given to that College: For there is nothing remaining in the Regiſters of the Univerſity relating to it, as that learned Perſon has informed Biſhop Burnet.

THE Vice-Chancellor was then a Fellow of Peterhouſe, of which Dr. Edmonds was Head, who was then a Vicar and Prebendary in the Dioceſe and Cathedral of Salisbury. It begins with a ſhort introductory Speech of the Vice-Chancellor's, upon which he reads the King's Letter to them. Its ſet forth, "That many of the greateſt "Clerks in Chriſtendom, both within "and without the Realms had affirmed "in Writing, That the Marrying the "Brother's Wife, he dying without "Children, was forbidden both by the "Law of GOD, and by the Natural "Law. The King therefore, being de- "ſirous to have their Minds to whom "he had ſhewed a Benevolent Affec- "tion, did not doubt but they would "declare the Truth, in a Caſe of ſuch "Importance, both to himſelf, and "to the whole Kingdom. For this "End, he ſent Gardiner and Fox, to "inform them particularly of the Cir- "cumſtances of the Matter; and he "expected their Anſwer, under the "Seal of the Univerſity." The King's Letter is dated the 16th of February.

"AFTER this was read, the Vice- "Chancellor told them, they ſaw what "the King deſired of them. They were "Men of free and ingenuous Tempers; "every one of their Conſciences would "dictate to them, what was moſt ex- "pedient. After this, follows the Form "of the Grace that was propoſed and "granted, that the Vice-Chancellor "and 10 Doctors, and the two Proctors, "with 17 Maſters of Arts, ſhould have "full Authority to determine the "Queſtion propoſed, and to anſwer "it in the Name of the whole Univer- "ſity; and whatſoever two Parts in "three of theſe Perſons ſhould agree "in, that, without any new Order, "ſhould be returned to the King, as "the Anſwer of the Univerſity; only "the Queſtion was to be diſputed pub- "lickly; and the Determination that "they ſhould make, was to be read "in the Hearing of the Univerſity.

"ON the 9th of March, at a Meet- "ing of the Univerſity, the Vice-Chan- "cellor told them, that the Perſons "deputed by them, had, with great "Care and Diligence, examined the "Queſtion, and had conſidered both "the Paſſages in the Scriptures, and "the Opinions of the Interpeters; up- "on which they had a publick Diſpu- "tation, which was well known to "them all: So now, after great Labours, "and all poſſible Induſtry, they came "to the Determination then to be read "to them. Then follows the Deter- "mination; in which they add to the "Queſtion propoſed to them theſe "Words, after Brother's Wife, She be- "ing carnally known by her former "Husband: So, after above a Fort-

"night's

" night's Study or Practice, this was " obtained of them. The Vice-Chan- " cellor came to Windſor, and on the " ſecond Sunday of Lent, after Veſ- " pers, he delivered it to the King. " Of this he gave an Account to Dr. " Edmonds in a Letter, in which he " tells him, he came to Court while " Latimer was Preaching: The King " gave him great Thanks for the De- " termination, and was much pleaſed " with the Method in which they had " managed it with ſuch Quietneſs. " The King praiſed Latimer's Sermon, " and he was ordered to wait on the " King the next Day. Dr. Butts " brought 20 Nobles from the King to " him, and five Marks to the junior " Proctor that came with him", ſcarce enough to bear their Charges, and far from the Price of Corruption; and gave him Leave to go when he pleaſed. But after Dinner the King came to a Gallery where Gardiner and Fox, with the Vice-Chancellor, Latimer, and the Proctor were, and no more, and talked ſome Hours with them. He was not pleaſed with Gardiner and Fox becauſe the other Queſtion, Whether the Pope had Power to diſpence with ſuch a Marriage? was not likewiſe determined: But the Vice-Chancellor ſaid, He believed that could not have been obtained. But the King ſaid, He would have that determined after Eaſter. It appears by his Letter, that there was a great Outcry raiſed againſt Cambridge for that which they had done; the Vice-Chancellor was particularly cenſured for it, and he had loſt a Benefice that the Patron had promiſed him, but upon this, changed his Mind. Thoſe who did like Latimer were not pleaſed with his Preaching.

HE heard thoſe of Oxford had appointed a ſelect Number to determine the King's Queſtion, and that Fox, when he was there, was in great Danger; but a more particular Account of the Proceedings in that Univerſity is in three of King Henry's Letters to them, communicated to Biſhop Burnet by his learned Friend Dr. Kennet.

IN the firſt Letter that the King wrote to the Univerſity he ſets forth, " That upon certain Conſiderations " moving his Conſcience, he had al- " ready conſulted many learned Men, " both within the Kingdom and with- " out it, but he deſired to feel the " Minds of thoſe among them who " were learned in Divinity, to ſee how " they agreed with others; therefore " he hoped they would ſincerely and " truly declare their Conſciences in " that Matter, and not give Credit to " Miſ-reports. He required them, as " their Sovereign Lord, to declare their " true and juſt Learning in that Cauſe: " Therefore, in a great Variety of " Expreſſions, mixing Threatnings with " Promiſes, if they ſhould not uprightly, according to Divine Learning, " handle themſelves, he leaves the de- " claring the Particulars to the Biſhop " of Lincoln, his Confeſſor, to whom " they were to give intire Credit.

BY the Second Letter, the King tells them, " He underſtood that a " great Part of the Youth of the Uni- " verſity did, in a riotous Manner, " combine together, in Oppoſition of " the wiſe and learned Men of that " Body, to have a great Number of Re- " gents and Non-Regents to be joined " in a Committee of the Doctors, Proc- " tors, Batchelors of Divinity, for the " Determination of the King's Queſ- " tion: This he believed had not been " often ſeen, that ſuch a Number of " Men of ſmall Learning ſhould be " joined with ſo famous a Sort to " ſtay their Seniors in ſo weighty a " a Cauſe. The King took that in very " ill Part, ſince they ſhewed themſelves " more unkind and wilful than all " other Univerſities had done: He " hoped they would bring thoſe young " Men into better Order, otherwiſe " they ſhould feel what it was to pro- " voke him ſo heinouſly.

BY his Third Letter he complains, that they delayed to ſend him their Determination; he tells them, " The Univerſity of Cambridge had " in a much ſhorter Time agreed upon " the Manner of ſending their An- " ſwer, and had ſent their Anſwer un- " der their Common Seal. He would " have more eaſily born with a Delay " in making the Anſwer, if they had " ſo far obeyed him as to put the " Matter in a Method. He therefore " being unwilling to proceed to Extre- " mities, had ſent his Chancellor Fox " to them, hoping that the Heads and " Rulers would conſider their Duty, " in granting his Requeſt, which was " only that they would ſearch the " Truth in a Cauſe that ſo nearly con- " cerned both himſelf and his People; " and therefore he deſired that the " Number of the private Suffrages " might not prevail againſt their Heads,

" their

" their Rulers, and ſage Fathers, but " that they would ſo try the Opinions " of the Multitude as the Importance of " the Matter did require; hoping that " their Conſtitution was ſuch that there " were Ways to eſchew ſuch Incon- " veniences when they ſhould happen, " as he truſted they would not fail to " do, and ſo to redeem the Errors and " Delays that were paſt". In Concluſion, the Matter was brought into the Method ſet forth in the former Part of this Hiſtory.

HERE is no threatning them by Reaſon of any Determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the Vehemence in thoſe Letters, is only with Relation to the Method of Proceeding; and it was certainly a very irregular one, to join a great Number of Perſons who had not ſtudied Divinity, with Men of the Profeſſion who could only, by a Majority, carry the Point againſt Reaſon and Argument.

HERE are added, by Biſhop Burnet, ſome Marginal Notes that Dr. Creech wrote in his own Hand in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, which Book the Biſhop ſays he had then by him. Dr. Creech ſays, that in the Determination of Oxford they added the Words of the Brother's Wife, (ab eadem carnaliter cognitam) that the firſt Marriage was conſummated, though this was not in the Queſtion ſent to the Univerſity by their Chancellor, Archbiſhop Warham. He ſays further, that they mention the King's Letter, in which it is written, that an Anſwer was made by the Univerſities of Paris and Cambridge: This of Paris, though not in the King's Letter, might have been written to them by their Chancellor; for it has appeared by the Letters publiſhed by Le Grand, that though the Deciſion of the Sorbonne was not made till July, yet ſeveral Months before, the Doctors of Paris had given their Opinion for the Divorce. He alſo writes, that a Letter came from their Chancellor Warham, to remove all the Maſters of Arts out of the Convocation, as unfit to determine ſo weighty a Queſtion. Warham alſo, as he ſays, made the Propoſal of chooſing 30, to whom the Queſtion might be referred. In another Place he quotes the Book that was publiſhed for the Divorce, which affirms, that the Determinations of the Univerſities were made without any Corruption. The Queſtions were not propoſed to all the Univerſities in the ſame Terms; for to ſome, as to the Faculty of the Canon Law at Paris, and to thoſe of Angiers and Bourges, the Conſummation of the Marriage is expreſly aſſerted in it; and in the Book in which the Determinations of the Univerſities are printed, thoſe of the Univerſities in England are not mentioned. Theſe are all the Strictures he wrote on this Part of the Hiſtory.

SOME more Particulars are given us by Rymer, concerning the Determination of the foreign Univerſities. A Copy of that made at Bologna, was carried to the Governor: Upon which five Doctors ſwore before Crook, that they had not carried it to him; and that they had kept no Copy of it. This is atteſted by a Notary; and the Clerks and Notaries ſwore the ſame, and that they did not know who carried it. By this, it ſeems, Crook had engaged them to Secrecy; and that the Matter coming ſome way to the Governor's Knowledge, they took their Oaths to aſſure him, that they had not broke their Word to him.

THE Decree in Padua was made July the 1ſt, and was atteſted by the Podeſta, and afterwards by the Doge of Venice, on the 20th of September, who affirm that 11 Doctors were preſent; and that the Determination was made with the unanimous Conſent of the whole Body, and this is atteſted by Notaries.

BUT now the Scene muſt be removed to Rome for ſome Time: The Pope had ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear before him, to hear his Cauſe judged. The King would not ſuffer any ſuch Citation to be intimated to him, ſo it was affixed at ſome Churches in Flanders, at Tournay and Bruges. The King treated this with Contempt, while the Emperor and his Miniſters were preſſing the Pope to proceed to Cenſures. The King of France interpoſed, to obtain Delays; in Conſideration of whom ſeveral Delays were granted, and the Pope ſaid, if King Henry would proceed no further in the Matter of the Supremacy, he would yet grant a farther Delay; and whereas the French King preſſed for a Delay of four Months, the Pope ſaid, if the King of England would own him as his Judge, he would give not only the Time that was aſked, but a Year or more.

HERE

HERE Biſhop Burnet gives an Account of a long Letter that the King wrote to the Pope; there is no Date to the Copy he ſaw, but the Subſtance of it made him conclude it was wrote about this Time.

IN it he complains, "That no Regard was had neither to his juſt Deſires "nor to the Interceſſion of the Moſt "Chriſtian King: That the Prayers of "his Nobility were not only deſpiſed, "but laughed at. All this was far "contrary to what he expected, and "was indeed ſo ſtrange that he could "ſcarce think the Pope was capable "of doing ſuch Things as he certainly "knew he was doing. The Pope, "againſt what all Men thought juſt, "refuſed to ſend Judges to come to the "Place where the Cauſe lay. The Holy "Councils of Old had decreed, that all "Cauſes ſhould be determined there "where they had their Beginning; for "this he quotes St. Cyprian among the "Antients, and St. Bernard among "Moderns, who were of that Mind. "The Truth would be both ſooner "and more certainly found out if exa-"mined on the Place, than it could poſ-"ſibly be at a Diſtance. The Pope "had once ſent Legates to England; "and what Reaſon could be given why "this ſhould not be done again? But "he ſaw the Pope was ſo devoted "to the Emperor, that every Thing "was done as he dictated. The Queen's "Allegation that England was a Place "ſo ſuſpected by her, that ſhe could "not expect to have Juſtice done her "in it, muſt be believed againſt the "cleareſt Evidence poſſible to the con-"trary. The King bore with the Li-"berties that many took who eſpouſed "her Cauſe more than was fitting; "nor did he threaten any, or grow "leſs kind than formerly to thoſe who "declared for the Marriage, and yet "the Pope pretended he muſt give "Credit to this, and he offered no "other Reaſon for his not ſending "Judges to England. This was to "faſten a baſe Reflection upon the "King, and an Injuſtice which he "muſt look on as a great Indignity "done him.

HE further complains, "That the "Pope took all poſſible Methods to "hinder learned Men from delivering "their Opinion in his Cauſe; and "though after long and earneſt Ap-"plications he did give Leave by his "Breves to all Perſons to give their "Opinion in it, yet his own Magiſ-"trates did, in his Name, threaten "thoſe that were againſt the Power of "diſpenſing with the Laws of GOD: "This was particularly done at Bo-"logna. The Emperor's Miniſters "every where, in Contempt of the "Permiſſion granted by the Pope, ter-"rified all who gave their Opinion "for the King, at which the Pope con-"nived, if he did not conſent to it. "The Pope's Nuntio did, in France, "openly, and to the King himſelf, "declare againſt the King's Cauſe, as "being founded neither on Juſtice nor "Reaſon: He ſtill expected that the "the Pope would have Regard to the "Prerogative of his Crown, and to the "Laws of England, which are as an-"tient as the Pope's Laws are, and that "he will not cite him to anſwer out "of his Kingdom, nor ſend any Inhi-"bitions into it, for he will ſuffer no "Breach to be made on the Laws du-"ring his Reign. He was reſolved to "maintain that which was his own, "as he would not invade that which "belonged to another: He did not de-"ſire Contention, he knew the ill Ef-"fects ſuch Diſputes would have; up-"on all which he expected the Pope's "Anſwer." This had no Effect on the Pope; ſo far from it, that upon a Repreſentation made to him in Queen Catharine's Name, that King ſeemed reſolved to proceed to a Second Marriage; the Pope ſent out a ſecond Breve on the 5th of January, 1531, declaring any ſuch Marriage to be Null, and the Iſſue by it to be Illegitimate, denouncing the ſevereſt Cenſures poſſible againſt all that ſhould be any Ways aſſiſting in it, and requiring the King to live with the Queen in a Conjugal Affection till the Suit was brought to a Concluſion.

SOMETHING was to be done to ſtop the Proceedings at Rome, or upon this an immediate Rupture muſt follow; this brought on the ſending an Excuſator in the Name of the King and Kingdom, to ſhew that the King was not bound to appear upon the Citation, nor yet to ſend a Proctor to appear in his Name. Sigiſmund Dondalus, and Michael de Conrades, two eminent Advocates, were brought to Rome, to maintain the Plea of the Excuſator. They ſent over the Subſtance of their Pleadings, which was printed at London by Bethelet. The Sum of it was, Capiſuchi, Dean of the Rota, had cited the

King to Rome to anſwer to the Queen's Appeal: The chief Inſtructions ſent by Carn, were to inſiſt on the Indignity done the King, to cite him to come out of his Kingdom: But it ſeems, that was a Point that the Advocates thought fit to leave to the Ambaſſadors; they thought it not ſafe for them to debate it, ſo they pleaded on other Heads.

THEY inſiſted much on that (de loco tuto) that no Man ought to be cited to a Place where he was not in full Safety. It could not be ſafe neither for the King, nor the Kingdom, that he ſhould go ſo far from it. They ſhewed likewiſe, that to make a Place ſafe, all the intermediate Places through which one might paſs to it, muſt be likewiſe ſafe. The Pope therefore ought to ſend Delegates to a ſafe Place, either (in partibus) where the Cauſe lay, or in the Neighbourhood of it. It was ſaid againſt them, that a Cauſe once received in the Court of Rome, could never be ſent out of it: But they replied, the Pope had once ſent Delegates into England in this Cauſe, and upon the ſame Reaſon, he might do it again: Indeed, the Cauſe was never in the Court, for the King was never in it: But it was ſaid the King might appear by a Proctor: They anſwered, he was not bound to ſend a Proxy, where he was not bound to appear in Perſon, but was hindered by a juſt Impediment; nor was the Place ſafe for a Proxy. In a Matter of Conſcience, ſuch as Marriage was, he could not conſtitute a Proctor; for, by the Forms, he was to impower him fully, and to be bound by all that he ſhould do in his Name. It is true, in a perpetual Impediment, a Proctor muſt be made, but this was not perpetual, for the Pope might ſend Delegates.

AN Excuſator was to be admitted in the Name of the King and Kingdom, when the Impediment was clear and laſting: They confeſſed, if it was olny probable a Proctor muſt be conſtituted, there was no Danger to be apprehended in the King's Dominions: The Queen's Oath was offered, that ſhe could not expect Juſtice in that Caſe. They ſhewed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded; but was only the Effect of weak Fear: It appearing Evidently, that not only the Queen herſelf, but that all who declared for her, were ſafe in England. They did not inſiſt on this, that the Court ought to ſit (in partibus) in the Place were the Cauſe lay: It ſeems, they found that would not be borne at Rome: But they inſiſted on a Court being to ſit in the Neighbourhood. They ſhewed, that though the Excuſator's Powers were not ſo full, as to make him a Proxy; yet they were not defective in that which was neceſſary for excuſing the King's Appearance, and for offering the firſt Impediments, in order to the remanding of the Matter. The Book is full of the Subtilties of the Cannon Law, and of Quotations from Canoniſts.

THUS this Matter was pleaded, and, by a Succeſſion of many Delays, was kept on Foot in the Court of Rome above three Years; chiefly by the Interpretation of Francis: For Langey tells us, that the King of France wrote once or twice a Week to Rome, not to precipitate Matters. That Court, on the other Hand, preſſed him to prevail with King Henry not to give new Provocations. He wrote to Rome from Argnes in the Beginning of July 1531, and complained of citing the King to Rome: He ſaid Learned Perſons had aſſured him, that this was contrary to Law, and to the Privileges of Kings, who could not be obliged to leave their Kingdom; adding, he would take all that was done for or againſt King Henry, as done to himſelf.

THERE is a Letter wrote from the Cardinal of Tournon to King Francis, but without a Date, by which it appears, "That the Motion of an Inter-
"view between the Pope, and the King
"of France, was then ſet on Foot:
"And he aſſures the King, that the
"Pope was reſolved to ſatisfy him at
"their Meeting, that he would Con-
"duct King Henry's Affair ſo dexte-
"rouſly, that nothing ſhould be ſpoiled:
"He muſt, in Point of Form, give
"Way to ſome Things, that would
"not be acceptable to him, that ſo he
"might not ſeem too partial to King
"Henry; for whom out of the Love
"that he bore to King Francis, he
"would do all that was in his Power,
"but deſired that might not be talked of.

ON the 4th of May he wrote to him, that the Emperor threatned, that if King Henry went on to do that Injury to his Aunt, he would make War on him by the King of Scotland: But they believed he would neither employ his Purſe, nor draw his Sword in the Quarrel. Langey reports the Subſtance of King Henry's Letter to Francis; he complained

complained of the Pope's citing him to anſwer at Rome, or to ſend a Proxy thither. In all former Times, upon ſuch Occaſions, Judges where ſent to the Place where the Cauſe lay. Kings could not be required to go out of their Dominions: He alſo complained of the Papal Exactions.

NOW there were two Interviews on Foot, in hopes to make up this Matter, that ſeemed very near a Breach. Francis had ſecretly begun a Negotiation with the Pope for the Marriage of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry II. and the famous Catharine de Medicis; Francis, whoſe Heart was ſet on getting the Dutchy of Milan above all other Things, hoped by this Means to compaſs it for his ſecond Son. He likewiſe pretended, that by gaining the Pope entirely to his Intereſts, he ſhould be able to make up all Matters between King Henry and him. But to lay all Matters the better, the two Kings were to have an Interview firſt in the Neighbourhood of Calais, which the Biſhop of Bayonne, who was now again in England, was concerting. King Henry preſſed the doing it ſo, that he might come back by All Saints, to hold his Parliament. The Biſhop ſaw King Henry would be much pleaſed, if Francis would deſire him to bring Anne Boleyn over with him, and if he would bring on his Part the Queen of Navarre. The Queen of France was a Spaniard, ſo it was deſired, that ſhe might not come: He alſo deſired, that the King of France would bring his Sons with him, and that no Imperialiſts might be brought, nor any of the Raillieurs, (Gaudiſeurs) for the Nation hated that Sort of People. Bayonne writes, he had ſworn, not to tell from whom he had this Hint of Anne Boleyn: It was no hard Thing to engage Francis into any Thing that looked like Gallantry; for he had writ to her a Letter in his own Hand, which Montmorancy had ſent over. At the Interview of the two Kings, a perpetual Friendſhip was vowed between them: And King Henry afterwards reproached Francis, for kiſſing the Pope's Foot at Marſeilles, which he affirms, he promiſed not to do; nor to proceed to marry his Son to the Pope's Niece, 'till he gave the King of England full Satisfaction; and added, that he promiſed, that if the Pope did proceed to final Cenſures againſt Henry, he would likewiſe withdraw himſelf from his Obedience; and that both the Kings would join in an Appeal to a general Council.

SOON after that the King returned from this Interview, he married Anne Boleyn, but ſo ſecretly, that none were preſent at it, but her Father and Mother, and her Brother, with the Duke of Norfolk. It went generally among our Hiſtorians, that Cranmer was preſent at the Marriage, and Biſhop Burnet ſo reports it in the former Part of his Hiſtory; but Mr. Strype ſaw a Letter of Cranmer's, to Hawkins, then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, in which he writes, notwithſtanding it hath been reported throughout a great Part of the Realm, that I married her, which was plainly falſe, for I myſelf knew not thereof a Fortnight after it was done, and many other things he reported of me which be mere Lyes and Tales. In the ſame Letter, he ſays it was about St. Paul's Day. This confirms Stow's Relation. But, to write with the impartial Freedom of an Hiſtorian, It ſeems, the Day of the Marriage was given out wrong on Deſign. The Account that Cranmer gives of it, cannot be called in Queſtion, but Queen Elizabeth was born, not, Biſhop Burnet ſays, as he put it, on the 7th, but as Cranmer writes in another Letter to Hawkins, on the 13th or 14th of September: So there not being full eight Months between the Marriage and that Birth; between the Marriage and that Birth; which would have opened a Scene of Raillery to the Court of Rome; it ſeems, the Day of the Marriage was then ſaid to be in November, and in a Matter that was ſo ſecretly managed, it was no hard Thing to oblige thoſe who were in the Secret to Silence. This ſeems to be the only way to reconcile Cranmer's Letter, to the Reports commonly given out of the Day of the Marriage.

THE News of this was ſoon carried to Rome. Cardinal Ghinnuccius wrote to the King, "That he had a long "Conſultation with the Pope, when "the News was firſt brought thither. "The Pope reſolved to take no Notice "of it, but he did not know how he "ſhould be able to reſiſt the Inſtance "that the Emperor would make. He "conſidered well the Effects that his "Cenſures would probably have. He "ſaw, the Emperor intended to put "Things paſt Reconciliation, but it "was not reaſonable for the Pope to "paſs Cenſures, when it did not ap-"pear how they could be executed.

"He

" He could not do any Thing preju-
" dicial to the King, unleſs he reſolved
" to lay out a vaſt Sum of Money,
" which he believed he would not
" do, the Succeſs being ſo doubtful:
" And he concludes, that they might
" depend upon it, that the Emperor
" could not eaſily bring the Pope to
" paſs thoſe Cenſures that he deſired.

AT this Time the third Breve was publiſhed againſt the King, on the 15th of November, but, it ſeems, it was for for ſome Time ſuppreſſed; for it has a ſecond Date added to it of the 23d of December, in the Year 1532: " In
" which, after a long Expoſtulation,
" upon his taking Anne as his Wife,
" and his putting away the Queen,
" while the Suit was yet depending,
" the Pope exhorts him to bring back
" the Queen, and to put Anne away
" within a Month after this was
" brought to him, otherwiſe he ex-
" communicates both him and Anne,
" but the Execution of this was ſuſ-
" pended." Soon after this, Bennet wrote a Letter to the King all in Cypher, but the Deciphering is interlined. He writes, " The Pope did approve
" the King's Cauſe as juſt and good,
" and did it in a Manner openly: For
" that Reaſon he did not deliver the
" ſevere Letter that the King wrote
" upon this Breve, leſt that ſhould too
" much provoke him. The Emperor
" was then at Bologna, and preſſed for
" a ſpeedy Calling a General Council,
" and, among other Reaſons, he gave
" the Proceeding againſt the King for one.
" The King's Ambaſſadors urg'd the De-
" cree of the Council of Nice, that the
" Biſhops of the Province ſhould ſettle
" all Things that belonged to it; ſo
" by this, he ſaid, the Pope might put
" the Matter out of his Hands, but
" the Pope would not hear of that.
He writes further, " That the old and
" famous Man, who died lately, had
" left his Opinion in Writing for the
" King's Cauſe with his Nephew, who
" was in high Favour with the Pope.
" The Emperor was taking Pains to
" engage him to his Intereſts, and had
" offered him a Biſhoprick of 6000
" Ducats a Year, likely ſoon to be void.
" The King's Ambaſſadors had pro-
" miſed him, on the other Hand, a
" great Sum from the King: They,
" upon that, aſked Orders about it
" ſpeedily, leſt too long a Delay might
" alienate him from the King.

THERE is alſo a long Letter, but without a Date, written by one who was born in Rome, but was employed to ſolicit the King's Cauſe. He told the Pope, and was willing to declare it to all the Cardinals in the Conſiſtory, " That if they proceeded further in
" the King's Cauſe, it would prove fa-
" tal to the See. They had already loſt
" the Hungarians, with a great Part of
" Germany, and would they now ven-
" ture to loſe England, and perhaps
" France with it? The King thought
" his Marriage with Queen Anne was
" firm and holy, and was reſolved to
" proſecute his Cauſe in that Court
" no more. The King ſaid he was
" ſatisfied in his own Conſcience, but
" yet if the Pope would judge for his
" preſent Marriage, both he and his
" Miniſters ſaid it would be agreeable
" to him.

THE Cardinals of France preſſed the King of France to uſe all Endeavours to bring King Henry with him to the Interview at Marſeilles, or one fully impowered to put an End to the Matter of the Divorce. Langey was ſent to propoſe it to King Henry; but that King told him, ſince he ſaw ſuch a Train of Diſſimulation in the Pope's Proceedings, and Delays upon Delays that had quite diſguſted him, he had now obtained a Sentence in England of the Nullity of his Marriage, in which he acquieſced, and upon that he was married, though ſecretly; he was reſolved to keep it ſecret till he ſaw what Effects the Interview had: If the Pope would not do him Juſtice he would deliver the Nation from that Servitude.

HE had obtained the Judgment of ſome Univerſities concerning the Citation to Rome. The Univerſity of Orleans gave their Opinion, that he was not bound to appear at Rome, neither in Perſon, nor by Proxy, and that the Citation was Null; but that there ought to be a Delegation of Judges in the Place where the Cauſe lay. Many Advocates, in the Court of Parliament of Paris, gave their Opinions to the ſame Purpoſe. The Canoniſts in Paris thought that the King could not be cited to go to Rome, but that Judges ought to be ſent to determine the Matter in ſome ſafe Place.

KING Henry wrote to his Ambaſſadors with the King of France to divert him from the Interview with the Pope,

as

as a Thing too much to the Pope's Honour: And, whereas, the King of France wrote, That his chief Design in it, was to serve the King; He wrote upon it, That he was so sure of his Nobility and Commons, that he had no Apprehension of any thing the Pope could do. He therefore desired him to write to the Cardinals of Tournon and Grandimont, and to his Ambassador at Rome, to press the admitting the Excusator's Plea; for that was a Point, in which all Princes were concerned.

KING Francis pretended, that the Breaking off the Project of the Interview could not be done: It had now gone too far, and his Honour was engaged. He was very sorry that the Excusator's Plea was rejected; yet he did not despair, but that all Things might be yet set right, which made him still more earnest for the Interview. And he was confident, if the King would come to the Meeting, all would be happily made up: But since he saw no Hopes of prevailing with the King for that, he desired that the Duke of Norfolk might be sent over with some learned Persons, who should see the good Offices he would do.

THE Duke of Norfolk was sent over upon this, and he found the King of France at Montpelier in the End of August, but told him, that upon the last Sentence that was given at Rome, the King looked on the Pope as his Enemy, and he would resent his Usage of him by all possible Methods. He studied to divert the Interview, otherwise he said he must return immediately. King Francis answered, That the Sentence was not definite; but thought he could not break the Interview, that was concerted by King Henry's own Consent. He promised he would espouse the King's Affair as his own. He press'd the Duke of Norfolk so earnestly to go along with him, that once he seemed convinced, that it might be of good Use in the King's Cause, and a Memorial was given him of the Method of settling it. He, upon this, sent the Lord Rochford to the King to see if he would change the Orders he had given him; and he staid only a few Days after he had dispatched him; but he said his Orders for returning were positive; if a Change of Orders should come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get some learned Men to be sent, to see what might be devised at Marseilles.

THE King of France wrote to his Ambassador with King Henry, that if the Duke of Norfolk, could have been allowed to go with him to Marseilles, much might have been done; and he sent with that a Part of the Cardinal of Tournon's last Letter to him of the 17th of August, in which he wrote, "That he had spoke fully to the Pope, "as the King had ordered him, about "the King of England's Affair: The "Pope complained that King Henry "had not only proceeded to marry "contrary to the Breve he had re-"ceived, but that he was still publish-"ing Laws in Contempt of his See; "and that Cranmer had pronounced "the Sentence of Divorce as Legate, "This gave the Cardinals such Distaste, "that they would have been highly "offended with the Pope, if he had "done nothing upon it: He therefore "advised the King to carry the Duke "of Norfolk with him to Marseilles; "for if King Henry would but seem "to repair the Steps he had made in "the Attentates, as they called them, "and do that which might save the "Pope's Honour, he assured him such "was his Love to him, that for his "Sake he would do all that was de-"sired, with all his Heart; but he "feared Expediments would not be "readily found, if the Duke of Nor-"folk went not to Marseilles.

THE King of France sent such Messages to King Henry by the Duke of Norfolk, and such Compliments to Queen Anne, as highly pleased them; for his Ambassador wrote to him, that since the Duke of Norfolk's coming, King Henry expressed his Confidence and Friendship for him in a very particular Manner: King Henry had ask'd him if he had no Order to stand Godfather in the King of France's Name, in Case the Queen should be delivered of a Son? He answered, He had none, but he would write to the King upon the Subject: The Duke of Norfolk said, He had spoke to the King of France about it, who agreed to it, that either the Ambassador, or some other sent Express, should do it. The Child's Name was to be Edward, or Henry, (but the Birth proving a Daughter, this went no farther). He adds, in his Letter, that Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester, was sent to Marseilles. The King of France sent from Arles on the 17th of September, an Order for the Christ'ning.

BUT now the next Scene is at Marſeilles, where, after the Ceremonies were over, the King of France ſet himſelf, as he writes, with great Zeal to bring the Pope to be eaſy in the King's Divorce. The Pope ſaid, He left the Proceſs at Rome, ſo that nothing could be done in it. The French Ambaſſador wrote to his Maſter, that King Henry charged him with this, that he himſelf brought over Inſtructions, with Promiſes that Francis would not proceed to the Marriage of his Son, till the King's Matter was done: The Ambaſſador denied this, and offered to ſhew his Inſtructions, that it might appear that no ſuch Article was in them. King Henry inſiſted that the French King had promiſed it both to himſelf and to the Queen; and if he failed him in this he could depend no more on his Friendſhip. When the Ambaſſador told the Duke of Norfolk, how uneaſy this would be to the King of France, who had the King's Concerns ſo much at Heart, and that all the Intereſt that he could gain in the Pope, would be at the King's Service; for if he ſhould break with the Pope, that muſt throw him entirely into the Emperor's Hands: The Duke of Norfolk confeſſed all that was true; but ſaid that the King's Head was ſo embroiled with this Matter, that he truſted no living Man, and that both he and the Queen ſuſpected himſelf.

THE Biſhop of Auxerre, the French Ambaſſador, had wrote from Rome, "That the Pope would do all that "they aſked, and more if he durſt "or could; but he was ſo preſſed by "the Emperor's People, that tho' it "was againſt GOD and Reaſon, and "the Opinion, even of ſome of the "Imperial Cardinals, he was forced to "do whatſoever Cardinal Doſme demanded." In a Letter to Cardinal Tournon, the Biſhop of Auxerre complains, That the King of England was ill uſed, and in a Letter to the Pope's Legate in France, he writes, "That "the Pope was diſpoſed to grant King "Henry's Deſire; yet he was ſo preſs'd "by the Imperialiſts, that he expected "no Good from him, unleſs in the Way "of Diſſembling: He firmly believed, "he would do well if he durſt: His "Anſwer to the King of France was "as good as could be wiſhed for; he "hoped the Effects would agree to it: "Cardinal Farneſe, the antienteſt Car-"dinal (afterwards Pope Paul the "IIId.) was wholly for them: The "Cardinal of Ancona, next to him in "Seniority, was wholly Imperialiſt: "He writes, that the Ambaſſadors had "an Audience of three Hours of the "Pope, when they delivered the King "of France's Letters on the King of "England's Behalf: The Pope ſaid, "He was ſorry that he muſt determine "the Matter; for he ſhould have ſmall "Thanks on both Sides. The Thing "had been now four Years in his "Hands; he had yet done nothing; if "he could have done as he wiſhed, he "wiſhed as they all wiſhed; and he "ſpoke this in ſuch a Manner, that "they were much miſtaken if he ſpoke "not as he thought. The Pope aſked "them, What made the King of France "to be ſo earneſt in this Matter? They "anſwered, that the two Kings were "ſo united, that they were both more "touched with the Affairs each of the "other, than with their own.

IN another Letter to Montmorancy, he writes, "That there was a new De-"lay granted for four Months. The "Pope, upon his granting it, preſs'd "him to write to the King, to prevail "with King Henry, to ſend a Proxy. "He anſwered, He believed that "would not be done, unleſs Aſ-"ſurances were given, that the Cauſe "ſhould be remitted. If the Matter "had been then put to the Vote, the "antient and learned Cardinals would "have judged for the King of England, "but they were few, and the Num-"ber of the others were great; ſo "that the Cauſe would have been "quite loſt.

AT the ſame Time the Cardinal of Ancona propoſed to Bennet, and to Caſſali, that if a Proxy was ſent to Rome, they ſhould have not only Juſtice, but all Manner of Favour; for both the Pope and the Cardinals did very poſitively promiſe, that a Commiſſion ſhould be made to Delegates to hear the Witneſſes in England, reſerving only the final Sentence to the Pope. Caſſali was, upon this, ſent to England; but his Negotiation had no Effect: Only he ſeems to have known well the ſecret Method of practiſing with the Cardinals: For, upon his Return, he met the King of France at Campeigne, with whom he had much Diſcourſe about managing the Cardinals, particularly Cardinal De Monte (afterwards Pope Julius the IIId.) The King of France had ſent 40,000 Crowns,

Crowns, to be diſtributed in the Court of Rome; upon which he offers ſome very prudent Suggeſtions.

THESE were the Preparations on all Hands for the Meeting at Marſeilles, where Francis proteſted that he ſet himſelf ſo earneſtly to get Satisfaction to be given Henry, that he minded no Buſineſs of his own till he ſhould ſee what could be done in that. The Pope intended to do nothing in it. Francis indeed complained, that there was no Proxy from the King ſent to Marſeilles: If there had been one, he ſaid, the Buſineſs had been ended. It was alſo reported, that the King of France had ſaid to the Duke of Norfolk, he would be the King's Proxy; (here, in the Margin, it's ſet down, The Duke of Norfolk denies he ſaid this;) but the King of France knew, that the King would never conſtitute a Proxy, that being contrary to the Laws of his Kingdom. The Pope confeſſed that his Cauſe was juſt: All the Lawyers in France were of that Mind. But the Pope complained of the Injuries done the See by King Henry. Francis anſwered, The Pope begun doing Injuries: But King Henry moved, that ſetting aſide what was paſt, without aſking Reparation of either Side, Juſtice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himſelf no more about it.

HE afterwards charged King Francis, "That in ſeveral Particulars he "had not kept his Promiſes to him. "He believed, that if he had preſſed "the Pope more, he would have yielded. It was ſaid, King Henry was "governed by his Council; whereas "he ſaid, He governed them, and not "they him. Upon this Audience, "the Duke of Norfolk ſeemed troubled that the King was ſo paſſionate: "He had adviſed the King, but in "vain, to let the Annats go ſtill to "Rome." This is put in the Margin.

IN another Memorial ſet next to the former, and, as it ſeems, writ ſoon after it, it is ſaid, "That the Empe"ror had ſent Word to the Queen and "her Daughter, not to come to Spain, "till he had firſt got Right to be "done them; and that the People "were in a Diſpoſition, to join with "any Prince that would eſpouſe their "Quarrel." This is ſaid to be the general Inclination of all Sorts of People; for they apprehended a Change of Religion, and a War that would cut off their Trade with the Netherlands; ſo that the new Queen was little beloved.

THE Biſhop now returns to ſet out the Progreſs of Matters, that provoked the People and Court of Rome ſo much, and firſt gives the ſeveral Proceedings of the Convocation.

THE Parliament had complained of the Oath, Ex Officio, by which the Ordinaries obliged Perſons to anſwer to ſuch Accuſations as were laid to their Charge, upon Oath; and as they anſwered, charging themſelves, they were obliged either to abjure, or to burn. To this they added ſome other Grievances. When they preſented them to the King, he told them he could give no Anſwer, till he heard what the Clergy would ſay to them. They alſo paſſed Acts about ſome Points that the Clergy thought belonged to them, as Mortuaries, Plurality of Benefices, and Clergymen taking Farms.

THE firſt Motion made by the Lower Houſe, was concerning Tracy's Teſtament; who had left his Soul to GOD thro' Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Interceſſion alone he truſted, without the Help of any other Saint: Therefore he left no Part of his Goods to any that ſhould pray for his Soul. This touch'd the Clergy ſenſibly; they begun with it; and a Commiſſion was given for the raiſing his Body.

IN a following Seſſion, the Prolocutor complained of another Teſtament, made by one Brown of Briſtol, in the ſame Strain. So to prevent the ſpreading of ſuch an Example, it was ordered, that Tracy's Body ſhould be dug up and burnt.

IN the 84th Seſſion, the Houſe being thin, an Order was made, That all Members ſhould attend; for ſome Conſtitutions were at that Time to be treated of.

IN the 91ſt Seſſion, which was in the End of February, the Prolocutor came up with a Motion, that thoſe who were preſented to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, ſhould not be obliged by their Biſhops, to give any Bond obliging them under Temporal Puniſhment to Reſidence; but to this no Anſwer was given, nor was any Rule made againſt it. There had been Complaints made of Clerks Non-Reſidents in the former Seſſion of Parliament; and it ſeems, ſome Biſhops thought the ſureſt Way to ſtop that Clamour, was, to take Bonds for Reſidence: And tho' this

this Complaint ſhews the ill Temper of the Lower Houſe, ſince they did not offer any other better Remedy; yet the Upper Houſe offering to anſwer to it, ſeems to imply their improving of it.

IN the 93d Seſſion, Latimer, who had been thrice required to ſubſcribe ſome Articles, refuſed to do it: He was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in ſafe Cuſtody at Lambeth. Seſſion the 96th it was reſolved, That if Latimer would ſubſcribe ſome of the Articles, he ſhould be abſolved. Upon that he ſubmitted, confeſſed his Error, and ſubſcribed all the Articles except two.

IN the 97th Seſſion, on the 12th of April, 1532, the Archbiſhop propoſed to them the Preparing an Anſwer to the Complaints that the Commons had made to the King, againſt the Proceedings in their Courts.

IN the 98th Seſſion, the Preamble of that Complaint was read by Gardiner, with an Anſwer that he had prepared to it. Then the Two Clauſes of the Firſt Article, with Anſwers to them, were alſo read and agreed to, and ſent down to the Lower Houſe, Latimer was alſo brought again before them, upon Complaint of a Letter that he had written to one Greenwood, in Cambridge.

IN the 99th Seſſion, an Anſwer to the Complaint of the Commons was read and agreed to, and order'd to be laid before the King; with which he was not ſatisfied. Latimer being called to anſwer upon Oath, he appealed to the King, and ſaid he would ſtand to his Appeal.

Peyto and Elſton, two Brethren of the Houſe of the Obſervants in Greenwich, accuſed Dr. Curren, for a Sermon preached there: But the Archbiſhop ordered them to be kept in Cuſtody, with the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, 'till they ſhould be diſmiſſed.

IN the 100th Seſſion, the King ſent a Meſſage by Gardiner, intimating, that he remitted Latimer to the Archbiſhop. And upon his Submiſſion, he was received to the Sacraments. This was done at the King's Deſire; but ſome Biſhops proteſted, becauſe this Submiſſion did not import a Renunciation uſual in ſuch Caſes. After this, four Seſſions were employ'd in a further Conſideration of the Anſwer to the Complaints of the Houſe of Commons.

IN the 105th Seſſion, the Prolocutor brought up four Draughts, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, for making Laws in order to the Suppreſſing of Hereſy; but declared, that he did not bring them up as approved by the Houſe; he only offered them to the Biſhops as Draughts, prepared by learned Men. He deſired they would read them, and chooſe what was true out of them; but added, that he prayed, that if they prepared any Thing on the Subject, it might be communicated to the Lower Houſe. Some of theſe are printed, in one of which they promiſe the King, "That for the future, "ſuch was the Truſt that they put in "his Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Zeal, and "his incomparable Learning, far ex-"ceeding the Learning of all other "Princes that they had read of; that "during his natural Life, they ſhould "not exact, promulge, or put in Exe-"cution, any Conſtitution to be made "by them, unleſs the King by his "Royal Aſſent did licenſe them ſo to "do. And as for the Conſtitutions "already made, of which the Com-"mons complained, they would readi-"ly ſubmit the Conſideration of theſe "to the King only; and ſuch of theſe "as the King ſhould judge prejudicial "and burthenſome, they offered to "moderate or annull them according "to his Judgment, ſaving to them-"ſelves all the Immunities and Liber-"ties granted to the Church by the "King and his Progenitors, with all "ſuch Provincial Conſtitutions as "ſtand with the Laws of GOD and "Holy Church, and of the Realm, "which they prayed the King to rati-"fy; providing, that till the King's "Pleaſure ſhould be made known to "them, all Ordinaries might go on to "execute their Juriſdiction as former-"ly." This did not paſs eaſily; there was great Debating upon it; but upon adding the Words, During the King's natural Life, which made it a Temporary Law, and by adding the Words, Holy Church, after the Laws of GOD, which had a great Extent, this Form was agreed to: But what Effect this had, or whether it was offered to the King, does not appear. The Alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the Submiſſion.

THE Biſhop of London preſiding in the Abſence of the Archbiſhop, told them, that the Duke of Norfolk had ſignified to him, that the Houſe of Commons had granted the King a Fif-

Fifteenth to be raiſed in two Years; ſo he adviſed the Clergy to be as ready as the Laity had been to ſupply the King. The Prolocutor was ſent down with this Intimation; he immediately returned back, and propoſed, that they ſhould conſider of an Anſwer to be made to the King, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Authority; and that ſome might be ſent to the King, to pray him that he would maintain the Liberties of the Church, which he and his Progenitors had confirmed to them: And they deſired that the Biſhops of London, and Lincoln, with ſome Abbots, the Dean of the King's Chapel, and Fox, his Almoner, would intercede in Behalf of the Clergy; which they undertook to do.

IN the 106th Seſſion, which was on the 10th of May, the Archbiſhop appointed a Committee to go and treat with the Biſhop of Rocheſter, at his Houſe, upon that Matter.

IN the 107th Seſſion, the 13th of May, the Archbiſhop appointed the Chancellor of Worceſter to raiſe Tracy's Body: Then they agreed to the Anſwer they were to make to the King.

IN the 108th Seſſion, on the 15th of May, the Writ for proroguing the Convocation was brought to the Archbiſhop: At the ſame Time, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Bullen, and Lord Rochford, were in a ſecret Conference with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops for the Space of an Hour; when they withdrew, the Prolocutor and Clergy came up. The Archbiſhop aſked, How they agreed to the Schedule? which, as appears, was the Form of the Submiſſion. The Prolocutor told him, How many were for the Affirmative, how many for the Negative, and how many for the Putting off the Three Articles (of the Submiſſion.) The Archbiſhop ſaid, He expected thoſe Lords would come back to him from the King, and ſo ſent them back to their Houſe. Theſe Lords came back to the Chapter-Houſe, and after ſome Diſcourſe with the Biſhops, they retired. After Dinner the Schedule was read in Engliſh; and the Archbiſhop aſked, If they agreed to it? They all anſwered, They did agree to it, only the Biſhop of Bath diſſented. Then he ſent it down by his Chancellor, to propoſe it to the Lower Houſe. After that, on the 15th of May, it ſeems, the Schedule was ſent back by the Lower Houſe, tho' that is not mentioned in the Abſtract that we have remaining: For that Day the Convocation was prorogued, and the next Day the Archbiſhop delivered it to the King, as enacted and concluded by himſelf and others. The Convocation was prorogued to the 5th of November.

AND thus this great Tranſaction was brought about, in little more than a Month's Time: The firſt Motion towards it being made on the 12th of April, and it was concluded on the 15th of May. It appears by their Heat againſt Tracy's Teſtament, and againſt Latimer, that they who managed the Oppoſition that was made to it, were Enemies to every thing that looked towards a Reformation. It ſeems Fiſher did not proteſt; for tho' by their ſending a Committee to his Houſe, it may be ſuppoſed he was ſick at that Time; yet he might have ſent a Proxy, and ordered a Diſſent to be entered in his Name; and that not being done, gives Ground to ſuppoſe that he did not vehemently oppoſe this Submiſſion: By it, all the Oppoſition that the Convocation would probably have given to every Step that was made afterwards in the Reformation, was ſo entirely reſtrained, that the quiet Progreſs of that Work was owing chiefly to the Reſtraint under which the Clergy put themſelves by their Submiſſion: And in this the whole Body of this Reformed Church has chearfully acquieſced, till within theſe few Years, that great Endeavours have been uſed to blacken and diſgrace it.

BISHOP Burnet ſays he has ſeen no particular Account how this Matter went in the Convocation at York; but he had ſeen a Letter of Magnus, one of the King's Chaplains, who was required by Cromwel to go thither, where Dr. Lee was to meet him. There is no Year added in the Date of the Letter; but ſince he mentions the laſt Convocation, that had given a great Sum of Money, and owned the King to be the Supreme, that fixes it to this Seſſion. He dates it from Marybone the 21ſt of April. "He was then in an ill State "State of Health, but promiſes to be "at York ſoon after the Beginning of "their Convocation". He complains, "That he had no Aſſiſtance at the laſt "Meeting; and that the Books which "the King had promiſed ſhould be ſent "after him, were not ſent; which "made

" made the King's Clauſe to be the " longer in treating, before it came to " a good Concluſion. The Prelates " and Clergy there would not believe " any Report of the Acts paſſed at " London, unleſs they were ſhewed " them authentically, either under " Seal, or by the King's Letters. He " hopes both theſe Things, which had " been neglected formerly, would be " now done, otherwiſe the Clergy in " thoſe Parts would not proceed to any " ſtrange Acts; ſo he warns him that " all Things may be put in Order.

WHATSOEVER it was that paſs'd either in the one or the other Convocation, the King kept it within himſelf for two Years: For, ſo long he was in treating Terms with Rome; and if that had gone on, all this muſt have been given up: But when the final Breach came on, which was after two Years, it was ratified in Parliament.

BEFORE the next Meeting Warham died. He had all along concurred in the King's Proceedings, and had promoted them in Convocation; yet in the laſt Year of his Life, ſix Months before his Death, on the 9th of February, 1531. he made a Proteſtation of a ſingular Nature, not in the Houſe of Lords, but at Lambeth; and ſo ſecretly, that Mention is only made of three Notaries and four Witneſſes, preſent at the making of it. It is to this Effect: That what Statutes ſoever had paſſed, or were to paſs in this preſent Parliament, to the Prejudice of the Pope, or the Apoſtolick See, or that derogated from or leſſened the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, or the Liberties of his See of Canterbury, he did not conſent to them; but did diſown and diſſent from them. This was found in the Longueville Library, and was communicated to Biſhop Burnet, by Dr. Wake, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury. It is left with the Reader, to conſider what Conſtruction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the Decline of his Life, put on him by his Confeſſor about the Time of Lent, as a Penance for what he had done; or if he muſt be looked on as a deceitful Man, that while he ſeemed openly to concur in thoſe Things, he proteſted againſt them ſecretly. Upon his Death the Prior and Convent of Chriſt's-Church of Canterbury, deputed the Biſhop of St. Aſaph to preſide in the Convocation. On the 20th of February, in the fourth Seſſion, the Biſhop of London moved, that the Two Univerſities ſhould be exempted from paying any Part of the Subſidy: The ſame was alſo deſired for ſome religious Orders, and it was agreed to, Gardiner only diſſenting, as to the Exemption of the Religious Orders. It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that his oppoſing this was in Compliance with the King, who began to ſhew an Averſion both to the Monks and Fryars; ſeeing they were generally in the Intereſts of Queen Catharine; and Gardiner was the moſt forward in his Compliances of all the Clergy, Bonner only excepted, tho' the old Leaven of Popery was deep in them both.

IN the 11th Seſſion, on the 26th of March, Latimer was again brought before them; and it was laid to his Charge, that he had preached contrary to his Promiſe. Gardiner inveighed ſeverely againſt him; and to him all the reſt agreed. When the Prolocutor came up, the Preſident ſpoke to him of the Subſidy: Then the Matter of the King's Marriage was brought before them. Gardiner produced ſome Inſtruments, which he deſired them to read: They were the Judgments of ſeveral Univerſities. Some doubted, if it was ſafe to debate a Matter that was then depending before the Pope: But the Preſident put an End to that Fear, by producing a Breve of the Pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their Opinions freely in that Matter: So he exhorted them to examine the Queſtions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their Opinions about them.

IN the 12th Seſſion, the Preſident produced the Original Inſtruments of the Univerſities of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bourges, and Tholouſe, (Angiers and Ferrara are not named;) and after much diſputing, they were deſired to deliver their Opinions, as to the Conſummation of the Marriage: But becauſe it was a difficult Caſe, they asked more Time. They had 'till Four a Clock given them; then there were yet more Diſputings: In Concluſion, they agreed with the Univerſities. This was firſt put to them; tho' in the Inſtrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next Seſſion.

ON the 2d of April, 1533, Cranmer being now conſecrated, and preſent, two Queſtions were propoſed, and put to the Vote. The firſt was, Whether

ther the Prohibition to marry a Brother's Wife, the former Marriage being conſummated, was diſpenſible by the Pope? Or, as it is in the Minutes, Whether it was lawful to marry the Wife of a Brother dying without Iſſue, but having conſummated the Marriage? And if the Prohibition of ſuch a Marriage was grounded on a Divine Law, with which the Pope could diſpenſe, or not? There were preſent 66 Divines, with the Proxies of 197 abſent Biſhops, Abbots, and others: All agreed to the Affirmative, except only 19.

THE ſecond Queſtion was, Whether the Conſummation of Prince Arthur's Marriage was ſufficiently prov'd? This belonged to the Canoniſts, ſo it was referred to the Biſhops and Clergy of that Profeſſion, being 44 in all, of whom one had the Proxy of three Biſhops: All theſe, except Five or Six, affirmed it: Of theſe the Biſhop of Bath and Wells was one. Of all this a publick Inſtrument was made.

IN the Account Biſhop Burnet formerly gave of this Matter, he offered a Conjecture concerning the Conſtitution of the two Houſes, that Deans and Archdeacons, who ſat in their own Right, were then of the Upper Houſe, which, he ſays, he now ſees was without any good Ground. He likewiſe committed another Error, thro' Inadvertency; for he ſaid, the Opinions of 19 Univerſities were read; whereas only ſix were read: And the 19, which he added to the Number of the Univerſities, was the Number of thoſe who did not agree to the Vote.

THESE Queſtions were next ſent to the Convocation of the Province of York; where there were preſent 27 Divines, who had the Proxies of 24 who were abſent: And all theſe, two only excepted, agreed to the firſt Queſtion. There were likewiſe 44 Canoniſts preſent, with the Proxies of Five or Six: To them the ſecond Queſtion was put; and all theſe were for the Affirmative, Two only excepted. The whole Repreſentative of the Church of England, in the Convocation of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York, did in this Manner give their Anſwer to the two Queſtions put to them; upon which Cranmer wrote to the King on the 11th of April, complaining, That the great Cauſe of his Matrimony had depended long; and upon that, he deſired his Licence to judge it; which the King readily granted: So he gave Sentence, condemning it on the 23d of May; and then the King openly owned his ſecond Marriage; for the new Queen's Big Belly could no longer be concealed.

THIS was highly reſented at Rome, as an open Attempt upon the Pope's Authority; and theſe Steps, in their Stile, were called the Attentates: So conſidering the blind Submiſſion to the Popes, in which the World had been kept for ſo many Ages, it was no Wonder to find the Imperialiſts call upon the Pope, almoſt in a tumultuary Manner, to exert his Authority to the full, when he ſaw it ſo openly affronted: And it is very probable, that if the Pope had not with that violent Paſſion, that Italians have for advancing their Families, run into the Propoſition for marrying his Niece to the Duke of Orleans, he would have fulminated upon this Occaſion; but he finding that might be broke off, if he had proceeded to the utmoſt Extremities with King Henry, was therefore reſolved to prolong the Time, and to delay the final Sentence; otherwiſe the Matter would have been ended much ſooner than it was.

Gardiner, Bryan and Bennet, were ſent as Ambaſſadors to the King of France to Marſeilles. Bonner was alſo ſent thither on a more deſperate Service; for he was ordered to go and read the King's Appeal from the Pope, to a General Council, in the Pope's own Preſence, at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Manner, as the King's Ambaſſadors ſhould direct. Of the Execution of this, he gave the King a very particular Account, in a Letter to him, bearing Date at Marſeilles, the 13th of November, 1533. In which he tells him, "That being commanded by his "Ambaſſadors, to intimate to the Pope "in Perſon, the Provocations and Ap- "peals that he had made to a General "Council, he carried one Penniſton, "who it ſeems was a Notary, with him, "to make an Act concerning it. They "came to the Pope's Palace on the "17th of November, in the Morning. "He found ſome Difficulty in getting "Acceſs; for he was told the Pope "was going to hold a Conſiſtory: So "that no other Buſineſs was to inter- "poſe: Yet he got into the Pope's "Chamber, where the Pope was with "two Cardinals, De Medicis and Lor- "rain: The Pope being apparalled in "his Stole, to go to the Conſiſtory,

"the

" the Pope quickly obſerved Bonner; " for he had prayed the Datary to let " the Pope know, he deſired to ſpeak " with him: The Datary ſaid, it was " not a proper Time; but Bonner was " reſolved to go immediately to him; " ſo he told the Pope of it: Who, up- " on that, diſmiſſed the Cardinals, and " going to a Window he called him to " him: Upon that, Bonner told him " the Meſſage he had from the King " to read before him; making ſuch " Apology firſt in the King's Name, " and then in his own, as was neceſ- " ſary to prepare him for it. The Pope " cringed, in the Italian Way, but ſaid, " he had not Time then to hear thoſe " Papers; but bad him come again in " the Afternoon, and he would give " him a full Audience. When he " came again, he was, after ſome others " had their Audience, called in; Pen- " niſton following him, whom the " Pope had not obſerved in the Morn- " ing: So Bonner told him, that it was " he who had brought over his Com- " miſſion and Orders; upon that the " Pope called for his Datary, and for " Simonetta and Capiſuchi. 'Till they " came in, the Pope, in Diſcourſe, aſk'd " both for Gardiner and Bryan, ſeem- " ing not to know that they were at " Marſeilles; and he lamented the " Death of Bennet: He complained of " the King's uſing him as he did. Bon- " ner, on the other Hand, complained " of his unkind Uſage of the King; " and that he had, contrary to his Pro- " miſe, avocated the Cauſe, when it " was brought to the Point of giving " Sentence; and had now retained the " Cauſe to Rome, whither the King " could not come perſonally, nor was " he bound to ſend a Proctor: And he " urged the Matter very cloſe upon " the Pope. He alſo complained, that " the King's Cauſe being juſt, and " eſteemed ſo by the beſt learned Men " in Chriſtendom, yet the Pope kept it " ſo long in his Hands: The Pope " anſwered, that had not the Queen " refuſed the Judges as ſuſpected, and " taken an Oath, that ſhe expected no " Juſtice in the King's Dominions, he " would not have avocated the Cauſe: " But in that Caſe, notwithſtanding " his Promiſe, he was bound to do it, " and the Delay of the Matter lay " wholly at the King's Door, who did " not ſend a Proctor. While Bonner " was replying, the Datary came in, " and the Pope cut him ſhort, and " commanded the Datary to read the " Commiſſion; which he did: The " Pope often interrupted the Reading it, " with Words that expreſſed a high " Diſpleaſure: And when the Appeal " was read to the next lawful General " Council to be held in a proper Place, " he expreſſed, with ſome Rage, his In- " dignation; but reſtrained himſelf, " and ſaid, All that came from the " King was wellcome to him; but by " his Geſture and Manner, it appeared " he was much diſcompoſed. Yet af- " ter that, he ſhewed how willing he " was to call a Council, but that the " King ſeemed to put it off; he order'd " the Datary to read it quite thro': " In the End, Mention being made of " the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Sen- " tence, he ſpoke of that with great " Contempt. He alſo obſerved, that " the King, in Words, expreſſed Re- " ſpect to the Church and to the Apo- " ſtolick See, yet he expreſſed none to " his Perſon. While they were thus " in Diſcourſe, the King of France " came to ſee the Pope, who met him " at the Door. That King ſeemed to " know nothing of the Buſineſs, tho' " Bonner believed he did know it: " The Pope told him what they were " about; they two continued in pri- " vate Diſcourſe about three Quarters " of an Hour, and ſeemed very chear- " ful: Then that King went away; " the Pope conducted him to the Door " of the Anti-Chamber. When the " Pope came back, he ordered the Da- " tary to read out all that remained, " the Pope often interrupting him as " he read. When the firſt Inſtrument " was read to an End, Bonner offered " the two Appeals, that the King had " made to a General Council; theſe " the Pope delivered to the Datary, " that he might read them.

WHEN all was read, the Pope ſaid, " He would conſider with the Cardi- " nals what Anſwer was to be given " them; and ſeemed to think that the " Writings were to remain with him: " But Bonner preſſed to have them " again; he ſaid, he would conſider " what Anſwer he was to give to that: " So the Pope diſmiſs'd him, after an " Audience that laſted three Hours. " The Datary told Bonner, there was " to be a Conſiſtory next Day; after " that he might come to receive his " Anſwer. On the 10th a Conſiſtory " was held; in the Afternoon, the " Pope was long taken up with the

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" Bleſſing of Beads, and Admitting " Perſons of Quality, of both Sexes " to kiſs his Foot. When that was " over, he called Bonner in, and the " Pope began to expreſs his Mind to- " wards the King, that it was to do " him all Juſtice, and to pleaſe him " all he could; and tho' it had not " been ſo taken, yet he intended to " continue in the ſame Mind: But ac- " cording to a Conſtitution of Pope " Pius, that condemned all ſuch Ap- " peals, he rejected the King's Ap- " peal to a General Council, as frivo- " lous and unlawful. As for a Gene- " ral Council he would uſe all his Di- " ligence to have it meet, as he had " formerly done; but the calling it be- " longed wholly to him: He ſaid, he " would not reſtore the Inſtruments; " and told Bonner, that the Datary " ſhould give him his Anſwer in wri- " ting. Bonner went to the Datary's " Chamber, where he found the An- " ſwer already written, but not ſign'd " by him: Next Day he ſigned it; ad- " ding the Salvo of anſwering it more " fully and more particularly if it " ſhould be thought meet.

THE Pope left Marſeilles the next Day, and went towards Rome. Bonner concludes, " That the French " knew of their Deſign, and were wil- " ling it ſhould be done, two or three " Days before the Pope's Departure; " yet when it was done, they ſaid it " had ſpoiled all their Matters, and " the King's likewiſe." He ſays nothing of any Threatening of bad Uſage to himſelf. The King of France indeed when he expoſtulated upon the Affront done the Pope, while in his Houſe, ſaid, That he durſt not have done that in any other Place: This makes it probable that the Pope told him how he would have uſed Bonner, if he had ſerved him with that Appeal in his own Territories: So whether this came to be known afterwards from the Court of France, or whether Bonner might have ſpread it in England at his Return, to raiſe the Value of that Piece of Service, which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in England ſo, that in the Anſwer to Sanders it is ſet down, and from him, Biſhop Burnet ſays, he took it, but will leave it with the Reader to conſider what Credit may be due to it.

AT the ſame Time Cranmer hearing that the Pope deſigned to proceed againſt him, did by the King's Order appeal likewiſe to a General Council, and ſent the Inſtrument with a Warrant to execute it, to Cromwell, that it might be ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to get it to be intimated to the Pope, in the beſt Manner that could be thought of: He therefore, by the King's Command, ſent this to him in a Letter, dated the 22d of November: But what was done upon it does not appear.

BISHOP Burnet in the next Place gives an Account of the Inſtructions that the King of France ſent by Bellay, then tranſlated from Bayonne to Paris, whom he diſpatched immediately after he came back from Marſeilles, as the only Perſon in the Kingdom that was the moſt acceptable to the King. The Subſtance of them was, " That Fran- " cis had at the Interview ſtudied no- " thing ſo much as to advance K. Henry's " Matters: Yet he heard that he com- " plained of him as having done leſs " than he expected, which he took " much amiſs. It was agreed by the two " Kings, that a Propoſition ſhould be " ſet on Foot for the Duke of Orleans " marrying the Pope's Niece, which " had not been before thought of. The " Matter was ſo far advanced, and the " Interview ſo ſettled, that Francis " could not afterwards put it off with " Honour; all being done purſuant to " their firſt Agreement at Calais. The " Pope promiſed to make no new Step " in King Henry's Matter, if he would " do the ſame. But King Henry did " innovate in many Particulars, yet, " contrary to all Men's Expectations, " he had effectually reſtrained the Pope " from ſhewing his Reſentments upon " it: And he was in a fair Way to " have engaged the Pope againſt the " Emperor, if King Henry would have " given him any Handle for it. Once " Francis hoped to have brought Hen- " ry to Marſeilles; but he judged that " was not fit for him, and promiſed " to ſend the Duke of Norfolk in his " Stead: For, notwithſtanding the Sen- " tence paſſed at Rome, a Remedy was " propoſed, if a Perſon was ſent with " full Powers, as was expected. When " Gardiner came to Marſeilles, he ſaid " he had Orders to do whatſoever " Francis could direct him; but indeed " he brought no ſuch Powers. The " Pope was reſolved to do all that he " could adviſe him for King Henry's " Satisfaction: And Francis would en- " ter

" ter upon none of his own Affairs, " till that was firſt ſettled: He ſtill " waited for Powers from England, but " none were ſent. This might have " provoked Francis to have been leſs " zealous, but it did not: Inſtead of " ſending what Francis expected, there " was an Appeal made from the Pope " to a General Council, which ſo " highly provoked the Pope, that what " he had been labouring to do a whole " Week, was pulled down in one " Hour. It was alſo an Injury to " Francis to uſe the Pope ill without " his Knowledge, when he was in his " Houſe, doing that there which they " durſt not have done any where elſe. " This gave great Joy to the Spaniards, " and tho' the Pope offered to put " Leghorn, Parma, and Placentia, with " other Places of greater Importance, " into Francis's Hand, yet upon the " Rupture with K. Henry, he would " treat of nothing, ſo he concluded " the Marriage, with no Advantage " to himſelf from it; and yet for all " this Zeal and Friendſhip that he had " expreſſed to King Henry, he had no " Thanks, but only Complaints. He " ſaw he was diſpoſed to ſuſpect him in " every thing, as in particular for his " treating with the King of Scotland, " tho' by ſo doing he had taken him " wholly out of the Emperor's Hands. " He propoſes of new to King Henry, " the ſame Means that were propoſed " at Marſeilles, in Order to the Recon- " ciling him to the Pope, with ſome " other Motions, which he will ſee " are good and reaſonable, and upon " that all that paſſed would be eaſily " repaired: He perceived plainly at " Marſeilles, that the King's Ambaſſa- " dors had no Intentions to bring " Matters to an Agreement; and when " he told them, that he ſaw there was " no Intention to make up Matters, " they only ſmiled. It touched the " King of France very ſenſibly, to ſee " all his Friendſhip and good Offices " to be ſo little underſtood, and ſo ill " requited. He was offered the Dutchy " of Milan if he would ſuffer the Em- " peror and the Pope to proceed " againſt the King of England: But " he was now to offer to King Henry, " if he would reconcile himſelf to the " Pope, a League between the Pope " and the two Kings offenſive and de- " fenſive. But if King Henry would " come into no ſuch Agreement, yet " he was to aſſure him that he would " ſtill continue in a firm and brotherly " Friendſhip with him; and if by Rea- " ſon of his Marriage, and the Cen- " ſures that might be preſſed on that " Account; any Prince ſhould make " War upon him, that he would aſſiſt " him according to their Treaties; and " that he would ſo manage the King " of Scotland, that he ſhould engage " him in a defenſive League with him. " In Concluſion, he deſired that ſome " other better Inſtrument, than the Bi- " ſhop of Wincheſter, might be im- " ploy'd; for he thought he had no " good Intentions, neither to the one or " the other of them.

THERE is ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect that theſe Inſtructions are not fully ſet forth by Le Grand; for the beſt Argument to perſuade the King to come to Terms of Reconciliation, was to tell him what the Pope had ſaid to him of the Juſtice of his Cauſe. It is certain, that Francis owned that on other Occaſions; this makes it highly probable that it was ſet forth in theſe Inſtructions; therefore there is Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome Part of them was ſuppreſſed.

AT this Time the King, in a Letter to his Ambaſſador that was at the Emperor's Court, after he had ordered him to lay open the Falſhood of the Reports that had been carried to the Emperor, of Queen Catharine's being ill uſed, and to complain of her obſtanate Temper, and of her inſiſting on her Appeal to the Pope, after the Law was paſſed againſt all ſuch Appeals; he adds, that as he had told the Emperor's Ambaſſador at his Court, the Pope had to the French King confeſſed that his Cauſe was juſt and lawful; and that he had promiſed to him at Marſeilles, that if the King would ſend a Proxy, he would give Sentence for him in his principal Cauſe; which the King refuſed to do, looking on that as a Derogation from his Royal Dignity. The Pope it ſeems looked on his refuſing to do this as a Contempt, and pronounced Sentence againſt him, notwithſtanding his Appeal to a General Council, that had been perſonally intimated to him. This the King imputed to his Malice, and his Deſign to ſupport his Uſurped Authority.

THE Biſhop of Paris coming to London had very long and earneſt Conferences with the King: In Concluſion, the King promiſed, that if the Pope would ſuperſede his Sentence, the

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King would likewiſe ſuperſede the Separating himſelf entirely from his Obedience: Upon that, tho' it was in Winter, he went immediately Poſt to Rome. At the ſame Time the King ſent a Letter to his Ambaſſador at Rome: He tells them, " That after the Interview at " Marſeilles, he had heard both by " Bonner and Sir Gregory, that the " Pope had in a lively Manner ſpoken " to the Emperor in Favour of the " King's Cauſe, and ſeemed more in- " clined than formerly to do him Juſ- " tice. He had propoſed that the " King ſhould ſend a Mandate, de- " ſiring his Cauſe might be tried in an " indifferent Place: Upon which he " would ſend a Legate and two Audi- " tors to form the Proceſs, reſerving " the Judgment to himſelf: Or, that " the King of France and he would " concur to procure a General Coun- " cil, by concluding a Truce for three " or four Years, upon which he would " call one, and leave the King's Cauſe " to be judged in it. The ſame Over- " tures were made to the King by the " Pope's Nuntio. He pretended that Sir " Gregory had made them to the Pope " in the King's Name, and that the " Pope had agreed to them; yet the " King had never ſent ſuch Orders to " Sir Gregory, but rather to the con- " trary; yet ſince the Pope in the " Overtures ſhewed better Inclinations " than formerly, which indeed he was " out of Hope of, he ordered Thanks " to be given him in his Name: The " King aſk'd nothing in Return for all " the Service he had done him and " the See, but Juſtice according to the " Laws of GOD, and the Ordinances " of the Holy Councils; which if he " would now do ſpeedily, ſetting a-ſide " all Delays; he might be ſure that he " and his Kingdom would be as loving " to him and his See, as they had been " formerly accuſtomed to be; but for " the Truce, how deſirous ſoever he " was of outward Quiet, yet he could " not ſet himſelf to procure it, 'till " he had firſt Peace in his own Conſci- " ence, which the Pope might give " him, and then he would uſe his " beſt Endeavours for a general Peace " with the King of France, from whom " he would never ſeparate himſelf: He " therefore charges them to preſs the " the Pope to remit the Fact, to be " tried within the Kingdom, according " to the old Sanctions of General " Councils. If the Pope would grant " his Deſire, he would diſpoſe all his " Allies to concur in the Service of " that See: He could not conſent to " let his Cauſe be tried out of the " Realm; it was contrary both to his " Prerogative, and to the Laws of his " Kingdom; and by his Coronation- " Oath, he was bound to maintain " thoſe; ſo without the Conſent of his " Parliament, he could not agree to it; " and he was ſure they would never " conſent to that. He hoped the Pope " would not compel him to do Things " prejudicial to the Papal Dignity, as " it was then exerciſed, which, unleſs " he were forced to it, by the Pope's " Conduct towards him, he had no " Mind to do. The Pope had ſaid to " Sir Gregory, that by their Laws, " the Pope could not diſpence in ſuch " a Marriage, unleſs there was an ur- " gent Cauſe preſſing it: And this " clearing this Point he thought would " more certainly advance the King's " Cauſe, than the Opinion of Lawyers " and Divines, that the Pope could " not diſpence with it: The Emperor " had ſaid to the Pope, that there was " an extream bloody War at that " Time, between England and Spain; " for the pacifying which, the Diſpen- " ſation allowing the Marriage was " granted: Whereas in the League " ſigned by his Father, and by Ferdi- " nand and Iſabella, upon which the " Diſpentation was obtained, no ſuch " Thing was pretended; the Marriage " was agreed to for the Continuance " and Augmentation of their Amity; " and upon the Account of the good " Qualities of the Queen: It was alſo " plainly expreſſed in that League that " her former Marriage was conſumma- " ted: So the Diſpenſation was granted " without any urgent Cauſe. And " therefore by the Pope's own Con- " ceſſion, it could not be valid: He " ſent to Rome an atteſted Tranſcript " of that League; ſo if the Pope would " refer the Judging in this Matter to " the Church of England, and ra- " tify the Sentence given in it, he will " not only acquire the Obedience of " us and of our People, but pacify the " Diſputes that have been raiſed, to " the Quiet of all Chriſtendom. He " concludes, that if the Pope ſeemed " diſpoſed to be benevolent to the King, " they were not to declare all this, as " his final Anſwer, but to aſſure him " that he would ſtudy by all honoura- " able Ways to concur with the Pope's

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" towardly Mind, if he will earneſtly " apply himſelf and perſevere in ſuch " an Opinion as may be for the Accelera- " tion of the ſaid Cauſe.

To quicken the Court of France to interpoſe effectually with the Pope, to bring this Matter to the Concluſion that all the Papiſts of England laboured earneſtly for; the Duke of Norfolk wrote on the 27th of January, a very full Letter on the Subject to Montmorancy. " He was glad that the Biſhop " of Paris, was ſent to Rome with In- " ſtructions expreſſing the entire Uni- " on that was between the two Kings. " He wiſhed he might ſucceed; for if " the Pope would perſiſt in his Obſti- " nacy to favour the Emperor, and to " oppreſs the King in his moſt juſt " Cauſe, an Oppoſition to his Authori- " ty would be unavoidable: And it " would give Occaſions to many Queſ- " tions, greatly to his Prejudice, and " againſt his Uſurpations. It began " to be believed, that the Pope had no " Authority out of Rome, any more " than any other Biſhop has out of his " Dioceſe: And that this Uſurped Au- " thority grew by the Permiſſion of " Princes, blinded by Popes; who, " contrary to the Laws of GOD, and " the Good of the Church, had main- " tained it. To ſupport this, many " clear Texts of Scripture were brought, " with Reaſons founded on them: And " many Hiſtories were alledged, to " prove, that Popes themſelves were " made by the Emperors; and their " Authority was only ſuffered, but " not ganted, nor confirmed by Em- " perors or Kings. Of all this the " Biſhops, and other Doctors, had " made ſuch Diſcoveries, that he him- " ſelf and other Noblemen, as well " as the Body of the People, were ſo " convinced of it, that if the King " would give Way to it, (which, if " no Interpoſition ſaves it, probably he " will do) this preſent Parliament " will withdraw from the Pope's Obe- " dience; and then every Thing that " depends on it, will be hated and ab- " horred by the whole Nation: And " other States and Kingdoms may from " thence be moved to do the ſame. " He, out of the Friendſhip that was " between them, gave him this Adver- " tiſement. He apprehended ſome ill " Effects, from the Readineſs the " King of France had expreſſed to fa " vour the Pope, even to the Prejudice " of his own Authority: For he had " taken a Bull to do Juſtice in his own " Kingdom, as if he had not full Au- " thority to do that without a Bull. " The Pope and his Succeſſors might " make this a Precedent for uſurping " on the Royal Authority. He alſo " complains, that tho' their King had " promiſed to the Earl of Rochford, " that Beda, who had calumniated the " King ſo much, and was his Enemy " in his juſt Cauſe, ſhould be baniſhed, " not only from Paris, but out of his " Kingdom; yet he was now ſuddenly " recalled. He wiſhes theſe Things " may be conſidered in Time: He does " not propoſe that the King of France " ſhould turn the Pope's Enemy; but " if there came a Rupture between " the King and the Pope, that he " would not ſo favour the Pope, as to " give him more Boldneſs in execu- " ting his Malice againſt the King, or " his Subjects; and that they might " not be deceived by his Promiſes, as " if he would enable Francis to reco- " ver his Dominions in Italy, if he " ſhould be thereby engaged to loſe " the Friendſhip of the King and his " Allies.

THIS came in Time to quicken the Court of France: For, by a Letter writ from Rome, on the 20th of February, it appears, that the Pope was at that Time in great Anxiety. He was preſſed hard by the Imperialiſts, on one Hand; and he ſaw the Danger of loſing England, on the other Hand. To ſome about him, he expreſſed a great Inclination to be reconciled to the King: He ſent ſecretly for ſome great Lawyers; they were poſitive that the King's Cauſe was juſt, and that his ſecond Marriage was good. But now the Matter being brought to a Criſis, the Biſhop of Saliſbury gives it in the Words of Du Bellay, who, no Doubt had his Information from his Brother. " King Henry, upon the Re- " monſtrances that the Biſhop of Paris " made to him, condeſcended, that if " the Pope will ſuperſede the Sen- " tence, till he ſent Judges to hear his " Matter, he would ſuperſede the " executing that which he was reſolv'd " to do, which was to ſeparate him- " ſelf entirely from Obedience to the " See of Rome. And the Biſhop of " Paris offering to undertake the Jour- " ney to Rome, he aſſured him, that " when he obtained that which he " went to demand there, he would " immdiately ſend him ſufficient

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" Powers to confirm that which he had " promiſed, truſting in him, by Rea- " ſon of the great Friendſhip that he " had for ſo long a Time born him; " for he had been Ambaſſador in his " Court for two Years.

" IT was a very ſevere Winter; but " the Biſhop thought the Trouble " was ſmall, ſo he might accompliſh " that which he went upon: So he " came in good Time to Rome, before " any Thing was done; and in an Au- " dience in the Conſiſtory, he gave " an Account of that which he had " obtained of the King of England, " for the Good of the Church. The " Propoſition was judged reaſonable, " and a Time was aſſigned him for " getting the King's Anſwer: So he " diſpatched a Courier to the King, " with a Charge to uſe ſuch Diligence " that he might return within the " Time limited.

" THE Day that was ſet for the " Return of the Meſſenger, being come, " and the Courier not come back, the " Imperialiſts preſſed in the Conſiſ- " tory, that the Pope ſhould give Sen- " tence. The Biſhop on the other " Hand, preſſed both the Pope, in " particular, and all the Cardinals, " that they would continue the Time " only for ſix Days, alledging, That " ſome Accident might have happened " to the Courier; the Sea might not " be paſſable, or the Wind contrary, " ſo that either in going or coming the " Courier might be delay'd: And ſince " the King had Patience for ſix Years, " they might well grant him a Delay " for ſix Days. He made theſe Re- " monſtrances in full Conſiſtory, to " which many of thoſe, who ſaw the " cleareſt, and judged the beſt of " Things, condeſcended; but the great- " er Number prevailed over the leſs " Number of thoſe who conſidered " well the Prejudice that was like to " happen to the Church by it; and " they went on with that Precipitation, " that they did in one Conſiſtory, " that which could not be done in " three Conſiſtories, and ſo the Sen- " tence was fulminated.

" TWO Days had not paſſed, when " the Courier came with the Power " and Declarations from the King of " England, of which the Biſhop had " aſſured them. This did much con- " found thoſe who had been for the " Precipitating the Matter. They met " often, to ſee if they could redreſs " that which they had ſpoiled; but " they found no Remedy. The King " of England ſeeing with what Indig- " nity he was uſed, and that they " ſhewed as little Regard to him, as if " he had been the meaneſt Perſon in " Chriſtendom, did immediately with- " draw himſelf, and his Kingdom from " the Obedience of the Church of " Rome, and declared himſelf to be, " under GOD, the Head of the Church " of England.

WE have a further Account of this Tranſaction, in the Letters that Mr. Le Grand has publiſhed. On the 22d of February, Raince, the French Am- baſſador, wrote, from Rome, a Letter full of good Hopes; and it ſeems the Biſhop of Paris wrote in the ſame Strain; but his Letter of the 23d of March is very different from that: It was on the ſame Day that the Conſiſ- tory was held, " There were 22 Car- " dinals preſent, when Sentence was " given, by which King Henry's Mar- " riage with Queen Catharine was de- " clared good and valid, and the Iſſue " of it lawful. Upon hearing the News " of this, he went and aſked the Pope " about it, who told him it was true; " but that, tho' ſome would have " had it immediately, he had delayed " the ordering that till after Eaſter. " He, with the other French Ambaſſa- " dors, made no Anſwer to the Pope, " only the Biſhop of Paris told him, " he had no other Buſineſs there, ſo " he muſt return Home again. They " did not put the Pope in Mind of the " Promiſes and Aſſurances he had gi- " ven them to the contrary, when " they ſaw it was to no Purpoſe; and " it was not eaſy to ſay ſuch Things " as the Occaſion required; but the " Biſhop intended to ſpeak more plain- " ly to the Pope, when he ſhould take " his Leave of him, which would be " within three or four Days. He adds, " that for ſome Reaſons, which he " would tell the French King, they " were in doubt, whether that which " was done, was not conform to a ſe- " cret Intention of the King's, that " was not made known to them. He " apprehended if he ſtay'd longer " there, it might give the King of Eng- " land Cauſe of Suſpicion; for he had " by his laſt Letters to him given him " Aſſurances, upon which, perhaps, " he had diſmiſſed his Parliament; for " which he would be much diſpleaſed " with the Biſhop. He deſires the

" King will give Advice of this, with " all Diligence to King Henry; and " then all the World would ſee that " the King had done all that was poſ- " ſible for him to do, both to ſerve " his Friend, and to prevent the great " Miſchief that might follow to the " Church, and to all Chriſtendom; for " there was not any one Thing " omitted, that could have been done. " The Imperialiſts were running about " the Streets in great Bodies, crying, " Empire, and Spain, as if they had " got a Victory; and had Bonfires and " Diſcharges of Cannon upon it. The " Cardinals Trevulce, Rodophe, and " Priane, were not of that Number; " others had not behaved themſelves ſo " well as was expected. Raince, one " of the Ambaſſadors, ſaid, he would " give himſelf to the Devil, if the " Pope ſhould not find a Way to ſet " all right, that is now ſpoiled: He " preſſed the other Ambaſſadors to go " again to the Pope for that End, it " being a Maxim in the Canon Law, " that Matrimonial Cauſes are never " ſo finally judged, but that they may " be reviewed: They were aſſured that " the Pope was ſurprized in this as " well as he had been in the firſt Sen- " tence paſſed in this Matter. The " Pope had been all that Night ad- " viſing with his Doctors, how to find " a Remedy, and was in great Pain " about it; upon the Knowledge of " this, they were reſolved to go to " him, and ſee if any thing was to be " expected. In a Poſtſcript he tells " the King, that he ought not to think " it ſtrange, if in their laſt Letters " they gave other Hopes of the Opini- " ons of the Cardinals, than appeared " now by their Votes: They took " what they wrote to him from what " they ſaid, which they heard, and " not from their Thoughts, which " they could not know." By a Let- ter that Pompone Trevulce wrote from Lyons, to the Biſhop of Auxerre, it appears, that the Biſhop of Paris paſs'd thro' Lyons, in his Return on the 14th, two Days before: In it he gave him the ſame Account of the final Sentence, that was formerly related: The Biſhop ſaid to him, " It was not the Pope's " Fault, for he was for a Delay, and " if they had granted a Delay of ſix " Days, the King of England would " have returned to the Obedience of " the Apoſtolick See, and left his " Cauſe to be proceeded in, according " to Juſtice; but the Imperialiſts and " their Party in the Conſiſtory, preſ- " ſed the Matter ſo, that they would " admit of no Delay; but when after " a Day the Courier came, the Impe- " rialiſts themſelves were confounded: " He adds one Thing that the Biſhop " told him of his Brother, the Car- " dinal, that he preſſed the Delay ſo " earneſtly, that he was reproached for " it, and called a Frenchman: He " avowed, that he was a Servant to " the Moſt Chriſtian King, and that " the King of France, and his Prede- " ceſſors had never done any Thing but " good to the Apoſtolick See.

AND now, our Hiſtorian ſays, he has laid together all the Proceedings in the Matters relating to the King's Divorce, and his Breach with the Court of Rome. In opening all which he had a great deal of Light given him, by the Papers that Mr. Le Grand publiſhed, and by the Book that he gave him; for which, whatever other Differences might be between them, he, in this Place, publickly returns him his hearty Thanks. There appears to have been a ſignal Train of Providence in the whole Progreſs of this Matter, that thus ended in a total Rupture. The Court of Rome being over-awed by the Emperor engaged itſelf far at firſt; but when the Pope and the King of France were ſo entirely united, as they knew they were, it ſeems they were under an Infatuation from GOD, to carry their Authority ſo far, at a Time in which they ſaw the King of England had a Parliament inclined to ſupport him in his Breach with Rome. It was but too viſible that the King would have given all up, if the Pope would have done him but common Juſtice: But when the Matter was brought ſo near a total Union, an entire Breach followed, in the very Time in which it was thought all was made up: Thoſe who favoured the Reformation, ſaw all their Hopes, as it ſeemed, blaſted, but of a ſudden all was revived again. This was an amazing Tranſaction, and how little Honour ſoever, this full Diſcovery of all the Steps made in it, does to the Memory of King Henry, who retained his Inclinations to a great deal of Popery, to the End of his Life; yet it is much to the Glory of GOD's Providence, that made the Perſons moſt concerned to prevent and hin-

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der the Breach, to be the very Perſons that brought it on, and in a Manner forc'd it.

THE Sentence was given at Rome, on the 23d of March, on the ſame Day in which the Act of the Succeſſion to the Crown of England did paſs here in England; and certainly the Parliament was ended before it was poſſible to have had the News from Rome, of what paſs'd in the Conſiſtory on the 23d of March; for it was prorogued on the 30th of March: So, that if King Henry's Word had been taken by the Pope and the Conſiſtory, he ſeems to have put it out of his Power to have made it good, ſince it is ſcarce poſſible to think, that a Parliament that had gone ſo far in the Breach with Rome, could have been prevailed on to undo all that they had been doing for four Years together.

NOTHING material paſſed in Convocation before the 31ſt of March, and then the Actuary exhibited the Anſwer of the Lower Houſe to this Queſtion, Whether the Biſhop of Rome has any greater Juriſdiction given him by GOD in the Holy Scriptures, within the Kingdom of England, than any other Foreign Biſhop? There were 32 for the Negative, four for the Affirmative, and one doubted. It was a thin Houſe, and no Doubt many abſented themſelves on Deſign; but it does not appear how this paſt in the Upper Houſe, or whether it was at all debated there; for the Prelates who voted, had by their Votes in the Houſe of Lords, given their Opinions already in the Point. The Convocation at York had the ſame Poſition, no more made a Queſtion, put to them on the 5th of May: There the Archbiſhop's Preſidents were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimouſly, without a contrary Vote, agree to it; upon which an Inſtrument was made by the Archbiſhop, and ſent to the King.

THE King ſent the ſame Queſtion to the Univerſity of Oxford, and had their Anſwer. That Part of the King's Letter that relates to this Matter, and the Univerſity's Anſwer, was ſent Biſhop Burnet, taken from the Archives there, by the Learned Mr. Bingham. The King required them to examine the Queſtion ſent by him to them, concerning the Power and Primacy of the Biſhop of Rome, and return their Anſwer under the Common Seal, with convenient Speed, according to the ſincere Truth, dated from Greenwich the 18th Day of May. The Anſwer is directed to all the Sons of their Mother Church, and is made in the Name of the Biſhop of Lincoln, their Chancellor, and the whole Convocation of all Doctors, Maſters, Regents and Non-Regents. It ſets forth, "That whereas "the King had received the Complaints "and Petitions of his Parliament, "againſt ſome intolerable Foreign Ex-"actions; and ſome Controverſies be-"ing raiſed, concerning the Power and "Authority of the Biſhop of Rome; "the King, that he might ſatisfy his "People, but not break in upon any "thing declared in the Scriptures, "(which he will be always moſt rea-"dy to defend with his Blood) had "ſent this Queſtion to them, (ſetting "it down in the Forms in which it "was propoſed to the Convocation.) "They, upon this, to make all the "Returns of Duty and Obedience to "the King, had brought together the "whole Faculty of Divinity; and for "many Days, they had ſearched the "Scriptures, and the moſt approved "Commentators; and had collated "them diligently, and had held pub-"lick Diſputations on the Matter; and "at laſt they had all unanimouſly "agreed, that the Biſhop of Rome has "no greater Juriſdiction given him "by GOD, in the Holy Scriptures, in "this Kingdom of England, than any "other Foreign Biſhop. This Deter-"mination, made according to the Sta-"tutes of their Univerſity, they affirm "and teſtify as true, certain, and "agreeing to the Holy Scriptures. "Dated the 27th of June, 1534." Here was a long Deliberation, it laſted above five Weeks after the King's Letter, and was a very full and clear Determination of the Point.

THERE was likewiſe an Order publiſh'd, but how ſoon it does not appear: Strype ſays, in June, 1534; it was before Queen Anne's Tragical Fall, directing the bidding Prayers for the King, as the only and Supreme Head of this Catholick Church of England, then for Qeen Anne, and then for the Lady Elizabeth, Daughter to them both, our Princeſs, and no further in the Preſence of the King and Queen; but in all other Places they were to pray for all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and for the whole Clergy, and ſuch as ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name of

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his Devotion; then for all the Nobility, and ſuch as the Preacher ſhould name; then for the Souls of them that were dead, and ſuch of them as the Preacher ſhall name. Every Preacher was ordered to preach once, in the greateſt Audience, againſt the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of Rome; and he was left after that to his Liberty: No Preachers were in the Pulpit to inveigh againſt, or to deprave one another; if they had Occaſion to complain, they were to do it to the King, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. They were not to preach for or againſt Purgatory, the Honouring of Saints, that Faith only juſtifieth, to go on Pilgrimages, or to ſupport Miracles: Theſe Things had occaſioned great Diſſentions, but thoſe were then well pacified; they were to preach the Words of Chriſt, and not mix with them Mens Inſtitutions, or to make GOD's Laws and Mens Laws of equal Authority, or to teach that any Man had Power to diſpenſe with GOD's Law. It ſeems there was a Sentence of Excommunication, with Relation to the Laws and Liberties of the Church, publiſhed once a Year, againſt all ſuch as broke them; this was to be no more publiſhed. The Collects for the King and Queen by Name were to be ſaid in all High Maſſes; they were likewiſe to juſtify to the People the King's laſt Marriage, and to declare how ill the King had been uſed by the Pope, in all that Matter, with the Proofs of the Unlawfulneſs of his former Marriage; and a long Deduction was made of the Proceſs at Rome, and of all the Artifices uſed by the Pope, to get the King to ſubject himſelf to him, which need not be related: It contains the Subſtance of the whole Cauſe, and the Order of the Proceſs formerly ſet forth; all that is particular in it, is, that the King affirms, that a decretal Bull was ſent over, decreeing, that if the former Marriage was proved, and if it did appear, that as Preſumptions can prove it, that it was conſummated, that Marriage was to be held unlawful and null. This Bull, after it was ſeen by the King, was, by the Biſhop of Rome's Commandment, embezzel'd by the Cardinals. He adds another Particular, that the Pope gave out a Sentence in the Manner of an Excommunication, and Interdiction of him and his Realm; of which Complaint being made, as being contrary to all Law and Right, the Fault was laid on a new Officer lately come to the Court, who ought to have been puniſhed for it, and the Proceſs was to ceaſe; but tho' this was promiſed to the King's Agents, yet it went on, and was ſet up in Flanders. Perhaps the Words in the Biſhop of Paris's laſt Letter, that the Pope was ſurprized in the laſt Sentence, as he had been in the firſt, are to be explained and applied to this. He alſo mentions the Declarations that the Pope had made to the French King and his Council, of what he would gladly do for the King, allowing the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe, and that he durſt not do it at Rome, for Fear of the Emperor, but that he would come and do it at Marſeilles, and there he promiſed to that King to give Judgment for the King; ſo he would ſend a Proxy, which he knew before, that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

THUS the King took Care to have his Cauſe to be fully ſet forth to all his own Subjects: His next Care was to have it rightly underſtood by all the Princes of Europe. Biſhop Burnet ſays he found the Original Inſtructions that he gave to Paget, then one of the Clerks of the Signet, whom he ſent to the King of Poland, and the Dukes of Pomerania and Pruſſia, and to the Cities of Dantzick, Stetin, and Koningſburg; and it is to be ſuppoſed, that others were ſent to other Princes and Cities with the like Inſtructions; by theſe:

"THEIR old Friendſhip was deſir'd
"to be renewed, the rather becauſe
"the King ſaw they were ſetting them-
"ſelves to find out the Truth of GOD's
"Word, and the Juſtice of his Laws;
"and the Extirpation of ſuch corrupt
"Errors and Abuſes, by which the
"World has been kept Slaves under
"the Yoke of the Biſhop of Rome,
"more than the Jews were under the
"Ceremonies of Moſes's Law. The
"King orders Paget to let them under-
"ſtand his great Deſire, to promote,
"not only a Friendſhip with them,
"but the common Good of all Chri-
"ſtendom: He orders him to give
"them an Account of the whole Pro-
"greſs of his Cauſe of Matrimony,
"with the intolerable Injuries done
"him by the Biſhop of Rome, and
"the State in which that Matter
"then ſtood. He was firſt to ſhew
"them the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe,
"then to open the Steps in which it

had

" had been carried on. Here all the " Arguments againſt his Marriage are " ſtated, to make it appear to be con- " trary both to the Laws of GOD, of " Nature, and of Men. In this the " King did not follow his own private " Opinion, nor that of the whole " Clergy of his Realm; but that of " the moſt famous Univerſities of " Chriſtendom: And therefore, by the " Conſent of his whole Parliament, " and by the Sentence of the Archbi- " ſhop of Canterbury, he has for the " Diſcharge of his own Conſcience, " and the Good of his People, and " that he might have a lawful Succeſ- " ſor to rule over them, ſeparate him- " ſelf from the Princeſs Dowager, and " was then married to Queen Anne; " of whom follows a very exalted " Character, ſetting forth, the Purity " of her Life, her conſtant Virginity, " her maidenly and womanly Pudicity, " her Soberneſs, her Chaſtneſs, her " Meekneſs, her Wiſdom, her Deſcent " of noble Parentage, her Education " in all good and lawful Shews and " Manners, her Aptneſs to Procreation " of Children, with her other infinite " good Qualities, which were more to " be eſteemed than only Progeny. If " any ſhould object to this ſecond Mar- " riage, as contrary to the Pope's " Laws, he aſſerts that every Man's " private Conſcience is to him the Su- " preme Court for Judgment; ſo the " King was ſatisfy'd in his own Con- " ſcience; that, being enlightened by " the Spirit of GOD, and afterwards " by the Means formerly ſet forth, he " was judged to be at Liberty from his " former Marriage, and free to con- " tract a new one. The King alſo " took great Pains to ſatisfy the " World by long Travel and Study, " with ineſtimable Coſt and Charges, " tho' he had no Fruit from it at all. " Upon this Head, Paget was to ſet " forth the Pope's ungodly Demeanor, " in the whole Progreſs of the King's " Cauſe, keeping him off by Delays " for ſeven Years and more. At firſt " the Pope inſtead of judging the Mat- " ter himſelf, ſent a Commiſſion to " England, to try it, with full Powers, " pretending that it could not be judg- " ed at Rome. He gave with theſe a " Decretal Bull, in which he pro- " nounced Sentence, That the King " might (convolare ad ſecundas nup- " tias) marry another Wife; yet he " gave the Legate ſecret Directions not " to proceed by Virtue of the Decre- " tal Bull, nor to give Sentence. He " wrote a Letter to the King with his " own Hand, in which he approved " of the King's Cauſe, and promiſed " to the King, on the Word of the " Pope, that he would not avocate the " Cauſe, but leave it in its due Courſe; " yet afterwards, contrary to his Con- " ſcience and Knowledge, he decreed " ſeveral Citations againſt the King to " appear at Rome, to the Subverſion of " the Royal Dignity; or to ſend a " Proxy, which cannot be juſtify'd by " any Colour of Reaſon. He cites the " Councils of Nice, Africa, and Mi- " levi, againſt Appeals to remote " Places. It was not reaſonable to " ſend Original Inſtruments and other " Documents to a diſtant Place; nor " in a Matter of Conſcience, could a " Man give ſuch a Power to a Proxy, " by which he was bound to ſtand to " that which he ſhould agree to: It " was fit that all Princes ſhould con- " ſider what an Attempt this made up- " on their Dignity, for the Pope to " pretend that he could oblige them to " abandon their Kingdoms and come " and appear before him, by which he " might depoſe Kings, or rule them ac- " cording to his own Pleaſure: So that " all this was not only unjuſt, but null " of itſelf. Dr. Karn being then at " Rome, as the King's Subject, he of- " fered a Plea Excuſatory, yet this " was not regarded by the Dean of " the Rota, who in that acted as he " was directed by the Pope, pretend- " ing he had no Powers from the King, " which by Law was not neceſſary for " an Excuſator. Karn had appealed to " the Pope: To this Capiſucchi gave " an ambiguous Anſwer, promiſing to " give a more determinate one after- " wards, which yet he never did; but " upon a ſecond Appeal, the Cauſe " was brought into the Conſiſtory, and " there it was judged that Karn could " not be heard, unleſs he had a Proxy " from the King: And when Karn " objected that ſuch Proceeding was " againſt Law, the Pope anſwered that " he might judge all Things according " to his own Conſcience; and ſo they " reſolved to proceed in the main " Cauſe. At that Time the King's " Ambaſſadors at Rome ſhewed the " Pope the Determination of the Uni- " verſities of Paris and Orleans, with " the Opinions of the moſt learned " Men, and France and Italy condemn- " ing

" ing the Pope's Proceeding as unjuſt " and null; the Words of their Opi- " nion being inſerted in the Inſtruc- " tions: Yet the Pope ſtill went on, " and ſent out ſlanderous Breves againſt " the King, and deſigned to excommu- " nicate him. To prevent that, the " King did order a Provocation and " an Appeal to be made from the " Pope to a General Council, and " cauſed it to be intimated to the Pope, " but he would not admit it, and pre- " tended that by a Bull of Pope Pius's, " that was condemned; and that he " was ſuperior to all General Councils. " He rejected it arrogantly, ſaying, " they were Heteticks and Traitors to " his Perſon, who would appeal from " him to any General Council. It ap- " peared evidently, that the Pope, for " the Defence of his own Glory and " Ambition, regarded not what Inju- " ry he did to Chriſtian Princes: So " they were all obliged now to be on " their Guard, againſt ſuch Invaſions " of their Authority. For theſe Rea- " ſons the King was reſolved to reduce " the Exorbitant Power which the " Pope had aſſumed, within due Li- " mits; ſo that in his Dominions he " ſhall exerciſe no other Juriſdiction " than what is granted to him by ex- " preſs Words of Scripture. Paget " was to open all theſe Things to " thoſe Princes and States, deſiring " that they would adhere to the King " in this Matter, till it ſhould come to " be treated of in a General Council: " And in the mean Time to give him " their beſt Aſſiſtance and Advice, " eſpecially in ſome Articles, of which " a Schedule was to be given him, " ſigned with the King's Hand, which " he was to communicate to them as " he ſhould find it convenient. They " related to ſome Abuſes and Cuſtoms " which ſeemed neceſſary to be reform- " ed; and if they would propoſe any " other, Paget was to receive their " Mind, and to aſſure them, that the " King, as he deſired their Aſſiſtance " in his Cauſes and Quarrels, ſo he " would kindly admit of whatſoever " they ſhould propoſe; and would en- " deavour to extirpate all Abuſes " againſt GOD's Word and Laws, and " to do all that lay in him, for the " Reformation thereof, for the Main- " tainance of GOD's Word, the Faith " of Chriſt, and the Welfare of Chriſ- " tendom.

BUT becauſe the King did not know what the Mind of thoſe Princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the Pope, Paget was to try to find out their Inclinations, before he ſhould deliver the King's Letters to them; and ſo to proceed according to his Diſcretion, to deliver, or not to deliver his Letters, or to ſhew his Inſtructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

THE judicious and diligent Seckendorff, in his Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, gives an Account of a Negotiation of Paget's, two Years before this. Cranmer, who was then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, met with John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, at Noremberg, who had ſecretly left the Diet of Ratisbon; and there he delivered Letters from the King, both to the Elector, to the Duke of Luneimberg, and to the Prince of Anhalt; which contained only a general Offer of Friendſhip. Cranmer came the next Day to the Elector, who had two of his Miniſters about him; and asked him many Queſtions concerning their Agreement with the State of Religion, the Turkiſh War, and the Church-Lands, which (as they heard) they had ſeized on. He ſaid great Things of the King, and of the Aid he had offered the Emperor, againſt the Turks, in Conjunction with the French King. He asked where Paget was? whom the King had ſent to the Elector. General Anſwers were made to all his Queſtions; and for Paget, he had been with the Elector the former Year. This paſſed on to the 15th of July, 1532. Four Days after this, he came privately to Spalatin, one of the Elector's Secretaries, and aſſured him, that both the King, and the French King, would aſſiſt the Elector and his Allies, in the Matter of Religion. In Auguſt after that, Paget came to the Elector, who propoſed many Things to him concerning Religion; but the Princes had then come to an Agreement with the Emperor, ſo they could enter into no Treaty at that Time; only John Frederick, did, in a Writing under his own Hand, offer the Scheme of that which was afterwards propoſed in their Name to the King.

ALL theſe Negotiations were ſet on Foot, purſuant to a Paper of Advices offered to the King by Cromwell, in which there are divers marginal Notes writ in the King's own Hand.

" FIRST, All the Biſhops were to be " ſent for, eſpecially thoſe neareſt the " Court,

" Court, to examine them, whether " they can prove, that the Pope is " above the General Council, or the " Council above him? And whether " by the Law of GOD, he has any " Authority in England? Next, they " are to be charged to preach this to " the People, and to ſhew that the " Pope's Authority was an Uſurpation, " grown up by the Sufferance of " Princes. This ought to be preach- " ed continually at Paul's Croſs; and " the Biſhop of London was to ſuffer " none to preach there, but thoſe who " will ſet this forth. The ſame Or- " der was to be given to all other Bi- " ſhops, and to the Rulers of the Four " Orders of Friars, particularly to the " Friar Obſervants, and to all Abbots " and Priors. The King's Appeal was " alſo to be ſet up on every Church " Door in England, that ſo none might " pretend Ignorance; as alſo the Act " againſt Appeals to Rome. It was " alſo propoſed, that Copies of the " King's Appeal might be ſent to other " Realms, particularly to Flanders. A " Letter was alſo propoſed, complain- " ing of all the Injuries done the King " by the Pope, to be written to him " by all the Lords Spiritual and Tem- " poral. The King writes on the Margin, " Not yet done, nor can it well be " done before the Parliament. To " ſend Spies in Scotland to ſee what " Preachers where there: On the Mar- " gin the King orders, Letters to be " written to the Lord Dacres, the " Duke of Norfolk, and Sir Thomas " Clifford. To ſend to the Kings of " Poland and Hungary, the Dukes of " Saxony and Bavaria, the Landgrave " of Heſſe, and the three Eccleſiaſtical " Electors. On the Margin the King " writes, In the King's Arbitrament. " This, it ſeems, gave the Occaſion of " ſending Paget. The like propoſed " for the Hans Towns: On the Mar- " gin, in the King's Hand, To know " this of the King: To remember the " Merchant-Adventurers, chiefly thoſe " of Brabant. On the Margin, This " is already done. Then it is pro- " poſed, that an Order be given for " eſtabliſhing the Princeſs Dowager's " Houſe, and the Lady Mary's, and for " my Lady Princeſs's Houſe: This was " Elizabeth's. To this, on the Margin, " it is written by the King, The Or- " der is taken.

IN June, in the Year 1535, after the Parliament had ſettled every Thing, demanded of them, the King publiſhed a Circular Letter, in which, " After " he had ſet forth, that both Cler- " gy and Temporality had aboliſhed " the Biſhop of Rome's Uſurpations, " and had united to the Crown the " Dignity of Supreme Head in Earth " of the Church of England, which " was alſo approved in Convocation, " and confirmed by their Oaths and " Subſcription: He adds, that con- " ſidering what Quiet would follow " in the Nation, if the Biſhops and " Clergy would ſincerely, and with- " out Diſſimulation, publiſh the many " and great Abuſes of the Pope's Uſur- " pation: He had ſent Letters to all " Biſhops, charging them, not only in " their own Perſons, but by their " Chaplains, to preach the true and " ſincere Word of God to the People, " and to give Warning to all Eccleſiaſ- " tical Perſons to do the ſame; and to " cauſe the Pope's Name to be razed " out of all the Books of Divine Ser- " vice: He had alſo required the Juſ- " tices of Peace to examine whether " the Biſhops and Clergy did this ſin- " cerely; or whether they did it cold- " ly, or feignedly, or uſed any Addi- " tion or Gloſs to it: Upon all this " the King requires them, at their Aſ- " ſizes and Seſſions, to make diligent " Search, whether the Biſhops and " Clergy do their Duty ſincerely. Like- " wiſe at their Meetings they were to " ſet the ſame forth to the People; and " alſo declare the Treaſons committed " by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir " Thomas More, who by divers ſe- " cret Practices, intended to breed a- " mong the People moſt miſchievous " Opinions; for which they, with " ſome others, had ſuffered as they " deſerved. He requires them, if they " found any Fault, or Diſſimulation " in any Perſon, that they ſhould im- " mediately ſignify it to the King and " his Council: As that which was of " the greateſt Moment to the Quiet of " the Kingdom, threatening ſuch Pu- " niſhment of thoſe who were negli- " gent in this, as would make them " Examples to all others; and he " charges them upon their Allegiance " to obey all this punctually.

BUT it ſeems this had not the Ef- fect that was expected, therefore in April, after this, a new Letter, or Proclamation, was writ to ſome of the Nobility, ſetting forth, that he had heard that ſome, both Regulars and Seculars,

Seculars, did ſecretly extol the Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, praying for him in the Pulpit, and making him a GOD, preferring his Power and Laws to GOD's moſt Holy Laws; the King therefore, out of his Deſire to maintain Unity and Quiet among his People, and to bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth, and to be no more blinded with Superſtition and falſe Doctrine, required them that whereſoever they found any Perſon ſpreading ſuch pernicious Doctrines to the Exaltation of the Biſhop of Rome, to cauſe them to be apprehended and put in Priſon without Bail or Mainprize.

AMONG the Biſhops all were not equally honeſt, nor zealous. Lee, Archbiſhop of York, and Gardiner, were thoſe in whom the Old Leaven had the deepeſt Root; ſo the King being informed that Lee, tho' he had given in his Profeſſion, ſubſcribed and ſealed by him, yet did not his Duty in his Dioceſe and Province, neither in teaching himſelf, nor cauſing others to teach the People, conform to what was ſettled both in Convocation and Parliament, ſent him Orders both to preach theſe Things, and to order all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in his Province to do the ſame. Upon this he wrote a long Vindication of himſelf in June, 1535.

"HE ſets forth in it the Complaints "that the King ſignify'd had been "made of him, with the Orders that "he had received from the King, and "then ſets out his own Conduct. He "acknowledges he had received, at the "End of the laſt Parliament, a Book "ſent from the Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury, as a Book of Orders for Preach-"ing; upon his receiving it, he went "on Sunday next to York, and there "he ſet forth the Cauſe of the King's "Marriage, and the rejecting the Pope's "Authority very fully; and that this "might be done the more publickly, "he had cauſed it to be publiſhed at "York the Sunday before that he "would be there, and ſo took Care to "have a full Audience; ſo that there "was a great Multitude there. His "Text was, I have married a Wife, "and therefore I cannot come: And he "ſo declared the King's Matter, that "all ſeemed ſatisfied. It is true he "did not touch the Title of the King "as Supreme Head, for there was no "Order given as to that, for it was "thus only ordered to have it named "in the Prayer. It is true he did not "uſe to bid Prayers, for the greater "Haſte to utter his Matter. But up-"on the Receipt of that Book, he "commanded his Officers to make out "a great Number of them, to be ſent "to every Preacher in his Dioceſe: "And by all that he ever heard, every "one of his Curates followed that "Book, and has done their Duty in "every Particular enjoined in it: He "took Care that all who preached in "their Churches ſhould follow the "Rules preſcribed in it. He alſo ſent "a Book to every Houſe of Friars: "And for the Religious, when any "ſuch Perſon came to him, naming "particularly the Carthuſians, and the "Obſervants, for Counſel, he told "them what he had done himſelf, and "adviſed them to do the ſame. On "Good-Friday laſt, he had ordered "the Collect for the Pope to be left "out, and alſo the mentioning him in "other Parts of the Service: He de-"ſired the King would examine theſe "Things, and he would find he was "not ſo much in Fault as he imputed "it to him. He had been hitherto "open and plain, and had never de-"ceived the King. He had alſo ſent "Letters to the Biſhops of Dureſme "and Carliſle, purſuant to the Letters "that he had from the King; and "had charged his Archdeacons to ſee "that all Obedience might be given "to the King's Orders. He had, ſince "he received the King's laſt Letters, "on the Sunday following, declared "to the People every thing compriſed "in them. He refers himſelf to Mag-"nus and Lawſon, two of the King's "Chaplains, who heard him, to make "Report of what they thought of it. "Whatever he promiſed to the King "he would fulfil it; and he had done "every thing as the King commanded, "and would ſtill do it, ſo GOD was "not offended by it. He beſought "the King not to believe any Com-"plaints of him till he had heard his "Anſwer. Some thought it was a "high Sacrifice, when they could "bring ſuch a poor Prieſt as he was, "under the King's Diſpleaſure; but "he truſted GOD would continue in "him a gracious Mind to his Prieſts "and Chaplains, and that he would "give their Enemies, who ſtudied to "provoke him againſt them, better "Minds for the future.

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THE Biſhop ſays he has no Particulars to add to the Relation he gave of the Sufferings of Fiſher and More. There are heavy Things laid to their Charge; but except Fiſher's being too much concerned in the Buſineſs of the Nun of Kent, which was, without Doubt, managed with a Deſign to raiſe a Rebellion in the Nation, there is no other Thing laid to his Charge; and it does not appear, that More gave any Credit or Countenance to that Matter; yet that has been often affirmed. In our own Days, when Things have happened both together, tho' the one did not by any Sort of Proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been repreſented as done in Concert; ſo the Conſpiracy of the Nun, and thoſe who managed that Impoſture, was given out both at Home and Abroad, as having its Riſe from Fiſher; who indeed knew of it, and ſeemed to give Credit to it; and from More, though he had no Share at all in it.

THE King of France was not ſatisfy'd with this Way of Proceeding: He thought it too violent, and that it did put Things paſt all Poſſibility of a Reconciliation. He had anſwered for the King to the Pope at Marſeilles, and he was in ſuch a Concern for him, that the wrong Steps he made reflected on himſelf. He told the King's Ambaſſador, that he adviſed the Baniſhing of all ſuch Offenders, rather than the Putting them to Death. That King confeſſed there had been extreme Executions and Cruelty lately exerciſed in his own Kingdom; but he was now putting a Stop to it, and reſolved to call Home all thoſe that had fled out of the Kingdom. He had ſeen a Relation of More's Sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his Daughter to all Duty and Reſpect to the King, which made the Proceedings againſt ſuch a Man to be the more cenſured.

THE Ambaſſadors wrote this to the King ſoon after More's Death. The King wrote on the 23d of Auguſt, an Anſwer from Thornbury, to this Purpoſe, "If the King of France had anſwered for the King and had juſtified his Cauſe, he had done what was "juſt and ſuitable to their Friendſhip: "The Conſpiracies of Fiſher and More "to ſow Sedition, and to raiſe Wars, "both within and without the Kingdom, were manifeſtly proved to their "Face; ſo that they could not avoid "not deny it. The Relation he had "ſeen concerning More's Talk with "his Daughter at his Death, was a "forged Story: The King took it in "ill Part that King Francis ſhould ſo "ſlightly give Ear and Credit to ſuch "vain Tales. This ungrateful Behaviour ſhewed, that the King of France "had not that Integrity of Heart, that "the King deſerved and might expect "from him. Then follows a Vindication of the Laws lately made, which "indeed were only old Laws revived. "The Baniſhing of Traitors was no "Ways convenient; that was to ſend "them in Places where they might "more ſafely and conveniently execute "their Conſpiracies. Upon all which "the Ambaſſador was ordered to expoſtulate plainly, but diſcreetly, both "with the King and with the great "Maſter: There appears a Strain of "Coldneſs in the whole Intercourſe "between the two Courts of France "and England, even from the Interview at Marſeilles to this Time.

POPE Clement was now dead, with whom the King of France was more cloſely united; and he found the King's Friendſhip was yet ſo neceſſary to him, that he reſolved to remove all Jealouſies; ſo to give the King a full Aſſurance of his Firmneſs to him, he ſent him a ſolemn Engagement to adhere to him. There is no Date ſet to it, but it was during Queen Anne's Life, and after Pope Clement's Death, ſo probably it was ſent over about this Time.

IT begins thus: "That both Friend-"ſhip and Piety did require that he "ſhould employ his whole Strength "and Authority to maintain the Juſ-"tice of his deareſt Friend. The "King of England, Defender of the "Faith, Lord of Ireland, and, under "GOD, Supreme Head of the Church "of England, had by a Diſpenſation, "granted by Pope Julius, contracted a "Marriage in Fact with Catharine of "Spain, Relict of the King's elder "Brother Arthur, and had one Daugh-"ter yet living, of that Marriage; "that King upon great and weighty "Reaſons, well known to King Francis; "had withdrawn himſelf from that "Marriage; and had lawfully and "rightfully married Anne, now his "Queen, of whom he has Iſſue the "Princeſs Elizabeth: And a Debate "had ariſen concerning the Diſpenſa-"tion, and the firſt Marriage, and the "Legitimacy of the Iſſue by it; in "which

" which King Francis by many Arguments did perceive, that the Pope himself had not a due Regard to Equity; and that what by the Iniquity of the Times, what by ill Practices against all Law and Right, many Things were done. The King therefore consulted the Men of the greatest Integrity in his Kingdom, and the most Learned both in Divinity and in the Laws of the Church, whom he charged to make a Report to him according to their Consciences, as in the Sight of GOD, having first conferred among themselves fully upon the whole Matter: He does therefore, upon all their unanimous Opinions, clearly perceive, that the Dispensation granted by the Pope, was in itself null, both by Reason of the Surprize put on him by the Grounds pretended in it, for obtaining it, but chiefly because the Pope could not dispense in that Case, since such Marriages are contrary to the Laws of GOD and of Nature; for the Pope has no Authority to dispense in that Case; so that the Marriage betwixt King Henry and Queen Catharine was incestuous and null, as contrary to the Laws of GOD and Man; and by Consequence the Lady Mary, born of that Marriage, was illegitimate: And further, that the Marriage the King had contracted with Anne, now his Queen, was Holy, Lawful and Good; and that Elizabeth, born of that Marriage, and all the other Issue that might come of it, was Lawful, and ought so to be esteemed. He adds, that many of the Cardinals, naming particularly the late Cardinal of Ancona, and even the late Pope Clement himself, did declare their own positive Opinions to himself personally at Marseilles, and frequently to his Ambassadors, that the Dispensation granted by Pope Julius, upon which the first Marriage was made, was null and void; and the Pope would have declared this by a final and definitive Sentence, if private Affections, and human Regards had not stood in his Way; all which that King did solemnly declare. He therefore looking on that Dispensation as null and void, and by Consequence on the Marriage contracted by that Authority, as unlawful and incestuous, and on the Lady Mary, as incapable to succeed, being born in it, did judge and affirm that the Marriage with Queen Anne, and the Issue come, or to come from it was lawful and valid; and that the just Right of succeeding to the Crown, was vested in the Issue of that Marriage: And that all Judgments and Censures, either by the late Pope Clement, or by any other Judge, that were made and published, or that might hereafter be made or published, were and are null, void, unjust and unlawful: And he promised on the Word and Faith of a King, and under the Forfeiture of all his Goods, and of all the Goods of his Subjects, in the Form of a Contract of Guaranty, both for himself and his Heirs Successors, that he, at all Times, and in all Places, particularly in all Synods, or General Councils, and before all Persons, and against all Men whatsoever that should oppose it, of what Rank or Condition they might be, he would, both by himself and by his Subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if Need were) justify it, by a strong Hand, and with all his Forces. Nor would he ever, for the future, publickly or privately, directly or indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay.

HERE was as positive an Assurance as could be put in Words: And tho' Princes have, in former Times, as well as in our own Days, made bold with their Promises and Treaties; and have very easily thrown them off, or broke thro' them, without any Appearance of great Remorse or Shame; yet it must be confessed, that Francis did never, even in the War that he afterwards had with King Henry, depart from, or falsify this Engagement.

Of what happened during the Time comprehended in the Third BOOK of the HISTORY of the REFORMATION, from the Year 1535, to King HENRY's Death, Anno 1546-7.

KING Henry seemed not a little pleased with his Title of the Supreme Head of the Church of England; of which he was enacted, in the

Seſſion of Parliament that ſat after the Breach was made with Rome, that it ſhould be for ever joined to the other Titles of the Crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an Office for all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and a Seal to be cut; which, in an Inhibition ſent to the Archbiſhop, in order to a Royal Viſitation of the whole Clergy of all England, is firſt mentioned. It is dated the 18th of September, 1535; and at the End, theſe Words are added, "Under our Seal, that we uſe in Ec- "cleſiaſtical Matters, which we have "ordered to be hereunto appended.

THE Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Title was alſo in Convocation ordered to be altered: Inſtead of the Title of Legate of the Apoſtolick See, he was to be deſigned Metropolitan, and Primate. This laſt was one of his antient Titles. In that Seſſion there was ſome Diſcourſe concerning Hereſy, and of ſome Engliſh Books, in particular of Tindal's Books: And there was a Book laid before them, with the Title of a Primer, of which there is no other Account given, but that from the Rubricks of it, they ſuſpected it was a Book not fit to be publiſhed. This, it ſeems, produced a Petition to the King, that he would command all heretical Books to be called in, within a Time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be tranſlated in the Vulgar Tongue; but that though the Laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to diſpute concerning the Catholick Faith.

IT is very probable, that a Breach was upon this Occaſion begun between Cranmer and Gardiner. The Sharpneſs againſt Hereſy was probably ſupported by Gardiner; as the Motion for the Tranſlation of the Bible was by Cranmer: But when Cranmer, in order to an Archiepiſcopal Viſitation of the whole Province, having obtained the King's Licence for it on the 28th of April, ſent out his Inhibition, according to Form, to the Ordinaries during the Viſitation; upon this, Gardiner complained to the King of it, for two Reaſons: He thought the Title of Primate of England did derogate from the King's Power. The other was, That ſince his Dioceſe had been viſited within five Years laſt paſt, and was now to pay for ever Tenths to the King, it ought not to be charged with this Viſitation. Of this Cromwell gave Cranmer Notice. He, on the 12th of May, wrote a Vindication of himſelf:

"HE believed that Gardiner (who "wanted neither Law, Invention, nor "Craft, to ſet out his Matters to the "beſt Advantage) ſtudied to value him- "ſelf upon his Zeal for the King's "Supremacy, that ſo he might ſeem "more concerned for that than for "himſelf. Cranmer laid himſelf and "all his Titles at the King's Feet; but "he wrote, Why did not Gardiner "move this ſooner? For he had re- "ceived his Monition on the 20th of "April. The Pope did not think it "leſſen'd his Supremacy, that he had "many Primates under him: No more "did his Title leſſen the King's Su- "premacy. Gardiner knew well, that "if the Pope had thought thoſe ſub- "altern Dignities had weakened his "ſupreme one, he would have got all "the Biſhops to be put on the Level; "there being many Contentions con- "cerning Juriſdiction in the Court of "Rome: But if all the Biſhops of the "Kingdom ſet no higher Value on "their Stiles and Titles than he did, "the King ſhould do in thoſe Matters "what he pleaſed; for if he thought "that his Stile was in any Sort againſt "the King's Authority, he would beg "Leave to lay it down: He felt in "his Heart, that he had no Sort of "Regard to his Stile or Title, further "than as it was for the Setting forth "of GOD's Word and Will; but he "would not leave any juſt Thing at "the Pleaſure of the Biſhop of Win- "cheſter, he being no otherwiſe af- "fectionate to him than he was. In "the Apoſtles Days there was a Dio- "trephes, who loved the Pre-eminence, "and he had more Succeſſors than all "the other Apoſtles, from whom all "glorious Titles, and much Pomp was "come into the Church. He wiſhed "that he, and all his Brethren, might "leave all their Stiles, and call them- "ſelves only the Apoſtles of Jeſus "Chriſt; ſo that they took not the "Name vainly, but were ſuch indeed; "and did order their Dioceſes, ſo that "not Parchment, Lead, or Wax, but "the Converſation of their People, "might be the Seals of their Office, as "St. Paul ſaid the Corinthians were to "him." He anſwers the other Part very fully; but that will be found in the Letter itſelf, it not being of that Importance to deſerve that any Abſtract ſhould be made of it.

IT

IT was ſoon obſerved, that there was a great Faction formed againſt any Reformation, in Doctrine or Worſhip; and that thoſe who favoured and promoted it, were ill uſed by the greater Part of the Biſhops; of which the following is an Inſtance, and by that one may judge of the reſt, for there were many Complanits to the ſame Purpoſe. Barlow was, by Queen Anne's Favour, made Prior of Haverford-Weſt, Pembrokeſhire. He ſet himſelf to preach the pure Goſpel there, and found many were very deſirous to hear it; but he was in Danger of his Life, daily, by Reaſon of it: And an Accuſation being brought againſt him by a Black Friar there, ſet on by Rawlins, then Biſhop of St. David's, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the Arches; for Barlow had appealed to the King. He owns, that by Cromwell's Favour, their Deſign againſt him was defeated; but he having ſent a Servant Home about Buſineſs, the Biſhop's Officers cited him to their Courts, and ranſacked his Houſe, where they found an Engliſh Teſtament, with an Expoſition of the Sermon on the Mount, and of ſome other Parts of the New Teſtament. Upon this, they clamoured againſt him as an Heretick for it. They charged the Mayor of the Town, to put him and ſome others in Priſon, ſeeking by all Means to find Witneſſes againſt them, but none appearing they were forced to let them go, but valued themſelves upon this, their Zeal againſt Hereſy. He ſets forth, the Danger that all were in, who deſired to live according to the Laws of GOD, as became faithful Subjects; for in that Multitude of Monks, Friars, and Secular Prieſts, that was then in thoſe Parts, there was not one that ſincerely preached the Word of GOD, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the enormous Vices, fraudulent Exactions, and heatheniſh Idolatry, that was ſhamefully ſupported under the Clergy's Juriſdiction, of which he offered to make full Proof, if it ſhould be demanded and received; but that being done, he deſired Leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go Home nor ſtay there ſafely, without a ſpecial Protection.

Barlow was that Year made Biſhop of St. Aſaph's, and the Year after was tranſlated to St. David's, and was after that removed to Wells, but driven out by Queen Mary, and was made Biſhop of Chicheſter by Queen Elizabeth, in which he lived 10 Years.

THE ſecret Oppoſition that the Biſhops gave to the Steps made towards a Reformation, obliged Cromwell to ſend many Agents, in whom he truſted, up and down the Nation, to obſerve all Mens Tempers and Behaviours. Lee, among others, being ſent to York, did (in January) enjoin the Archbiſhop, by an Order from the King, to preach the Word of GOD, and to ſet forth the King's Prerogative. He alſo enjoined him, to bring up to the King all the Foundations of his See, and all his Commiſſioners granted to it. In theſe, he did not doubt, but they would find many Things fit to be reformed: And he adviſed, that every Biſhop might be ſo ordered, that their Dioceſes might be better inſtructed and edified. That would eſtabliſh them in their Fidelity to the King, and to his Succeſſion: But the Juriſdictions might be augmented, or diminiſhed, as ſhould ſeem convenient. This Letter opened a Deſign of calling in all the Pope's Bulls, and all the Characters belonging to the ſeveral Sees, and regulating them all: But perhaps, the firſt Deſign being the ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the Secular Clergy, till that was once done; yet the Order for ſending up all Bulls, was, at the ſame Time, generally executed. There is a Letter of Tonſtal's, writ ſoon after this to Cromwell, in which he mentions the King's Letters to all the Biſhops, to come up immediately after the Feaſt of the Purification, with all the Bulls they had obtained from Rome at any Time: But the King conſidering that Tonſtal had gone down but late, ordered Dr. Layton to write to him, that he need not come up; but he adviſed, that he ſhould write to the King that he was ready to do as other Biſhops did, and to deliver up all ſuch Bulls as the King deſired of him. Layton wrote to him that Cromwell, as his Friend, had aſſured the King that he would do it.

IN Anſwer to this, Tonſtal thank'd him for his Kindneſs on that, and on many other Occaſions. "He did not "underſtand to what Intent theſe Bulls "were called for, (and it ſeems he ap"prehended it was to have all the Bi"ſhops give up their Right to their Bi"ſhopricks) yet he had ſent them all "up to be delivered at the King's Plea"ſure: (He adds,) He hoped by this "De-

" Demand, the King did not intend to " make him leave his Biſhoprick, and " both to turn him out of his Living, " and to ruin all his Servants, that " had their Living only by him; in " which he wrote he could not be " thought, either ambitious or unrea- " ſonable: So he deſired to know what " the King's Pleaſure was, not doubt- " ing but that the King would uſe " him as well as he uſed the other Bi- " ſhops in the Kingdom; ſince, as he " had obtained the Bulls by him, he " had renounced every thing in them " that was contrary to his Prerogative. " He had but five Bulls, for the reſt " were delivered to thoſe to whom " they were addreſſed; ſo he commits " himſelf to the King's Goodneſs, and " to Cromwell's Favour." Dating his Letter from Aukland the 29th of January, which muſt be in the Year 1535-6.

Tonſtal might be under more than ordinary Apprehenſions of ſome Effect of the King's Diſpleaſure; for as he had oppoſed the declaring him to be the the Supreme Head, in the Convocation of York; ſo he had ſtuck firmly to the aſſerting the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage to Queen Catharine. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, in which that Matter was determined, he, with the Proxy that he ſent to the Biſhop of Ely, wrote him a Letter, of which Mr. Richard Jones ſaw the Original, which he has inſerted in his voluminous Collections, that are in the Bodleian Library; in which theſe Words are, after he had told that he had given him full Power to conſent or diſſent from every thing that was to be propoſed. He adds,

" YET neverthleſs, I beſeech you, " if any thing harmful or prejudicial " in any Point, to the Marriage be- " tween the King's Highneſs and the " Queen's Grace ſhall be propoſed, " wherein our Voices ſhall be demand- " ed; in your own Name ſay what " you will, and what GOD putteth in " your Mind: But I deſire you, and " on GOD's Behalf I require you, ne- " ver in my Name to conſent to any " ſuch Thing propoſed, either harmful " or prejudicial to the Marriage afore- " ſaid; but expreſsly to diſſent unto " the ſame: And for your Diſcharge " in that Behalf, ye may ſhew, when " you think it requiſite, this my par- " ticular Declaration of my Mind, made " unto you therein: And what I have " willed and required you to do in my " Name in this Point, praying your " Lordſhip not to do otherwiſe in my " Name, as my ſingular Truſt is in you, " that ye will not." Dated from Aukland in January, but neither Day nor Year are mentioned.

THE Seſſion of Parliament, in which the Act of Succeſſion, paſſed, by which the King's Marriage with Queen Catharine was condemned, meeting in January, this Letter ſeems to be written before that Seſſion; and yet no Oppoſition was made to that Act in the Houſe of Lords, either by the Biſhop of Ely, or by the Biſhop of Bath, whom he had made his ſecond Proxy, as appears by the ſame Letter, in which he is alſo named: The Act paſſed ſo ſoon that it was read the firſt Time, on the 20th of March, and paſſed on the 23d in the Houſe of Lords, without either Diſſent or Proteſt. It is alſo certain, that Tonſtal afterwards took the Oath enjoined by that Act; but how theſe Biſhops came to be ſo ſilent upon that Occaſion, being ſo ſolemnly required to do otherwiſe by Tonſtal, and how he himſelf came to change, and to take the Oath, is that of which Biſhop Burnet ſays, he can give no Account. It is certain King Henry had a very particular Regard for him; but yet, by this Letter, it appears, that he had ſome Fears of a Severity aimed at himſelf: But he was afterwards in all Things very compliant, even to the End of King Edward's Reign.

THERE came up from all Parts of the Kingdom, many Complaints of the ill Behaviour and bad Practices of the Monks and Friars; of the laſt chiefly, for the Mendicant Order being always Abroad begging, they had many more Occaſions to ſhew themſelves; and tho' the Monks had not thoſe Occaſions to be in all publick Places, yet it was very viſible that they were ſecretly diſpoſing the People to a Revolt; ſo it was reſolved to proceed againſt them all by Degrees; and after the Viſitations and Injunctions, which had no great Effect, they began with the ſmaller Houſes that were not above 200 l. a Year: This ſwept away at once all the Mendicants, who were the moſt induſtrious, and, by Conſequence, the moſt dangerous.

THE Archbiſhop of York was much ſuſpected, and if many Apologies look like Intimations of ſome Guilt, he had a great deal, for he took many Occa-

ſions to juſtify himſelf. Upon the Act for taking all the leſs Monaſteries into the King's Hands, he expreſſed great Zeal in ſerving the King, which appears in a Letter of his to Cromwell, in April, 1536. He gave a ſtrict Commandment to his Archdeacons to warn all in the Monaſteries, within the Act, not to embezzle, or convey away any thing belonging to the Houſe; and if they had done any ſuch Thing, to reſtore it. He ordered them to give Warning to all others not to meddle with any ſuch Goods. He had alſo warned the Mayor of York and his Brethren, and the Maſters of the Mint there, to receive none of the Goods or Plate of theſe Monaſteries: Having thus expreſſed his Care in that Matter, he made an earneſt Suit for two Places that were of the Patronage of his See. The one was St. Oſwald's, which was a free Chapel; the Prior was removeable at the Archbiſhop's Pleaſure, and he might put Secular Prieſts in it if he pleaſed. The other was Hexam, upon the Borders of Scotland, which was once an Epiſcopal See, and there not being a Houſe between Scotland and that Lordſhip, if that Houſe ſhould go down, there would be a great Waſte that would run far into the Country: Whether he obtained theſe Suits or not, does not appear to Biſhop Burnet: After that he adds, that he had given Order that no Preacher ſhould be ſuffer'd that preached Novelties, and did ſow Seeds of Diſſention: Some, after they were forbid to preach, did go on and preach ſtill: He had ordered Proceſs againſt them; ſome of them ſaid they would get the King's Licence: If that were done, he muſt be ſilent, but he hoped Cromwell would hinder that, and give him Notice if they had obtained the King's Licence: Some ſaid they had the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Licence; but none of theſe ſhould be obeyed there, none but the King's Licences and his.

UPON the many Complaints of Preachers of all Sorts, King Henry wrote a Circular Letter to all the Biſhops on the 12th of July, letting them know, that conſidering the Diverſity of Opinion in Matters of Religion, he had appointed the Convocation to ſet forth certain Articles of Religion, moſt Catholick; but to prevent all Diſtraction in the Minds of his People, he order'd that till that was publiſhed, no Sermons ſhould be preached till Michaelmas, unleſs by the Biſhop, or in his Preſence, or in his Cathedral, where he is to take Care to furniſh ſuch as he can anſwer for: Every Biſhop is therefore required to call in all his Licences for Preaching, and to publiſh this in the King's Name. He is alſo required to impriſon all thoſe who acted againſt this Order, and not to ſuffer any private Conventicles or Diſputations about theſe Matters: To this is added a Direction for the bidding of Prayers, that they ſhould pray for departed Souls, that GOD would grant them the Fruition of his Preſence: And a ſtrict Charge is laid on Curates, that when the Articles of Religion ſhall be ſent them, they ſhould read them to their People, without adding or diminiſhing, excepting only ſuch to whom he ſhall under his Seal give Power to explain them.

THE blind Biſhop of Norwich, Nix, was condemned in a Præmunire, and put out of the King's Protection, for breaking thro' a Cuſtom that the Town of Thetford had enjoy'd paſt all Memory, viz. That no Inhabitant of that Town could be brought into any Eccleſiaſtical Court, but before the Dean of that Town: Yet that old and vicious Biſhop cited the Mayor before him, and charged him, under the Pain of Excommunication, not to admit of that Cuſtom. Upon this, Judgment was given in the Temporal Courts againſt the Biſhop: But he was now received into the King's Protection: In the Pardon, Mention is made of his being convicted upon the Statute of Proviſors. Stokeſly, Biſhop of London, was charged with the Breach of the ſame Statute, for which he took out a Pardon.

DURING theſe Years, Cromwell carried no higher Character, than that of Secretary of State: But all Applications were made to him in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; ſo whether this was only by Reaſon of his Credit with the King, or if he was then made Vicar-General, does not appear to Biſhop Burnet: But as the King took Care to keep all Things quiet at Home, ſo he ſet himſelf to cultivate a particular Friendſhip with the Princes of the Empire of the Augſburg Confeſſion; hoping by their Means to be able to give the Emperor a powerful Diverſion, if he ſhould go about to execute the Pope's Cenſures. The King of France had been for ſome Time endeavouring to beget a Confidence of himſelf in the Minds of thoſe Princes; pretending that he was neither

ther for the Divine, nor the unbounded Authority that the Popes had assumed, but only he thought it was reasonable to allow them a Primacy in the Church, and to set Limits to that. Langey was the Person most employ'd in managing this Matter; but when the King came to understand that the King of France had sent for Melancthon, being then at Langley. He ordered the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Rochford to write to Cromwell, commanding him to dispatch Barnes immediately to Germany; and to use such Diligence, that if it was possible, he might meet Melancthon before he was gone into France, and to dissuade his going thither, since the French King was then persecuting those who did not submit to the Pope's usurped Authority: He was to use all possible Arguments to divert him from going, and to persuade him all he could to come over to England; shewing him the Conformity of the King's Opinion with his own, and setting forth the King's noble and generous Temper; but if he was gone into France, Barnes was to go on to the Princes of Germany, and Cromwell was to send a Messenger with him to be sent back with an Account of the State of Matters among them. He was to engage the Princes to continue firm in the Denial of the Pope's Authority, in which their Honour was deeply concerned: And they might depend upon the King in that Matter, who had proceeded in it with the Advice of the most Part of the great and famous Clerks in Christendom, from which he would never vary, nor alter his Proceedings. Barnes was to carry over a Book written on that Subject, and some Sermons of the Bishops, and to put the Princes on their Guard, as to the French King; for he assured them that both he and his Council were altogether Papists.

Barnes was likewise directed to send Hains (afterwards Dean of Exeter) and Christopher Mount (an honest German who was long employed by the Crown of England) to Sir John Wallop, the King's Ambassador in France, on Pretence that they went as his Friends to visit him. If Melancthon was in France, they were to go secretly to him, to dissuade his Stay long there; or his altering his Opinion in any Particular. Some Copies of the Book, and the Sermons, were to be carried by them to France. If it is true, that the King of France was to set to maintain the Pope's Supremacy, Wallop was to represent to him; how contrary that was to his Honour, to subject himself to the Pope, and to persuade others to do the same; and to charge him that he would remember his Promise to maintain the King's Cause and Proceedings; and since the King did not move the Subjects of any other Prince, Why should the French King study to draw the Germans from their Opinion in that Matter? Which the King thought himself much concerned in, since it was so much against the King's Interest and his own Promise. Wallop was to use all Means to incline him rather to be of the King's Opinion. They also ordered Cromwell to write to the Bishop of Aberdeen, that the King took it very unkindly, that his Nephew, the King of Scotland, was suing to marry the Duke of Vendome's Daughter, without his Advice: He had proposed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This Negligence the King imputed to that Bishop, and to the rest of the Scottish Council. The Letter concludes, that Barnes should not be staid for further Instructions from rhe Bishop of Canterbury. These should be sent afterwards by the Almoner (Fox).

THIS came soon enough to stop Melancthon's Journey to France. The Great Master and the Admiral of France did not think of any thing with Relation to Germany, but of a civil League to embroil the Emperor's Affairs. They were against meddling in Points of Religion; and so were against Melancthon's coming to France. They were afraid, that the French Divines and he would not agree; and that might alienate the German Princes yet more from the Court of France. Hains and Mount wrote this over from Rheims, on the 8th of August, 1535. It is true, Langey was sent to bring him, hoping to meet him at Wirtemberg; but he was not come thither, only the Heads of their Doctrine were sent to him; with these he came back to France. The King's Divines made some Emendations, which, Langey said to Mount, he believed the Germans would submit to: And so he was sent back with a Gold Chain, and Letters to bring Melancthon, and six other eminent German Divines with him. Of this, Mount gave the King Advice, the 7th of September, in that Year.

This

THIS whole Matter came to nothing; for Francis's Sister, the Queen of Navarre, was the Person who pressed him chiefly to it; hoping by this, once to engage him in some Point of Doctrine, which, as she hoped, might draw on a Rupture with Rome: But his Ministers diverted him from all Thoughts of engaging in Doctrinal Matters; and they put him on entering into a League with the Princes of the Empire, only with Relation to their Temporal Concerns. Nor were the German Princes willing to depart in a Tittle from the Augsburg Confession, or enter upon new Treaties about Points that were settled already among them, which might give Occasion to new Divisions among themselves: And, no Doubt, the King's Interposing in the Matter with such Earnestness, had great Weight with them; so he was delivered from the Alarm that this gave him: But to go on with our King's Affairs in Germany,

Fox, with Heath (on whom Melancthon set a high Value) was sent, soon after Barnes, to negotiate with the Germans. He had many Conferences with some of their Divines, and entered into a large Treaty about several Articles of Religion, with those of Wirtemberg, which lasted three Months, to the Elector's great Charge, and the Uneasiness of the Germans.

Melancthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the King, who sent him (upon it) a Present of 200 Crowns, and wrote a Letter to him, full of particular Expressions of Esteem and Assurances, that he would always assist him in those his pious Labours: Dated from Wincheſter the 1st of October, 1535. Fox seemed to assure them, that the King would agree with them in all Things, and told them, that the King had already abolished the Popish Superstitions, which he called the Babylonish Tyranny, calling the Pope, Antichrist. They of Wirtemberg insisted on the Abuses of the Mass, and on the Marriage of the Clergy; and took Notice, that the King had only taken away some smaller Abuses, while the greatest were still kept up: So that Melancthon wrote on the Margin of their Paper, at this Part of it, in Greek, Nothing sound: All this was sent over to the King, but did not at all please him: For, in an Answer written by Cromwell, these Words are a Part of it, "The King knowing himself to be "the learnedest Prince in Europe, he "thought it became not him to submit "to them; but he expected they "should submit to him." They, on the other Hand, saw the great Advantage of his Protection and Assistance; so that they brought Luther to make an humble Submission to him, asking him Pardon for the Manner of his Writing against him; they studied also to gain both upon his Vanity, offering him the Title of the Defender or Protector of their League; and on his Interest by entering into a close Confederacy with him.

IT was an Opinion common enough in that Time, that the Emperor was the Sovereign of Germany. Gardiner, in several of his Letters, seems to be of that Mind; and upon that Account, he endeavoured to possess the King with a Prejudice against his Treating with them, that it was to animate Subjects to revolt against their Prince: Whereas by their Constitution and Laws of the Empire, the Princes had secured to themselves the Right of Coining, Fortifying, Arming, and Entering into Treaties, not only with one another, but with Foreign Princes, for their Defence. An Homage was indeed due to the Emperor, and a much greater Submission was due to the Diet of the Empire; but the Princes were Sovereigns in their own Territories, as the Hanse-Towns were Free-States. Fox pressed them to approve of all the King had done in the Matter of his Divorce, and of his second Marriage: But the noble Seckendorff shews, that it was sent in the Year 1536. In their Answer, as they excused themselves from giving their Opinion in that Matter, 'till they were better informed, they added, (which, it seems, was suppressed by Fox) "Tho' we do agree "with the Ambassadors, that the Law "against marrying the Brother's Wife "ought to be kept; yet we are in "Doubt, whether a Dispensation might "not take Place in this Case, which "the Ambassadors denied; for that "Law cannot oblige us more strictly, "than it did the Jews: And if a Dis-"pensation was admitted to them, we "think the Bond of Matrimony is "stronger." Luther was vehemently against the Infamy put on the Issue of the Marriage. He thought the Lady Mary was cruelly dealt with, when she was declared a Bastard. Upon Queen's Catharine's Death, they earnestly pressed

ſed the reſtoring her to her former Honour: So true were they to that which was their Principle, without regarding the great Advantage they ſaw might come to them, from the Protection of ſo great a King. His Ambaſſadors gave thoſe Princes an Advertiſement of great Importance to them, that was written over to the King by Wiat, then his Ambaſſador in Spain, that the Emperor had, in a paſſionate Diſcourſe with him, called both the Elector, and the Landgrave, his Enemies and Rebels. The Truth was, the Elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox ſaid to him: He thought the King had only a political Deſign in all his Negotiations, intending to bring them into a Dependance on himſelf, without any ſincere Intentions with Relation to Religion: So he being reſolved to add here firmly to the Augſburg Confeſſion, and ſeeing no Appearance of the King's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the Proſecution of this Negotiation: But the Princes and States of that Confeſſion met at this Time at Smalcald, and ſettled the famous Smalcaldick League, of which the King's Ambaſſadors ſent him an authentick Copy, with a Tranſlation of it in Engliſh:

By it, "John-Frederick, Elector of "Saxony, with his Brother Erneſt, Phi-"lip Erneſt, and Francis, Dukes of "Brunſwick, Ulrick, Duke of Wir-"temberg, Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe, "the Dukes of Pomeren, four Bro-"thers, Princes of Anhault, two Bro-"thers, Counts of Mansfield, the De-"puties of 21 Free-Towns," which are not named in any Order, for Hamburgh and Lubeck are the laſt but one; but to avoid Diſputes, they were named in the Order in which they came, and produced their Powers: "all theſe "did on Behalf of themſelves, and "their Heirs, ſeeing the Danger of "that Time, and that many went about "to diſturb thoſe, who ſuffered the "ſincere Doctrine of the Goſpel to be "preached in their Territories, and "who aboliſhing all Abuſes, ſettled "ſuch Ceremonies as were agreea-"ble to the Word of GOD; from "which their Enemies ſtudied to divert "them by Force and Violence: And "ſince it was the Magiſtrate's Duty, to "ſuffer the ſincere Word of GOD to "be preached to his Subjects, and to "provide that they be not violently "deprived of it; therefore that they "might provide for the Defence of "themſelves and their People, which "is permitted to every Man, not only "by the Law of Nature, but alſo by "the written Laws, they entered into "a Chriſtian, Lawful, and Friendly "League; by which they bound them-"ſelves to favour all of their Body, "and to warn them of any imminent "Danger, and not to give their Ene-"mies Paſſage thro' their Territories. "This was only for their own Defence, "and not to move any War; ſo if any "of them ſhould be violently aſſaulted "for the Cauſe of Religion, or on any "Pretence, in which the reſt ſhould "judge that Religion was the true Mo-"tive, the reſt of the Confederacy "were bound with all their Force and "Power, to defend him who was ſo "aſſaulted, in ſuch a Manner, as for "the Circumſtances of the Time ſhall "be adjudged; and none of them "might make any Agreement or Truce "without the Conſent of the reſt; and "that it might not be underſtood that "this was any Prejudice to the Empe-"ror, their Lord, or to any Part of the "Empire; they declare that it was on-"ly intended to withſtand wrongful "Violence. They alſo reſolved to re-"ceive all into this Confederacy, who "received the Augſburg Confeſſion, and "deſired to be joined to it: And where-"as the Confederacy made ſix Years "before, was to determine on the Sun-"day Invocavit of the following Year, "in which the Princes of Wirtemberg, "Pomeren, and Anhault, and ſix of "the Cities, were not comprehended, "they received them into this Confe-"deracy, which was to laſt for 10 "Years after the Sunday Invocavit; "and if any War ſhould be begun and "not finiſhed within theſe 10 Years, "yet it ſhall be continued till the War "is brought to an End; but at the "End of 10 Years, it ſhall be lawful "to the Confederates to prolong it fur-"ther; and they gave their Faith to "one another, to obſerve this religiouſ-"ly, and ſet their Seals to it.

ON the ſame Day the King's Anſwer was offered to the Demands the Princes had made, both which are in the Paper-Office. Their Demands were, "That the King would ſet forth the "true Doctrine of Chriſt, according to "the Augſburg Confeſſion; and that "he would defend that Doctrine at "the next General Council, if it be "Pious, Catholick, Free and Truly "Chriſtian: And that neither the King

"nor the Princes and States of that "Union should, without Mutual Consent, agree to any Indiction of a General Council, made by the Bishop "of Rome; but that if such a Council should be called, as they had desired in their Answer to Vergerius, "the Pope's Ambassador, it should not "be refused; and if a Council shall be "celebrated, to which the King and "the Princes do not agree, they shall "(to their Power) oppose it; and that "they will make Protestations against "it; that they will not obey any Constitution made in it, nor suffer any "Decrees made in it to be obey'd; "but will esteem them null and void, "and will make their Bishops and "Preachers declare that to their People; that the King will associate himself to the League, and accept the "Name of the Defender or Protector "of it; that they will never suffer "the Monarchy of the Bishop of Rome "to take Place, nor grant that it is expedient, that he should have Pre-eminence before all other Bishops, or "have any Jurisdiction in the Dominions of the King, and of the "Princes; that upon these Grounds, "they enter into a League with one "another; and in Case of any War, "either for the Cause of Religion, or "any other Cause whatsoever, that "they should not assist those who begin any such War; that the King "shall lay down 100,000 Crowns, "which it shall be lawful to the Confederates to make Use of, as a Moiety of that which they themselves "shall contribute; and if Need be, in "any Cause of urgent Necessity, to "contribute 200,000 Crowns; they "joining as much of their own Money to it; and if the War shall end "sooner, then that all the Money that "is imployed in it, and what remains, "shall be restored to the King; and "they assured him that they should "not convert this Money to any other "Use, but to the Defence of the Cause "of Religion, together with their own "Money: And since the King's Ambassadors were to remain some Time "in Germany, disputing with their "Learned Men about some Points; "they desire that they may know the "King's Mind, and that he will signify to the Elector of Saxony, and the "Landgrave of Hesse; and then the "Princes will send their Ambassadors "and a Learned Man along with them, "to confer with the King about the "Articles of Doctrine, and Ceremonies "of the Church.

To these the King sent two different Answers, one after another. The First was, "That the King intended to set "forth the true Doctrine of Christ, "which he was ready to defend with "his Life and Goods; but that he being reckoned somewhat Learned, and "having many Learned Men in his "Kingdom, he could not think it meet "to accept, at any Creature's Hand, "what should be in his Faith or his "Kingdoms; the only Ground of "which was in Scripture; at which "he desired they would not be griev'd; "but that they would send over some "of their Learned Men to confer "with him and his Learned Men, to "the Intent that they might have a "perfect Union in Faith; he would "also join with them in all General "Councils that were Catholick, Free, "and held in a safe Place, for the Defence of the true Doctrine of the "Gospel; and as for Ceremonies, there "may be such a Diversity in these "used thro' the whole World, that he "thought that ought to be left to the "Governors of the several Dominions, "who know best what is convenient "for themselves; he agreed that neither he nor they should accept of an "Indiction of a General Council, but "by all their mutual Consent; but "that if such a Free Council may be "held in a safe Place, it shall not be "refused. The King did not think fit "to accept the Title offered by them, "till first they should be thoroughly "agreed upon the Articles of Doctrine; "but that being once done, he would "thankfully accept of it. To that of "a defensive League, he added one "Clause, that they should not suffer "any of their Subjects to serve those, "who set on them in any such War: "He thought it not reasonable that he "should bear any Share of the Wars "already past, (which it seems was secretly mentioned tho' not expressed "in their Demands) but for the future, "he was willing to contribute 100,000 "Crowns, as they desired. Upon further considering their Demands, the "King sent a second and fuller Answer "afterwards.

"It begins with very tender Expressions of the Sense the King had of their Benevolence to him, and of their Constancy in adhering to the Truth of the Gospel:

Goſpel :. He acknowledges, "The "Goodneſs of GOD in giving them "ſuch Steadfaſtneſs and Strength. "Their wonderous Virtues had ſo ra-"viſhed the King, that he was deter-"mined to continue in a Correſpon-"dence of Love with them on all Oc-"caſions.

THEN follow ſome Explanations of the former Memorial, but not very important, nor differing much from it; only he lets them know, "That it was "not for any private Neceſſity of his "own, that he was moved to join in a "League with them; for by the Death "of a Woman, all Calumnies were ex-"tinct (this is meant of Queen Anne); "ſo that neither the Pope nor the Em-"peror, nor any other Prince, had "then any Quarrel with him: Yet "that they might know his good Af-"fection to them, he would contribute "the Sum they deſired, and upon the "Terms they propoſed; only on his "Part he demanded of them, that in "Caſe any Prince invaded his Domi-"nions, on the Account of Religion, "that they would furniſh him, at their "Expence, with 500 Horſemen, com-"pleatly armed; or 10 Ships well ar-"ray'd for War, to ſerve for four "Months; and that it ſhould be at the "King's Choice, whether Horſe or "Ships; and that they ſhould retain, "at the King's Charge, ſuch a Num-"ber of Horſe and Foot as the King "ſhould need, not exceeding the Num-"ber of 200 Horſe or 5000 Foot; or "inſtead of the Foot 12 Ships in Or-"der, with all Things neceſſary; "which the King might keep in his "Service as long as he pleaſed: And "laſt of all, that the Confederates "will promiſe in all Councils, and "every where elſe, to promote and de-"fend the Opinion Dr. Martin (ſo "they named Luther) Juſtus Jonas, "Crucigen, Pomeren, and Melancthon "had of his Marriage. This Nego-"tiation ſunk to a great Degree upon "Queen Anne's Tragical Fall; and as "the King thought they were no more "neceſſary to him, ſo they ſaw his in-"tractable Humour, and had no Hopes "of ſucceeding with him, unleſs they "would have allowed him a Dictator-"ſhip of Religion; yet to end all this "Negotiation at once,

THE Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, wrote a Letter to the King, occaſioned by Pope Paul the IIId's ſummoning a Genreal Council to meet at Mantua on the 23d of May, upon which the Emperor had ſent Meſſengers to them to give them Notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in Perſon or by their Proctors; but tho' they had always deſired a Council for reforming thoſe Abuſes, and had continued ſo long, by the Negligence, or Corruption of Popes and Prelates, yet in this Bull, the Pope clearly inſinuates that he will not ſuffer the reſtoring of true Doctrine, or the correcting of Abuſes to be treated of, but that their Doctrine, without any Examination, was to be condemned with Infamy: He alſo endeavoured to oblige all by the receiving of his Bull, without taking Cognizance of the Matter, to extirpate and deſtroy the Doctrine they profeſſed; ſo that if they had accepted the Bull, they had ſeemed to be involved in that Deſign. They therefore told the Emperor's Miniſter, that they looked on that Bull as unjuſt and pernicious; and they deſired that he would let the Emperor know that they could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the Pope, or his Party, about the King, would upon this Occaſion pretend, that the Pope had done his Duty, and would ſtudy to load them with ill Characters; ſo they thought it neceſſary to juſtify themſelves to the King, and other Princes, on this Occaſion.

THEY ſent over with this a full Vindication of their Proceedings, which they deſired the King would read, and that he would conſider not only the preſent Danger of the Germans, but the common Concern of the whole Church, in which it was viſible that all good Diſcipline was loſt, and that great worthy Men had wiſhed and deſired that ſome received Abuſes, that could not be denied, might be amended; therefore they recommend the Cauſe of the Church, and their own Cauſe, to his Care. This is dated the 25th of March, 1537.

BISHOP Burnet in the former Part of this Work has given an Account of the Ambaſſadors whom they ſent into England, of the Repreſentations they made, and of a full Paper that they offered to the King; to all which there is nothing now to add. He ſays, that he found a Letter of Cranmer's to Cromwell, in which he complains of the Backwardneſs of the Biſhops. The Ambaſſadors had been deſired to tarry a Month, that their Book might be conſidered;

ſidered; but tho' he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other Articles, they anſwered him, they knew the King had taken it on himſelf to anſwer them; and that a Book to that End was already deviſed by him: Therefore they would not meddle with the Abuſes complained of. The Biſhops deſired that the Archbiſhop would go on to treat of the Sacraments, of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation and Extream Unction; in which they knew certainly that the Germans would not agree with them, except only in Matrimony. "He ſaw the Biſhops were "ſeeking an Occaſion to break the Con-"cord; and that nothing would be "done, unleſs there came a ſpecial "Command from the King. They ſaw "they could not defend the Abuſes, "and yet they would not yield that "Point: He complains likewiſe that "the Ambaſſadors were very ill lodg'd: "Multitudes of Rats were running in-"to their Chambers Day and Night, "and that their Kitchen was ſo near "their Parlour that the Smell was of-"fenſive to all that came to them. He "wiſhed that a more convenient Houſe "might be offered them.

IT is true, the King uſed them with a particular Civility, and ſpoke to them before all his Court in a moſt obliging Manner; and often wiſhed that Melancthon might be ſent over to him. Cranmer and Cromwell uſed them with all poſſible Kindneſs. Cranmer wrote often by them to the Elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the Truth and Purity of the Goſpel; but under all the Shews of the King's Favour, they underſtood that his Heart was turned from them. He wrote when he diſmiſs'd them to the Electors in Terms full of Eſteem for their Ambaſſadors; "Not doubting but good "Effects on this Beginning of Confe-"rences with them; but the Matter "being of the greateſt Conſequence, it "ought to be very maturely conſider'd. "He again deſired, that Melancthon "might be ſent over to him, and that "he might treat with him, promiſing "that he would apply himſelf wholly "to what became a Chriſtian Prince to "purſue." Dated the 1ſt of October, 1538.

DURING this Embaſſy there was an Anabaptiſt ſeized by the Landgrave of Heſſe, in whoſe Papers they found that he had ſome Followers in England, and that he had Hopes of great Succeſs there, and was deſigning to go thither, but he ſaid, he was forbidden by the Spirit: Upon this they wrote an Account of all they found to the King, and gave him a Deſcription of the Anabaptiſts of Germany. They were much ſpread thro' Friſia, Weſtphalia, and in the Netherlands; chiefly in thoſe Places where none of their Preachers were tolerated. The not Baptizing Infants was the known Character of the Party; but with this, they were for a Community of Goods: They condemned all Magiſtracy and all Puniſhing of Crimes, which they thought was a Revenge forbidden by Chriſt: They condemned all Oaths and were againſt all Order and Government. They ſeemed to be Manicheans in Religion: They deſpiſed the Scriptures and pretended to particular Illuminations; and allowed both Poligamy and Divorce at a Man's Pleaſure: And whereſoever their Numbers increaſed, they broke out into Sedition and Rebellion. They wrote all this to the King in this Letter, that by the Stile is believed to be penned by Melancthon, both to let him ſee how far they themſelves were from favouring ſuch Corruptions, and to put the King on his Guard againſt them.

HERE ends the Negotiation; for there is no Mark of any further Commerce between them, and tho' this run out far beyond the Year 1535, in which it was begun, yet the Biſhop of Saliſbury thought it beſt to lay it altogether and ſo dimiſs it. The unlook'd for Accidents that happened in England had wrought much upon the King's Temper; his own Inclinations were ſtill biaſſing him to adhere to the old Opinions and Practices; and the Popiſh Party watched and improved all Advantages, of which a very ſignal one happened ſoon to their great Joy.

QUEEN Catharine, or, as ſhe was called, the Princeſs Dowager, died firſt. Our Hiſtorian has nothing to add concerning her, but that he fell on a Report of a Converſation that Sir Edmond Beddingfield, and Mr. Tyrrell had with her; in which ſhe ſolemnly proteſted to them that Prince Arthur never knew her carnally, and inſiſted much on it; and ſaid many others were aſſured of it. But on the contrary, Beddingfield urged very fully all the Probabilities that were to the contrary; and ſaid, that whatever ſhe ſaid on that Subject it was little believed, and it ſeemed not credible. The Tragedy of Queen Anne followed

lowed ſoon after this: It broke out on the 1ſt of May, 1536, but it ſeems it was concerted before, for a Parliament was ſummoned, at leaſt the Writs were teſted, the 27th of April before.

THERE is no long Account of her Sufferings given by Weſton, in this excellent Hiſtory, that he wrote of the Wars in the Netherlands, which he took from a full Relation of it, given by a French Gentleman, Criſpin, who was then in London; and, as Meteren relates the Matter, wrote without Partiality. He begins thus, "There was "a Gentleman who blamed his Siſter, "for ſome Lightneſs that appeared in "her Behaviour: She ſaid, the Queen "did more than ſhe did; for ſhe ad- "mitted ſome of the Court to come in- "to her Chamber, at undue Hours, "and named the Lord Rochford, Nor- "ris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton "the Muſician; and ſhe ſaid to her "Brother that Smeton would tell much "more." All this was carried to the King.

WHEN the Matter broke out, on the 1ſt of May, the King, who loved Norris, ſent for him, and ſaid, If he would confeſs thoſe Things with which the Queen was charged, he ſhould never ſuffer in his Perſon nor in his Eſtate, nor ſo much as be put in Priſon; but if he did not confeſs, and was found guilty, he ſhould ſuffer the Extremity of the Law? Norris anſwered, He would much rather die than be guilty of ſuch Falſehood; that it was all falſe, which he was ready to juſtify in a Combat againſt any Perſon whatſoever; ſo he was ſent with the reſt to the Tower: The Confeſſion of Smeton was all that was brought againſt the Queen: He, as was believed, was prevailed on to accuſe her; yet he was condemned, contrary to the Promiſe that had been made him; but it was pretended that his Crime was, that he had told his Suſpicions to others, and not to the King; and when it was that one Witneſs was not ſufficient, it was anſwered, that it was ſufficient. He adds, that the Queen was tried in the Tower, and that ſhe defended her Honour and Modeſty, in ſuch a Way as to ſoften the King, (for ſhe knew his Temper) by ſuch humble Deportment, to favour her Daughter. She was brought to her Trial without having any Advocate allowed her; having none but her Maids about her. A Chair was ſet for her, and ſhe looked to all her Judges with a chearful Countenance, as ſhe made her Court'ſies to them, without any Fear: She behaved herſelf as if ſhe had been ſtill Queen: She ſpoke not much in her own Defence; but the Modeſty of her Countenance pleaded her Innocence, much more than the Defence that ſhe made; ſo that all who ſaw, or heard her, believed her innocent. Both the Magiſtrates of London, and ſeveral others who were there, ſaid, they ſaw no Evidence againſt her: Only it appeared, that they were reſolved to be rid of her.

SHE was made to lay aſide all the Characters of her Dignity, which ſhe did willingly; but ſtill proteſted her Innocence. When ſhe heard the Sentence that ſhe was to be Beheaded or Burnt, ſhe was not terrified; but lifted up her Hands to GOD, and ſaid, "Oh "Father! Oh Creator? Thou who "art the Way, the Truth, and the "Life, Thou knoweſt that I have not "deſerved Death.

AND turning herſelf to her Judges, (Her Uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, being the Lord High-Steward) ſhe ſaid, "My Lords, I will not ſay that "your Sentence is unjuſt, nor preſume, "that my Opinion ought to be pre- "ferred to the Judgment of you all. "I believe you have Reaſons, and Oc- "caſions, of Suſpicions and Jealouſy, "upon which you have condemned "me: But they muſt be other, than "thoſe that have been produced here "in Court; for I am intirely innocent "of all theſe Accuſations; ſo that I "cannot aſk Pardon of GOD for them. "I have been always a faithful and "loyal Wife to the King. I have not, "perhaps, at all Times ſhewed him "that Humility and Reverence, that "his Goodneſs to me, and the Ho- "nour to which he raiſed me, did de- "ſerve. I confeſs, I have had Fan- "cies and Suſpicions of him, which I "had not Strength nor Diſcretion "enough to manage: But GOD knows, "and is my Witneſs, that I never "failed otherwiſe towards him; and I "ſhall never confeſs any other at the "Hour of my Death. Do not think "that I ſay this on Deſign to prolong "my Life: GOD has taught me to "know how to die; and he will for- "tify my Faith. Do not think that I "am ſo carried in my Mind as not to "lay the Honour of my Chaſtity to "Heart; of which I ſhould make ſmall

" Account, now in my Extremity, if " I had not maintained it my whole " Life long, as much as ever Queen " did. I know theſe, my laſt Words, " will ſignify nothing but to juſtify " my Honour and my Chaſtity. As " for my Brother, and thoſe others, " who are unjuſtly condemned, I " would willingly ſuffer many Deaths " to deliver them; but ſince I ſee it " ſo pleaſes the King, I muſt willingly " bear with their Deaths, and ſhall ac- " company them in Death, with this " Aſſurance, that I ſhall lead an end- " leſs Life with them in Peace.

SHE ſaid all this, and a great deal more; and then, with a modeſt Air, ſhe roſe up, and took her Leave of them all. Her Brother and the other Gentlemen were executed firſt. " He ex- " horted thoſe, who ſuffered with him, " to die without Fear, and ſaid to " thoſe that were about him, That he " came to die, ſince 'twas the King's " Pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo. He " exhorted all Perſons not to truſt to " Courts, States, and Kings, but in " GOD only. He had deſerved a hea- " vier Puniſhment of his other Sins, " but not from the King, whom he " had never offended, yet he pray'd " GOD to give him a long and a good " Life. With him all the reſt ſuffer'd " a Death, which they had no Way " deſerved. Mark Smeton only con- " feſſed he had deſerved well to die; " which gave Occaſion to many Reflec- " tions.

" When the Queen heard how her " Brother and the other Gentlemen " had ſuffered, and had ſealed her In- " nocence with their own Blood; but " that Mark Smeton had confeſſed, he " deſerved to die, ſhe broke out into a " Paſſion, and ſaid, Has he not then " cleared me of that publick Shame he " has brought me to? Alas! I fear his " Soul ſuffers for it, and that he is " now puniſhed for his falſe Accuſa- " tion: But for my Brother and thoſe " others, I doubt not but they are " now in the Preſence of their Great " King, before whom I am to be To- " morrow.

IT ſeems, that Gentleman knew nothing of the Judgment paſs'd at Lambeth, annulling the Marriage; for it was tranſacted ſecretly. It could have no Foundation, or Colour, but from that Story mentioned in Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, of the Lord Percy's Addreſſes to her. He was now examined upon that: But it will appear, from his Letter to Cromwell, that he ſolemnly purged both himſelf and her, from any Precontract; being examined upon Oath, by the two Archbiſhops; and that he received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of Norfolk and ſome of the King's Council, that were learned in the Spiritual Law; aſſuring them by his Oath, and by the Sacrament that he had received and intended to receive, that there was never any Contract or Promiſe of Marriage between her and him. This he wrote on the 13th of May four Days before the Queen's Execution.

THIS ſhews plainly, that ſhe was prevailed on between Fear and Hope to confeſs a Precontract, the Perſon not being named.

THE French Gentleman gives the ſame Account of the Manner of her Death and of her Speech, that all the Writers of that Time do: " When ſhe " was brought to the Place of Execu- " tion, within the Tower, he ſays, " her Looks were chearful, and ſhe " never appeared more beautiful, than " at that Time; ſhe ſaid, to thoſe about " her, Be not ſorry to ſee me die thus, " but pardon me from your Hearts, " that I have not expreſſed to all about " me that Mildneſs that became me; " and that I have not done that Good " that was in my Power to do. She " prayed for thoſe who were the Pro- " ſecutors of her Death. Then, with " the Aid of her Maid, ſhe undreſſed " her Neck with great Courage, and " ſo ended her Days.

THIS long Recital is tranſlated out of Meteren; for it is not taken Notice of by any of our Writers; the Biſhop leaves it thus, without any other Reflections upon it, but that it ſeems all over credible.

Theyet, a Franciſcan Friar, who, for 17 or 18 Years, had wand'red up and down Europe, to prepare Materials for his Coſmography (which he publiſhed in the Year 1563) ſays that many Engliſh Gentlemen aſſured him, That King Henry expreſſed great Repentance of his Sins, being at the Point of Death; and among other Things, of the Injury and the Crime committed againſt Queen Anne Boleyn, who was falſely accuſed, and convicted of that which was laid to her Charge. It is true, Thuanus has very much diſgrac'd that Writer, as a vain and ignorant Plagiary; but he having been of the

Order that ſuffered ſo much for their adhering to Queen Catharine, is not to be ſuſpected of Partiality for Queen Anne. We muſt leave thoſe Secrets to the Great Day.

IT may be eaſily believed, that both the Pope and the Emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the Obligation they ſeemed to be under to Protect Queen Catharine to Queen Anne's Fall, gave them a great deal of ill-natured Joy. The Pope, upon the firſt News of her Diſgrace, ſent for Caſſali, expreſſing a great deal of Pleaſure upon the Queen's Impriſonment; and, at the ſame Time, ſpoke very honourably of the King. "He hop'd "upon theſe Emergents, all Matters "might be brought to a good Agree-"ment; and that the King would re-"concile himſelf to the See, by which "he would become the Arbiter of all "Europe. He told Caſſali, That he "knew how good an Inſtrument he "was in Pope Clement's Time; and "what Pains he took both with the "Pope and the Emperor to prevent the "Breach. He added, that the naming "of Fiſher to be a Cardinal, was ſo "preſſed on him, that he could not "decline it. He deſired Caſſali would "try how any Meſſenger that he might "ſend to the King, would be received: "for, as ſoon as he knew that, he "would ſend one immediately. Of "all this Caſſali wrote an Account to "the King.

AT the ſame Time, Pace gave him an Account of a long Converſation he had with the Emperor on the ſame Subject; for he was then the King's Ambaſſador in that Court. "The "Emperor excuſed his Adhering to "his Aunt, whom he could not in "Honour forſake; but at the ſame "Time, he ſaid, he abhorred the Pope's "Bull for Depoſing the King; and he "was ſo far from any Thoughts of "executing it, that he commanded it "to be ſuppreſſed in his Dominions; "nor did he encourage, as was ſuſpect-"ed, the King of Scotland to under-"take to execute it. He imputed the "Breach, that had been made between "him and the King, to the French "King, who, he ſaid, was like an Eel "in a Man's Hand, ready to forſake "him, and even to renounce GOD, "who, he believed, had given him "over to a Reprobate Mind. He was "now reſolved to return to his old "Friendſhip with the King, and he "would not hearken to Itimations gi-"ven him by the Agent of France, "that the King had poiſoned his "Aunt. He preſſed him to legitimate "the Princeſs Mary. He might do "that without owning the Lawfulneſs "of his Marriage; which was a Point "in which he would ſtir no more. "She was born in a Marriage in Fact, "and Bona Fide; and in many Caſes "in which Marriages had been diſ-"ſolv'd, yet the Legitimacy of the Iſ-"ſue was often ſecured.

OF all this Pace gave the King an Account, and preſſed, with ſome Vehemence, the Legitimating the Princeſs: The Emperor was then going to Rome; ſo King Henry intended to join Caſſali with Pace, in his Embaſſy to the Emperor. Pace begged that might not be done; expreſſing a great Averſion to him, as being a baſe and perverſe Man. It is plain, Pace preſſed the King much to think of being reconciled to the Pope. Cardinal Chinucci offered his Service to the King, with Expreſſions full of Zeal. Grandvill alſo entered with Caſſali upon the ſame Subject, but Caſſali wrote to the King, that he did not at all meddle in that Matter. The Emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. The King ſent a Diſpatch to Pace, telling him of the Motion that the Emperor's Ambaſſador made to him, for returning to the old Friendſhip with their Maſter: They alſo made him ſome Overtures in Order to it. Firſt, the Emperor would be a Means to reconcile him to the Biſhop of Rome: He alſo hoped, that the King would contribute towards the War againſt the Turks, and that ſince there was an old Defenſive League between them, and ſince it ſeemed that the French King intended to invade the Dutchy of Milan, he expected the King would aſſiſt him, according to that League.

To all this the King anſwered, "That the Interruption of their "Friendſhip proceeded from the Em-"peror, who had made him ill Re-"turns for the Services he had done "him; for, he pretends, he made him "firſt King of Spain, and then Em-"peror, when the Empire was at his "Diſpoſition; he had furniſhed him "with Money; ſo that he ought to "thank the King only for all the Ho-"nour he was advanced to: But in "Lieu of that, he had ſhewed great "Ingratitude to the King, and had

" not only contemned his Friendſhip, " but had ſet on all the ill Uſage he " had met with from the Biſhop of " Rome; which, as he underſtood, he " owed chiefly to him: Yet ſuch was " the King's Zeal for Concord among " Chriſtian Princes, and ſuch was his " Nature, that he could continue his " Diſpleaſure againſt no Man, when the " Cauſe of it was once removed; ſo, " if the Emperor would deſire him to " forget all that was paſſed, and would " purge himſelf of all particular Un- " kindneſs to him, he would be will- " ing to return to their old Friend- " ſhip; but he, having received the " Injuries, would not ſue for a Recon- " ciliation, nor treat upon the Foot of " the old Leagues between them, till " the Reconciliation ſhould be firſt " made, and that without any Condi- " tions: When that was done he would " anſwer all his ſeaſonable Deſires: " But as for the Biſhop of Rome, he " had not proceeded on ſuch ſlight " Grounds, that he could in any " Sort depart from what he had " done; having founded himſelf upon " the Laws of GOD, of Nature, and " Honeſty, with the Concurrence of " his Parliament. There was a Mo- " tion made to him from that Biſhop, " for a Reconciliation, which he had " not yet embraced, nor would he " ſuffer it to be compaſſed by any " other Means; and therefore he " would not take it in good Part, if " the Emperor would inſiſt in that " Matter, for the Satisfaction of the " Biſhop of Rome, who was his Ene- " my; or move him to alter that, " which was already determined againſt " his Authority. When there was a " General Peace among Chriſtian " Princes, he would not be wanting " to give an Aid againſt the Turks; " but till the Friendſhip between the " Emperor and him was quite made up, " he would treat of nothing with Re- " lation to the King of France. When " that was done, he would be a Medi- " ator between them. This was the " Anſwer given by the Emperor's Am- " baſſadors, which was communicated " to Pace, that in Caſe he had any " Diſcourſe with the Emperor on the " Subject, he ſhould ſeem only to have " a general Knowledge of the Matter, " but ſhould talk with him ſuitably to " theſe Grounds; encouraging the Em- " peror to purſue what he had begun, " and extolling the King's Nature and " Courage, with his Inclination to ſa- " tisfy his Friends, when he was not " too much preſſed; that would hurt " and ſtop good Purpoſes; and he or- " ders him to ſpeak with Grandvill of " it, of whom, it ſeems, he had a " good Opinion, and that he ſhould " repreſent to the Emperor, the Ad- " vantage that would follow, on the " Renewing of their old Friendſhip, " but not to clog it with Conditions; " for whatever the King might be af- " terwards brought to upon their " Friendſhip, when made the King " would not ſuffer it to be loaded " with them; for the King had ſuffer- " ed the Injury: But he was ordered " to ſay all this as of himſelf, and " Pace was ordered to go to Court, " and put himſelf in Grandvill's Way, " that he might have Occaſion to en- " ter upon theſe Subjects with him. " Thus that Matter was put in a Me- " thod; ſo that in a little Time, the " Friendſhip ſeemed to be intirely " made up.

THE King would never hearken to a Reconciliation with the Pope; on the contrary, he went on in his Deſign of reforming Matters in England. In the Convocation in the Year 1536, Cromwell came and demanded a Place as the King's Vicar-General. The Archbiſhop aſſigned him the Place next above himſelf: On the 21ſt of June the Archbiſhop laid before the Houſe the Sentence Definitive, of the Nullity of the King's Marriage with Queen Anne; which Cromwell deſired they would approve: It was approved in the Upper Houſe, and ſent down to the Lower, in which it was approved.

ON the 23d of June, the Prolocutor, with the Clergy, offered a Book to the Upper-Houſe, in which they ſet forth a Collection of many ill Doctrines that were publickly preached within the Province: On the 28th of June, the Confirmation of the Decree, concerning the King's laſt Marriage, was ſubſcribed by both Houſes. On the 11th of July the Book concerning the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies, were brought in by the Biſhop of Hereford, and was ſigned by both Houſes. Theſe were alſo ſigned by the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Dureſme. On the 26th of July the Biſhop of Hereford brought another Book, containing the Reaſons, Why the King ought not to appear in a Council, ſummoned by the Pope to meet at Mantua:

Mantua: This was likewiſe agreed to, and ſubſcribed by both Houſes. There is nothing new to add to the Account given in the former Part of this Hiſtory of the other Proceedings in Matters of Religion this Year; in which no Convocation ſat at York. There are ſeveral Draughts of theſe Articles that are in ſeveral Places corrected by the King's own Hand: Some of the Corrections are very long and very material: Of theſe only it was that the Biſhop meant, and not of the Ingroſſed, and Signed Articles themſelves, when he ſaid they were corrected by the King, as he hath been miſunderſtood.

BY theſe Steps it appearing clearly that the King had no Thoughts of a Reconciliation with Rome, the Pope on his Part reſolved to create him as much Trouble as he could. Pool had been ſent over from England to Paris, while the Suit of Divorce was in Dependance: He was particularly recommended by the Biſhop of Bayonne, in one of his Letters to Montmorancy, as a Perſon of great Hopes, and much favoured by the King: He came after that to England; for he tells himſelf that he was in England while the Point of the Supreme Headſhip was in Debate. He ſays he was then abſent, which ſhews that at that Time he was contented to be ſilent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. He was afterwards ſuffered to go and ſettle at Padua, where the Gravity of his Deportment, that was above his Age, and the Sweetneſs of his Temper, made him be very much conſidered. He was ſtill ſupported from England, whether only out of his Deanry of Exeter, or by any farther ſpecial Bounty of the King, is not certain. In ſeveral Letters from Padua, he acknowledges the King's Bounty and Favour to him, and in one he deſires a farther Supply. He being commanded by the King to do it, wrote over his Opinion concerning his Marriage: The King ſent it to Cranmer, before his being ſent out of England: For that faithful and diligent Searcher into the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, Mr. Strype, has publiſhed the Letter that he wrote upon it; the Year is not added, but the Date being the 13th of June, it muſt be before he was ſent out of England, this being writ before he was conſecrated; for he ſubſcribes Cranmer, and upon his Return he was conſecrated long before June. It is written to the Earl of Wiltſhire: He mentions Pool's Book, and commends the Wit of it very highly: He thinks if it ſhould come abroad, it would not be poſſible to ſtand againſt it. Pool's chief Deſign in it, was to perſuade the King to ſubmit the Matter wholly to the Pope. In it,

"HE ſet forth the Trouble that "might follow upon the Diverſity of "Titles to the Crown, of which the "Wars upon the Titles of Lancaſter "and York had given them a ſad "Warning. All that was now heal'd, "and therefore Care ſhould be taken "not to return to the like Miſery. He "could never agree to the Divorce, "which muſt deſtroy the Princeſſes "Title, and accuſe the King of li-"ving ſo long in a Courſe of Inceſt, "againſt the Law of GOD and of Na-"ture. This would increaſe the Ha-"tred the People begun to bear to "Prieſts, if it ſhould appear that they "had ſo long approved that which is "found now to be unlawful. As for "the Opinions of the Univerſities, it "was known they were often led by "Affections; and that they were "brought over with great Difficulty to "declare for the King; but he ſets in "Oppoſition to them, the King's Fa-"ther and his Council: It could not "be expected that the Pope would "condemn the Act of his Predeceſſor, "or conſent to the Abridging his own "Power, and do that which would "raiſe Sedition in many Kingdoms, "particularly in Portugal. He next "ſhews the Emperor's Power, and the "Weakneſs of France, that the Prohi-"biting our Trade to the Netherlands "would be very ruinous, and that the "French were never to be truſted; "they never kept their Leagues with "us, for neither do they love us, nor "do we love them; and if they find "their Aid neceſſary to England, they "will charge it with intolerable Condi-"tions." That is the Subſtance of that Letter; ſo that at this Time Pool wrote only to perſuade the King, by political Conſiderations to ſubmit wholly to the Pope's Judgment. The Matter reſted thus for ſome Time: But when the Breach was made, and all was paſt reconciling, then Cromwell wrote to him by the King's Order, to declare his Opinion with Relation to the King's Proceedings. Upon this Reaſon only he wrote his Book, as he ſet forth in a Paper of Inſtructions given to one to be ſhewed

ſhewed to the King. In which he writes, " Tha the thinks if it had not been for " that, he had never meddled in the " Matter, ſeeing ſo little Hope of Suc- " ceſs; and that he had Reaſon to " think that what he ſhould write, " would not be acceptable. They had " ſent unto him from England, the " Books written on the contrary Part: " But he ſaid, he found many Things " ſuppreſſed in theſe, and all the Co- " lours that could be invented, were " ſet upon untrue Opinions. Beſides, " what had followed was grievous, " both in the Sight of GOD, and in " the Judgment of the reſt of Chriſ- " tendom; and he apprehending yet " worſe Effects, both with Relation to " the King's Honour, and the Quiet " of his Realm, did, upon that, re- " ſolve to employ all the Wit and " Learning that GOD had given him, " to ſet forth the Truth, and to ſhew " the Conſequences of theſe ill Opi- " nions. He hoped that what he wrote " on the Subject would fully ſatisfy " all that would examine it. This he " did, in Hopes that the King, whom " GOD had ſuffered to be carried away " from thoſe Opinions, that he had " the Honour formerly to maintain, " would yet, by the Goodneſs of GOD, " be recovered out of the Evil Way he " was then in.

" THERE were great Inſtances of " ſuch Caſes in Scripture, in the Sto- " ries of David and Solomon, the laſt " particularly, who notwithſtanding " the Gift of Wiſdom, that he had " from GOD, yet fell into Idolatry; ſo " tho' the King was not fallen from " the true Doctrine of Chriſt, yet as " David, when in a State of Sin, was, " by a Prophet, ſent to him from GOD, " brought to true Repentance, and re- " ſtored to the Favour of GOD, he " hoped he might, by the Grace of " GOD, be an Inſtrument to bring the " King to a better Senſe of Things: " Therefore, as he ſet himſelf to ſtu- " dy the Matter, ſo he prayed earneſt- " ly to GOD to manifeſt the Truth to " him, in which he hoped GOD had " heard his Prayer; ſo he looked for " good Succeſs; and that he might make " the King apprehend the Danger he was " in, both from his own People, who " hated Innovations in Religion, and " from other Princes, to whoſe Ho- " nour it belongs to defend the Laws " of the Church againſt all other " Princes who impugn them, and to " make the King more apprehenſive of " this, he had as in his own Perſon, " brought out all ſuch Reaſons as " might provoke People, or Princes " againſt him, ſince he was departing " from the Courſe in which he had be- " gun. Theſe Reaſons, if read a-part, " without conſidering the Purpoſe he " propoſed of repreſenting to the King " the Danger to which he was expo- " ſing himſelf, might make one think, " from his Vehemence of Stile in that " Argument, that he was the King's " greateſt Enemy; but the Reading " the whole Book will ſhew what his " Intent in it all was. The Book was " too long for the King to read: He " deſired therefore, that he would or- " der ſome learned and grave Man to " read it, and to declare his Judgment " upon it, he being bound with an " Oath of Fidelity, firſt to GOD and " then to the King, to do it without " Affection on either Part. He named " particularly Tonſtal, Biſhop of Du- " reſme, whom he eſteemed both for " Learning and Fidelity to the King, " above any other he knew. After " Tonſtal had firſt examined it, the " King may refer the further Examina- " tion of it, to ſuch other Perſons as " he may think fit; he was likewiſe " reſolved that his Book ſhould never " come Abroad, 'till the King had ſeen " it.

IN theſe Inſtructions, he mentions, " That he had ſent another Book to " the King concerning his Marriage: " But in that he was diſappointed of " his Intent, as the Bearer might in- " form him, who knew the whole Mat- " ter; And ſince GOD had detected " her, who had been the Occaſion of " all the Errors the King had been led " into; it was the Hope of all who " loved him, that he would now come " to himſelf, and take that Diſcovery " as a favourable Admonition of GOD, " to conſider better the Opinion of " thoſe who diſſented from that Mar- " riage, as ſeeing the great Diſhonour " and Danger like to follow on it: " He wiſhed the King would look on " that, as a Warning to return to the " Unity of the Church: He was ſenſi- " ble nothing but the Hand of GOD " could work a Change in the King's " Mind; and when that ſhould be " done, it would be one of the greateſt " Miracles that the World had ſeen " for ſome Ages, with the moſt ſignal " Characters of GOD's Favour to him,

" which

" which would deliver him out of " thoſe very great Dangers, that muſt " follow upon the Meeting of a Gene- " ral Council: Whereas, if he ſhould " return to the Unity of the Church, " no Prince would appear in that Aſ- " ſembly with more Honour, than " would be paid him, even his Fall " would prove a great Bleſſing to the " Church; and tend to the Reforma- " tion of the Whole, and to the Ma- " nifeſtation of the Honour of GOD. " It would then appear that GOD had " ſuffered him to fall, to make him " riſe with more Honour, to the " greater Wealth, not only of his own " Realm, but of the whole Church be- " ſides: With theſe Inſtructions he ſent " a private Letter to Tonſtal, from " Venice, dated Corpus-Chriſti-Eve.

WHEN his Book againſt the Divorce came firſt to England, he was written to in the King's Name, to come over and explain ſome Things in it; but he excuſed himſelf: He pretended the Love of Retirement, and of the no- ble Company with whom he lived, in an eaſy and learned Friendſhip there. Eloquence ſeems to be that which he turned his Mind moſt to; for in every thing he wrote, there is much more of Declamation than of Argument.

Tonſtal being thus provoked by Pool, and commanded by the King, wrote a full and ſolid Anſwer to him, on the 13th of July, 1536. " He acknow- " ledged he had received his Letter, as " the King had received his Book; in " which he deſired that the Reading " of it, might be firſt put upon him: " He had read both his Letter and his " long Book, and was truly grieved " as he read it, ſeeing both the Vehe- " mence of his Stile, and that he miſ- " repreſented the whole Matter, as if " the King was ſeparated from the " Church. He wiſhed he had rather " written his Opinion privately, in a " Letter to the King, which might " have been read by himſelf, and not " have enlarged himſelf into ſo great " a Book, which muſt be communica- " ted and ſeen of others. What Stu- " pidity was it, to ſend ſo long a Book " ſo great a Way, by one who might " have miſcarried in it; and ſo the " Book might have fallen into the " Hands of thoſe, who would have " publiſhed it to the Slander of the " King and the Kingdom; but moſt of " all to his own; for his Ingratitude " to the King, who had bred him up " to that Learning, which was now " uſed againſt him, in whoſe Defence " he ought to have ſpent both Life " and Learning; he adviſed him to " burn all that he had written on that " Subject. There appeared a Strain of " Bitterneſs in his whole Book, that " was very unbecoming him. He then " comes to the Argument, to ſhew " that the King, by the Title of the " Supreme Head, did not ſeparate him- " ſelf, nor his Church, from the Uni- " ty of the whole Body. The King " did not take upon him the Office " belonging to Spiritual Men, the Cure " of Souls; nor that which belongs " to the Prieſthood, to preach the " Word of GOD, and to miniſter the " Sacraments. He knew what belong- " ed to his own Office as King, and " what belonged to the Prieſts-Office: " No Prince eſteemed Spiritual Men, " that were given to Learning and Virtue " more than he did. His only Deſign " was, to ſee the Laws of GOD ſin- " cerely preached, and Chriſt's Faith " (without Blot) obſerved in his King- " dom; and reduce his Church out of " the Captivity of Foreign Powers, " (formerly uſurped) into the State in " which all the Churches of GOD " were at the Beginning; and to put " away all the Uſurpations, that the " Biſhops of Rome had, by undue " Means, ſtill increaſed, to their own " Gain, but to the impoveriſhing of the " Kingdom. By this he only reduced " Things to the State that is moſt " conformable to the antient Decrees " of the Church, which the Biſhops " of Rome ſolemnly promiſe to ob- " ſerve at their Creation, naming the " Eight General Councils; and yet " any one, who conſiders to what a " State the Biſhop of Rome had brought " this Church, would ſoon ſee the Di- " verſity between the one and the " other. At Venice he might ſee theſe " in Greek, and they were already " publiſhed in Latin: By which it " appears, that the Biſhop of Rome " had then no ſuch Monarchy, as they " have uſurped of late.

" IF the Places of Scripture which " he quoted did prove it, then the " Council of Nice did err, which de- " creed the contrary; as the Canons " of the Apoſtles did appoint, that " the Ordinations of Prieſts and Bi- " ſhops, ſhould be made in the Dio- " ceſe, or at moſt in the Province " where the Parties dwelt. Theſe Ca-

" nons

" nons Damaſcen reckoned Holy Scrip-
" tures. Nor can it be thought that
" the four General Councils would
" have acted as they did, if they had
" underſtood thoſe Paſſages of Scrip-
" ture as he did: For above a thouſand
" Years after CHRIST, the Cuſtoms
" were very contrary to thoſe now
" uſed by the Biſhop of Rome: When
" the Blood of Chriſt and of the Mar-
" tyrs were yet freſh, the Scriptures
" were then beſt underſtood, and the
" Cuſtoms then uſed in the Church
" muſt be better, than thoſe that thro'
" Ambition, and Coveteouſneſs, had
" crept in ſince; Light and Darkneſs
" may be as well reconciled, as the
" Worldly Authority in Temporal
" Things now uſurped, can be proved
" from St. Peter's Primacy, in preach-
" ing the Word of GOD. He refers
" him to Cardinal Cuſa's Second Book,
" in which he will find this well
" opened.

" THE King going to reform his
" Realm, and to reduce Things to the
" State in which they were ſome Ages
" ago, did not change, but eſtabliſh
" thoſe Laws, which the Pope pro-
" feſſes to obſerve. If other Princes
" did not follow him in this, that
" ought not to hinder him from doing
" his Duty; of which he did not doubt
" to be able to convince him, if he
" had but one Day's Diſcourſe with
" him, unleſs he was totally addicted
" to the contrary Opinion. Pool wrote
" in his Letter, that he thought the
" King's Subjects were offended at the
" Aboliſhing the Pope's Uſurpations:
" But Tonſtal aſſured him, that in this
" he was deceived; for they all per-
" ceived the Profit that the Kingdom
" had by it; ſince the Money that
" was before carried over to Rome,
" was now kept within the Kingdom.
" That was become a very heavy Bur-
" den, and was daily increaſing; ſo
" that if the King would go about to
" reſtore that aboliſhed Authority, he
" would find it more difficult to bring
" it about, than any he had ever yet
" attempted in his Parliament. Pool
" had in his Letter blamed Tonſtal
" for fainting in his Heart, and not
" dying for the Authority of the Bi-
" ſhop of Rome. He aſſures him, that
" from the Time that he underſtood
" the Progreſs of Chriſt's Church from
" the Beginning, and had read Eccle-
" ſiaſtical Hiſtory, he never thought
" to ſhed one Drop of Blood in that
" Cauſe. None of thoſe who had
" Advantage by that Authority, would
" have loſt one Penny of it to have
" ſaved his Life: He would do what
" in him lay to cool that Indignation
" which his Book had raiſed in the
" King. He deſired him not to fancy
" (from what he ſaw in Italy, or in
" other Places) that it was ſo from
" the Beginning. The Councils would
" ſhew him, how that Dignity was
" given to the Biſhops of Rome. The
" Emperors called thoſe Councils; and
" the Dignity that was given him, was
" becauſe he was Biſhop of the Chief
" City of the Empire, and not for the
" Sake of Peter and Paul. The Se-
" cond Place was given to the Patriarchs
" of Conſtantinople, becauſe it was
" called New Rome, and ſo was pre-
" ferred to Antioch, where St. Peter
" was Biſhop, and where the Name
" Chriſtian firſt began; and it was ſent
" before Alexandria, and likewiſe be-
" fore Jeruſalem, where Chriſt him-
" ſelf preached, and the whole Col-
" lege of the Apoſtles after him, and
" where James (the Brother of our
" Lord) was the firſt Biſhop. That
" Church was called the Mother of
" all the Churches. It was alſo ſet be-
" fore Epheſus, where St. John wrote
" his Goſpel, and died. To all theſe
" Conſtantinople was preferred; and
" yet this was fully ſettled in the
" Council of Calcedon, where 630 Bi-
" ſhops met. If he read the Greek
" Fathers, Baſil, Nazianzen, Chryſo-
" ſtome, and Damaſcen, he would
" find no Mention of the Monar-
" chy of the Biſhop of Rome. He
" deſired him to ſearch farther into
" this Matter, and he would find that
" the Old Fathers knew nothing of
" the Pope's late Pretenſions and Uſur-
" pations. He wiſhed therefore, that
" he would examine theſe Matters
" more carefully, which had been
" ſearched to the Bottom in England.
" The learned Men here thought they
" were happily delivered from that
" Captivity, to which he endeavoures
" to bring them back. He tells him,
" how much all his Family and Kin-
" dred would be troubled to ſee him
" ſo much engaged againſt his King
" and his Country, whom he might
" comfort, if he would follow the
" Eſtabliſhment of the whole Church
" of GOD from the Beginning, and
" leave the Supporting of thoſe Uſur-
" pations. He refers him to Gregory

the

" the Great, who wrote againſt the " Biſhop of Conſtantinople, pretending " to the like Monarchy. St. Cyprian " writes, that all the Apoſtles were of " equal Dignity and Authority, which " is alſo affirmed by the Third Coun- " cil of Epheſus. He begged him not " to truſt too much to himſelf, but " to ſearch further, and not to fancy " he had found out the Matter already, " he prayed him to burn all his Pa- " pers; and then he hoped, he ſhould " prevail with the King to keep that, " which he had ſent him, ſecret. He " concludes all, with ſome very kind " Expreſſions.

Biſhop Burnet ſays he has abſtracted this more fully, for the Honour of Tonſtal's Memory; who was a generous and good-natured, as well as learned Man. Pool, who was then a Cardinal, wrote no Anſwer to this, but he wrote a long Letter either to Tonſtal, or Cromwell, in May 1537.

" HE begins it with Proteſtations " of his Affection to the King, tho' " the King had taken ſuch Methods " to deſtroy him, as the like had not " been known in Chriſtendom, againſt " any who bore the Perſon that he " did at that Time; yet he ſtill main- " tained a deep Affection to him. He " knew well all that the King had " deſigned againſt him; which, if he " bore the King a ſmall Degree of " Love, would be enough to extin- " guiſh it. He ſaw, what he did for " the beſt, was taken in the worſt " Part. He did not think it poſſible, " that the King ſhould conceive ſuch " Indignation againſt him, as to break " thro' all Laws, to have him in his " Hands, and, to diſturb the whole " Commerce of Nations, rather than " not have his Perſon in his Power: " But he ſtill adhered to his former " Principles, and maintained his for- " mer Temper towards the King.

" UPON his Arrival in France, he " was aſhamed to hear, that he com- " ing thither in the Quality of an Am- " baſſador and Legate, one Prince " ſhould deſire of another to betray " him, and deliver him into the King's " Ambaſſador's Hands. He himſelf " was ſo little diſturbed at it, when " he firſt heard of it, that he ſaid up- " on it, (to thoſe who were about " him) That he never felt himſelf in " full Poſſeſſion of being a Cardinal, " till then; ſince he was now perſecu- " ted by him, whoſe Good he moſt " earneſtly deſired. Whatever Reli- " gion Men are of, if they would ob- " ſerve the Law of Nations, the Law " of Nature alone would ſhew how " abominable it was to grant ſuch a " Requeſt, and it was no leſs to deſire " it: So that if he had the leaſt Spark " of an Alienation from the King, in " him, ſuch Proceedings would blow " it up into a Fire. He might, upon " this, be juſtly tempted to give over " all Commerce with the King, and to " procure (by all honeſt Ways) the " Means to repay this Malignity, by " doing him the utmoſt Damage he " could deviſe; but he did not, for " that, abſtain from trying to do all " he could for the King's Honour and " Wealth. He acknowledges, that the " Biſhop of Verona was ſent by him " to the Court of France, to intimate, " that the Pope (for the common Good " of Chriſtendom) had committed " ſome Affairs to him, to treat with " the King. That Biſhop paſſed thro' " Abbeville, when the Biſhop of Win- " cheſter and Mr. Brian were there; " ſo he could not but wonder, at the " King's Acting towards him; the " whole Deſign of his Legation being " for the King's Honour. Upon which " that Biſhop deſired to confer with " the King's Ambaſſadors, that he " might declare to them the whole " Truth of the Matter, which was " made known to them. They, it is " true, had no Communication with " him; but they ſent their Secretary " after the Biſhop had declared the Ef- " fect of his Legation, as far as it re- " lated to the King, to him.

" IT ſeemed viſible to all, that the " King (in what he had done) was " abuſed by falſe Reports, and by the " falſe Conjectures of ſome; ſo it was " hoped, that the Matter being once " cleared, the King would have chang- " ed his Mind. All this he under- " ſtood from the Biſhop of Verona, at " his Return; and he readily believed " it. That Biſhop had been the King's " true Servant, and had ſhewed (when " he was in a Capacity to ſerve him) " the ſincere Love that he bore him. " He had been alſo Pool's particular " Acquaintance, ever ſince he came " out of England. He would have " been ready, if the King had con- " ſented to it, to have gone and given " the King full Satisfaction in all " Things; for the chief Reaſon of his " being ſent into France, was, the " Pope's

"Pope's intending to gain the King, "knowing the Friendſhip that was be-"tween him and the French King; ſo "the Biſhop of Verona was thought "the fitteſt Perſon to be firſt imploy'd, "who had great Merits on both Kings, "for the Services he did them, when "he was in Office; and being "eſteemed the beſt Biſhop in Italy, it "was deſigned that he ſhould accom-"pany Pool, as well as he was ſent "before to prepare Matters for his "coming; which he, out of his Zeal "to do GOD and the King Service, "undertook very willingly; and re-"ſolved to try how he could get Ac-"ceſs to the King's Perſon: So now "having fully explained himſelf, he "hoped it would not be thought poſſi-"ble, that he had thoſe Deſigns, of "which the King's Proceeding againſt "him, ſhew'd he ſuſpected him (which "was, that he came on Purpoſe to "animate the People to rebel).

"UPON his firſt coming to Rome, "he acquainted the King with the De-"ſign, for which he was called thi-"ther; and he had acquainted him "with the Cauſe of his Legation. "Theſe were not the Methods of "thoſe who intended to rebel. He "had then procured a Suſpenſion, in "ſending forth the Cenſures, which, "at that Time, might have cauſed the "King more Trouble; and he ſent "his Servant purpoſely, with the Of-"fer of his Aſſiſtance, animating the "Chief of his Kindred to be conſtant "in the King's Service. If any had "been at Rome, in the King's Pay, "to do him Service, they could not "have done more than he did; ſo "that ſome begun to reflect on him, "becauſe he would not conſent to "diverſe Things that would have been "uneaſy to him; and particularly be-"cauſe he had the Cenſures in his "Hand, which were inſtantly called "for, by thoſe who had Authority to "command: Yet they never came in-"to their Sight or Hands; and to that "Hour he had ſuppreſſed them. He "would go no further in juſtifying "himſelf, if what he had already "done, and what the Biſhop of Vero-"na had ſaid, did not do it; he would "take no more Pains to clear himſelf: "He rather thought he had been faul-"ty in his Negligence in theſe Mat-"ters: But there was nothing now left "to him, but to pray for the King."

THIS Letter is dated from Cam-bray; for upon the King's Meſſage to the French King, to demand him to to be delivered into his Hands, Fran-cis could in no Sort hearken to that, but he ſent to him not to come to his Court, but to go with all convenient Haſte out of his Dominions; ſo he re-tired to Cambray, as being then a pe-culiar Sovereignty. The King had a Spy, one Throckmorton, ſecretly about Pool, who gave him an Account of his Motions: But by what appears in his Letters, he was faithfuller to Pool, than to the King. He wrote over that his Book was not then printed, tho' he had been much preſs'd to print it by thoſe at Rome; but he thought that would hinder the Deſign he went on: He believed indeed, that upon his re-turning thither, he would print it. He tells him that he had procured the Suſ-penſions of the Pope's Cenſures, to try if it was poſſible to bring about a Re-conciliation between the Pope and the King: And he adds, that many won-dered to ſee the King ſo ſet againſt him, and that he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have ſtay'd ſome Time in Flanders, but the Re-gent ſent him Word, that it could not be ſuffered: He went from thence and ſtay'd at Liege, where he was on the 20th of Auguſt; for the laſt of Throckmorton's Letters is dated from thence: He writes that the Pope had called him back, having named him to be his Legate to the Council that he had ſummoned to meet the 1ſt of Nov. tho' it did not meet for ſome Years af-ter this.

THE King's Indignation upon his Advancement, and for his Book, carri-ed him to a great many Exceſſes, and to many Acts of Injuſtice and Cruelty; which are not the leaſt among the great Blemiſhes of that Reign. Wyat was then the King's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court; and by his Letters to the King; it ſeems, an intire Confi-dence was then ſettled with the Empe-ror. The King preſſed him much not to ſuffer the Pope to call a Council, but to call one by his own Authority, as the Roman Emperors had called the firſt General Councils, and he propoſed Cambray as a proper Place for one; but he ſaw he was not like to ſucceed in that, ſo he only inſiſted on a Pro-miſe that the Emperor had made, that nothing ſhould be done in the Council, when-

whenſoever it ſhould meet, againſt him or his Kingdom.

THE King was at this Time under much Uneaſineſs, for he ſent both Bonner and Hains over to the Emperor's Court in Conjunction: The one ſeems to have been choſen to talk with thoſe who were ſtill Papiſtical; and the other had great Credit with the Proteſtants. Our Merchants in the Emperor's Dominions were threatned by the Inquiſition, for owning the King, as Supreme Head of the Church: Upon this Wyat complained much to the Emperor; but tho' that Prince vindicated the Inquiſitors, he promiſed to give ſuch Order that they ſhould not be diſquieted on that Account: And when Pool applied himſelf to the Emperor, for Leave to affix the Pope's Bull againſt the King in his Dominions, he would not conſent to it.

THE Biſhop ſays, that he cannot add much to what he formerly wrote, with Relation to the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries. There are many Letters ſetting forth their Vices, Lewdneſs, Robberies, and other ill Practices; and now that the Deſign againſt them was apparent, many run beyond Sea with their Plate and Jewels; but the Viſitors indeed gave a great Character of the Abbeſs and Nuns of Polleſworth in Warwickſhire. Dr. London, that was afterwards, not only a Proſecutor of Proteſtants, but a Suborner of falſe Witneſſes againſt them, was now zealous, even to Officiouſneſs ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries. In the firſt Commiſſion that the Viſitors had, there was no Order for the removing Shrines; yet he, in his Zeal, exceeding his Commiſſion, had done it; upon which Leighton, Leigh, and others, deſired that a Commiſſion for that End might be ſent after them, of the ſame Date with the other Commiſſions. He alſo ſtudied to frighten the Abbeſs of Godſtow into a Reſignation. She was particularly in Cromwell's Favour; ſo ſhe wrote a plain honeſt Letter to him, complaining of "London's Violence, "of his Artifices to bring them to ſurrender their Houſe, and of the great "Charge he put them to: She writes, "That ſhe did not hear that any of "the King's Subjects had been ſo handled; ſhe inſiſts on her Care to maintain the Honour of GOD, and all "Truth and Obedience to the King; "therefore ſhe was poſitively reſolved "not to ſurrender her Houſe, but "would be ready to do it whenever "the King's Command, or his ſhould "come to her, and not till then.

THE Diſcovery of the Cheats in Images, and Counterfeits in Relicks, contributed not a little to their Diſgrace. Among theſe, that of Boxley in Kent, was one of the moſt enormous. Among the Papers, that were ſent Biſhop Burnet, from Zurick, there is a Letter, written by the Miniſter of Maidſtone, to Bullenger, that deſcribes ſuch an Image, if it is not the ſame: He calls it, The Dragon of Aſhdod: Or, The Babyloniſh Bell. It was a Crucifix that ſome Times moved the Head and the Eyes, and did bend the the whole Body to expreſs the Receiving of Prayers; and other Geſtures, were at other Times made to ſignify the Rejecting them; great Offerings were made to ſo wonderful an Image. One Partridge ſuſpected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he ſaw the whole Impoſture evidently. There were ſeveral Springs within it, by which all theſe Motions were made. This was brought to Maidſtone, and expoſed to all the People there: From thence it was carried to London, and was ſhewed to the King and all his Court, and in their Sight all the Motions were performed. The King's Council ordered a Sermon to be preached at St. Paul's, by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, where this Impoſture was fully diſcovered, and after Sermon it was burnt.

UPON the Birth of Prince Edward, Matters had a better Face; here was an undoubted Heir born to the Crown; it is true the Death of his Mother did abate much of the Joy, that ſuch a Birth would have given otherwiſe; for, as ſhe was of all the King's Wives much the beſt beloved by him, ſo ſhe was a Perſon of that humble and ſweet Temper, that ſhe was univerſally beloved on that Account; as ſhe had no Occaſion given her to appear much in Buſineſs, ſo ſhe had no Share of the Hatred, raiſed by the King's Proceedings, caſt on her. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he fell into a Miſtake from a Letter of Queen Elizabeth's, directed to a Big-belly'd Queen, which he thought belonged to her; but is now convinc'd of his Error, for it was, no Doubt, written to Queen Catharine, when, after King Henry's Death, ſhe was with Child by the Lord Seymour. Upon Queen Jane's Death, Tonſtal, being then

then at York, wrote a Conſolatary Letter to the King; it runs upon the common Topicks of Affliction with many good Applications of Paſſages of Scripture, and ſeems chiefly meant to calm and chear up the King's Spirit: But the Truth is, King Henry had ſo many groſs Faults about him, that it had been more for Tonſtal's Honour, and better ſuited his Character, if he had given Hints to awaken the King's Conſcience, and to call upon him to examine his Ways, while he had that Load upon his Mind: Either Tonſtal did not think him ſo faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himſelf, in being ſo wanting to his Duty, upon ſo great an Occaſion.

BUT now to more publick Concerns. The King had, by the Lord Cromwell, ſent Injunctions to his Clergy, in the Year 1536, as he did afterwards in the Year 1538, which is printed in the former Part of this Work. There was alſo a Circular Letter written to the Biſhops; that to the Biſhop of Hereford is dated on the 20th of July, 1536, requiring them to execute an Order abrogating ſome Holidays: The Number of them were ſo exceſſively great, and by the Peoples Devotion, or rather Superſtition, were like to increaſe more and more, which occaſion'd much Sloth and Idleneſs, and great Loſs to the Publick in Time of Harveſt. It ſets forth, that the King, with the Advice of the Convocation, had ſettled Rules in this Matter, The Feaſt of the Dedication of Churches was to be held every Year, on the firſt Sunday in Octob. but the Feaſt of the Patron of the Church was to be no more obſerv'd. All the Feaſts from the 1ſt of July to the 29th of September, and all Feaſts in Term-Time, were not to be obſerved any more as Holidays, except the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, and of St. George, and thoſe Days in which the Judges did not uſe to ſit, but the four Quarter-Days were ſtill to be Offering-Days. Theſe are all the publick Injunctions, ſet out about this Time; but after the firſt of theſe the Biſhops ſent likewiſe Injunctions to their Clergy round their Dioceſes, of which a Copy printed at that Time was given Biſhop Burnet, by his worthy Friend, Mr. Tate, Miniſter of Burnham.

THE firſt was by Lee, Archbiſhop of York, who begins with the Aboliſhing the Biſhop of Rome's Authority, and the Declaring the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, as well Spiritual as Temporal. "He requires his Clergy to provide a "New Teſtament, in Engliſh or Latin, within 40 Days, and to read "daily in it two Chapters before Noon, "and two in the Afternoon, and to "ſtudy to underſtand it: He requires "them alſo to ſtudy the Book to be "ſet forth by the King, of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man. They "were to procure it as ſoon as it "ſhould be publiſhed, that they might "read in it two Chapters a Day, "and be able to explain it to their "People. All Curates and Heads of "Religious Houſes were required to repeat the LORD's Prayer and the Ave-"Maria in Engliſh; and at other Parts "of the Service, the Creed and the "Ten Commandments alſo in Engliſh, "and to make the People repeat theſe "after them; and none were to be "admitted to the Sacrament at Eaſter "that could not repeat them. All "Pariſhes were required within 40 "Days to provide a great Bible in Engliſh, to be chain'd to ſome open "Place in the Church, ſo that all "Perſons might reſort to it, and read "it for their Inſtruction. Prieſts were "forbidden to haunt Taverns or Alehouſes, except on neceſſaey Occaſions. The Clergy that did belong "to any one Church were required to "eat together, if they might, and not "to play at prohibited Games, as "Cards and Dice. They muſt diſcourage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them to do it in the "Spirit of Meekneſs, to be edified by "it. They were requir'd to read to "their People the Goſpel and Epiſtles "in Engliſh. Rules are ſet for the "frequent Uſe of Sermons, proportion "to the Value of their Livings. Generally four Sermons were to be "preached every Year, one in a Quarter. None were to preach but ſuch "as had Licence from the King or "Archbiſhop; nor were they to worſhip any Image, or kneel or offer "any Lights or Gifts to it: But they "might have Lights in the Rood-Loft, "and before the Sacrament, and at the "Sepulchre at Eaſter. They were to "teach the People that Images are only as Books to ſtir them up to follow "the Saints; and tho' they ſee GOD "the Father repreſented as an Old "Man, they were not to think, that

"he

" he has a Body, or is like a Man. " All Images to which any Reſort is " uſed, are to be taken away. They " are to teach the People that GOD is " not pleaſed with the Works done for " the Traditions of Men, when Works " commanded by GOD are left un- " done: That we are only ſaved by " the Mercy of GOD, and the Merits " of CHRIST: That our good Works " have their Virtue only from thence. " They were to teach the Midwives " the Form of Baptiſm: They were " to teach the People to make no pri- " vate Contracts of Marriage, nor to " force their Children to marry againſt " their Wills; and to open to their " People often the Two great Com- " mandments of CHRIST, To love " GOD, and our Neighbour, and to " live in Love with all People avoid- " ing Diſſention.

THE reſt relate to the Matters ſet out in the King's Injunctions.

THERE were about the ſame Time Injunctions given by Sampſon, Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, for his Dioceſe. He begins with a Charge to his Clergy, " To inſtruct the People " concerning the King's being Supreme " Head of the Church of England, by " the Word of GOD; and that the " Authority uſed by the Biſhop of " Rome, was an Uſurpation: Then he " charges them to procure by the next " Whitſuntide a whole Book in Latin, " and alſo one in Engliſh; and to lay " it in the Church, that every Man " may read in it. Then with Rela- " tion to the Reading the Scriptures, " and the having Sermons every Quar- " ter, he gives the ſame Charge that " Lee gave. As to their Sermons he " charges them that they be preached " purely, ſincerely, and according to " the true Scriptures of GOD. He " next requires them in the King's " Name, and as his Miniſter to teach " the People to ſay the LORD's Pray- " er and the Ave, and the Creed in " Engliſh; and that four Times in " every Quarter they declared the Se- " ven Deadly Sins, and the Ten Com- " mandments. And becauſe ſome, out " of Neglect of their Curates, and to " hide their lewd Livings, uſed in " Lent to go to Confeſſion in Friars, " or other Religious Houſes; he orders " that no Teſtimonial from them ſhall " be ſufficient to admit one to the Sa- " crament, called by him GOD's Board, " till they confeſs to their own Cu- " rates, unleſs upon ſome urgent Con- " ſiderations of Conſcience, that he or " his Deputies ſhould grant a Special " Licence for it: That on Holidays, " and in Time of Divine Service, none " ſhould go to Alehouſes or Taverns, " nor be received in them: And that " the Clergy ſhould go in ſuch decent " Apparel, that it might be known " that they were of the Clergy.

THE laſt of the Injunctions in that Book, was given by Shaxton, Biſhop of Saliſbury, for his Dioceſe, they are ſaid to be given out from the Autho- rity given him by GOD and the King.

" HE begins with Proviſion about " Non-Reſidents and their Curates, in " particular. That no French or Iriſh " Prieſt that could not perfectly ſpeak " the Engliſh Tongue ſhould ſerve as " Curates. They were at High Maſs " to read the Goſpel and Epiſtle in the " Engliſh Tongue, and to ſet out the " King's Supremacy and the Uſurpa- " tions of the Biſhop of Rome: The " ſame Rules are given about Sermons, " as in the former, with this Addition, " that no Fryar nor any Perſon in a " Religious Habit be ſuffered to per- " form any Service in the Church: As " for reading the New Teſtament, the " Clergy are only required to read one " Chapter every Day, and that every " Parſon, having a Cure of Souls, " ſhould be able to repeat without " Book, the Goſpels of St. Matthew " and St. John, with the Epiſtles to " the Romans, Corinthians, and Gala- " tions, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, " and the Canonical Epiſtles; ſo that " every Fortnight they ſhould learn " one Chapter without Book and keep " it ſtill in their Memory; and that " the 28th Chapter of Deuteronomy " ſhould be read every Quarter inſtead " of the General Sentence. He gave " the ſame Orders that the others " gave about Images, Pilgrimages, and o- " ther ſuperſtitious Obſervances, and " for teaching the People the Elements " of Religion in Engliſh, only he does " not join the Ave-Maria with the " LORD's Prayer as the others did; " he requires the Curates to exhort " the People to beware of ſwearing " and blaſpheming the Name of GOD, " or of CHRIST's precious Body and " Blood, and of many other Sins then " commonly practiſed; he diſpenſed " with all Lights before Images, and " requires that every Church ſhould " be furniſhed with a Bible: He com- " plains

" plains of the Practice of putting " falſe Relicks on the People, naming " Stinking Boots, Mucky Combs, Rag- " ged Rockets, Rotten Girdles, Locks " of Hair, Gobbets of Wood, as Par- " cels of the Holy Croſs, of which " he had perfect Knowledge, beſides " the ſhameful Abuſe of ſuch as were " perhaps true Relicks; he prays and " commands them by the Authority " under GOD and the King, to bring " all theſe to him, with the Writings " relating to them, that he might ex- " amine them, promiſing to reſtore " ſuch as were found to be true Relicks, " with an Inſtruction how they ought to " be uſed; he orders that the Ave and " Pardon-Bell, that was wont to be " tolled three Times a Day, ſhould be " no more tolled.

THESE are all the Injunctions ſet out by Biſhops, there is nothing to add with Relation to the Diſſolution both of the ſmaller and the greater Monaſteries; nor of the ſeveral Riſings that were in different Parts of the Kingdom; only a Letter of Greſham, then Lord Mayor of London, he was Father of him who was the famed Benefactor to the City, but by the Letter, his Father was the Occaſion of procuring them a much greater Benefaction. He begun his Letter with a high Commendation of the King, who, as he writes, " ſeems " to be the choſen Veſſel of GOD, by " whom the true Word of GOD was " to be ſet forth, and was to reform " all Enormities. This encourag'd him, " being then the Mayor of the City of " London, to inform him for the Com- " fort of the ſick, aged, and impotent Per- " ſons, that there were three Hoſpitals " near or within the City, that of St. " George, St. Bartholomew, St. Tho- " mas, and the New Abbey on Tower- " Hill, founded and endowed with " great Poſſeſſions, only for the help- " ing the Poor and Impotent, who were " not able to help themſelves; and " not for the Maintenance of Canons, " Prieſts, and Monks, to live in Plea- " ſure, not regarding the Poor, who " were lying in every Street, offending " all that paſt by them; he therefore " prayed the King, for the Relief of " CHRIST's true Images, to give Or- " der that the Mayor of London and " the Aldermen, may from thenceforth " have the Diſpoſition and Rule both " of the Lands belonging to theſe " Hoſpitals, and of the Governors and " Miniſters which ſhall be in any of " them; and then the King would per- " ceive that; whereas now there was a " ſmall Number of Canons, Prieſts and " Monks in them for their own Profit " only; that then a great Number of " poor and indigent Perſons ſhould be " maintained in them, and alſo freely " healed of their Infirmities; and there " ſhould be Phyſicians, Surgeons and " Apothecaries, with Salaries, to attend " upon them; and thoſe who were not " able to Labour, ſhould be relieved; " and ſturdy Beggars not willing to " Labour, ſhould be puniſhed: In do- " ing this, the King would be more " charitable to the Poor, than his Pro- " genitor Edgar, the Founder of ſo " many Monaſtaries; or Henry the " IIId. the Renewer of Weſtminſter; " or Edward the IIId. the Founder of " the New Abbey; or than Henry " the Vth. the Founder of Sion and " Shene, and he would carry the " Name of The Protector and Defend- " er of the Poor.

HOW ſoon after this theſe Hoſpitals were put under the Government of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, will be found in the Hiſtory of the City; but this Letter is certainly worth remembering, ſince probably it gave Riſe to the putting thoſe Endownients in ſuch Hands, in which, to the Wonder of all the World, we ſee ſuch a noble Order and Management, and ſuch an Overflowing of Charity, that not only all their Revenues are with the exacteſt Management poſſible, applied wholly to the Uſe for which they were deſigned; but that the particular Bounties of thoſe, whom GOD has bleſſed in the City, that are annually given them, do far exceed their ſtated Revenues, of which there are Yearly Accounts publiſhed in Eaſter-Week, and which, no Doubt, do bring down great Bleſſings on the City, and on all its Concerns.

THE State of Matters began to turn about this Time. The King ſeemed to think that his Subjects owed an entire Reſignation of their Reaſons and Conſcience to him, and as he was highly offended with thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Papal Authority; ſo he could not bear the Haſte that ſome were making to a further Reformation, before or beyond his Allowance; ſo in the Year 1538, he ſet out a Proclamation on the 16th of November.

IN it he prohibits the Importing of all Foreign Books, or the Printing of

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any at Home without a Licence, and the Printing any Parts of Scripture, till they were examined by the King and his Council, or by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. He condemns all the Books of the Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries; and appoints thoſe to be puniſhed who vended them: He requires that none may argue againſt the Preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament, under the Pain of Death, and of the Loſs of their Goods; and orders all to be puniſhed who did diſuſe any Rites or Ceremonies not then aboliſhed, yet he orders them to be obſerved without Superſtition, only as Remembrances, and not to repoſe in them a a Truſt of Salvation by obſerving them. He requires that all married Prieſts ſhould no more miniſter the Sacraments, but be deprived, without further Puniſhment or Impriſonment at the King's Pleaſure.

"THE King conſidering the ſeveral "Superſtitions and Abuſes, which had "crept into the Hearts of many of "his unlearned Subjects, and the Strife "and Contention which did grow "among them, had often commanded "his Biſhops and Clergy to preach "plainly and ſincerely, and to ſet "forth the true Meaning of the Sacra"mentals and Ceremonies, that they "might be quietly uſed for ſuch Pur"poſes, as they were at firſt intended: "But he was informed that this had "not been executed according to his "Expectation; therefore he requires "all his Archbiſhops and Biſhops that "in their own Perſon they will preach "with more Diligence, and ſet forth "to the People the Word of GOD, "ſincerely and purely, declaring the "Difference between the Things com"manded by GOD, and theſe Rites "and Ceremonies commanded only by "a lower Authority, that they may "come to the true Knowledge of a "lively Faith in GOD, and Obedience "to the King, with Love and Charity "to their Neighbours. They were to "require all their Clergy to do the "ſame, and to exhort the People to "read and hear with Simplicity, and "without Arrogance, avoiding all Strife "and Contention, under the Pain of "being puniſhed at the King's Plea"ſure.

To this he adds, "That it appear"ing clearly that Thomas à Becket, "ſome Time Archbiſhop of Canter"bury, did ſtubbornly withſtand the "Laws eſtabliſhed againſt the Enor"mities of the Clergy, by King Henry "the IId, and had fled out of the "Realm into France, and to the Bi"ſhop of Rome to procure the Abro"gating of theſe Laws: From which "there aroſe great Troubles in the "Kingdom. His Death, which they "untruly called his Martyrdom, hap"pen'd upon a Reſcue made by him "upon which he gave approbrious "Words to the Gentlemen who coun"ſeled him to leave his Stubborneſs, "and not to ſtir up the People who "were riſen for that Reſcue: He call'd "one of them Bawd, and pulled Tra"cy by the Boſom almoſt down to the "Pavement of the Church: Upon this "Tracy, one of the Company, ſtruck "him, and in the Throng he was ſlain. "He was Canonized by the Biſhop of "Rome, becauſe he had been a Cham"pion to maintain his Uſurped Au"thority, and a Defender of the Ini"quity of the Clergy. The King with "the Advice of his Council, did find "there was nothing of Sanctity in the "Life, or exterior Converſation of "Thomas à Becket, but that he rather "ought to be eſteemed a Rebel and a "Traitor, therefore he commands that "he ſhall be no more eſteemed nor "called a Saint, that his Images ſhall "be every where put down; and that "the Days uſed for his Feſtival ſhall "be no more obſerved, nor any Part "of that Service be read, but that it "ſhould be razed out of all Books: "Adding, that the other Feſtivals al"ready abrogated, ſhall be no more "ſolemnized, and that his Subjects "ſhall be no more blindly abuſed to "commit Idolatry, as they had been "in Time paſt. Biſhop Burnet will "leave it to our Hiſtorians to compare "the Account here given of Thomas "à Becket's Death, with the Legends, "and to examine which of them is the "trueſt.

SOON after this, the King underſtanding that very malicious Reports were ſpread about the Country, poiſoning Peoples Minds, with Relation to every Thing that the King did; ſaying they would be made to pay for every Thing they ſhould eat; and that the Regiſters of Births and Weddings were ordered for this End, that the King might know the Numbers of his People, and make Levies, and ſend, or rather ſell them to Foreign Service: He ſent in December following

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ing a Circular Letter to all the Juſtices of England, in which, after he had ſet forth his good Intentions for the Wealth and Happineſs of his People; he added, "That he hoped "that all the Maintainers of the Biſhop of Rome's Authority, ſhould "have been ſearched for and brought "to Juſtice; and that all the Inventors "and Spreaders of falſe Reports to put "the People in Fear, and ſo to ſtir "them up to Sedition, ſhould have "been apprehended and puniſhed; and "that Vagabonds and Beggars ſhould "have been corrected according to the "Letters he had formerly written to "them. The King underſtood that "ſundry of them had done their Duty ſo well, that there had been no "Diſquiet 'till of late; that ſome malicious Perſons had, by Lies and "falſe Rumours, ſtudied to ſeduce the "People; and that among theſe ſome "Vicars and Curates were the chief, "who endeavoured to bring the People again into Darkneſs; and they "did ſo confuſedly read the Word of "GOD and the King's Injunctions, that "none could underſtand the true "Meaning of them: They ſtudied to "wreſt the King's Intentions in them "to a falſe Senſe; for whereas the "King had ordered Regiſters to be kept "for ſhewing Lineal Deſcents, and the "Rights of Inheritance, and to diſtinguiſh Legitimate Iſſue from Baſtardy, "or whether a Perſon was born a Subject or not, they went about ſaying, "that the King intended to make new "Examinations of Chriſt'nings, Weddings, and Buryings, and to take "away the Liberties of the Kingdom: "For preſerving which, they pretended Thomas à Becket died; whereas "his Oppoſition was only to the "puniſhing of the Offences of the "Clergy, that they ſhould not be juſtify'd by the Courts and Laws of "the Land, but only at the Biſhops "Pleaſure; and here the ſame Account "is given of Thomas à Becket, that "was in the former Proclamation. "Thomas à Becket contended with "the Archbiſhop of York, and pretended that when he was out of the "Realm, the King could not be "crowned by any other Biſhop, but "that it muſt be ſtay'd till he returned. Theſe deteſtable Liberties were "all he ſtood for, and not for the "Commonwealth of the Realm. To "theſe Lies they added many other "ſeditious Devices, by which the People were ſtirred up to Sedition and "Inſurrection, to their utter Ruin and "Deſtruction, if GOD had not both "enabled him by Force to ſubdue "them, and afterwards moved him mercifully to pardon them. The King "therefore required them in their ſeveral Precincts, to find out ſuch Vicars and Curates as did not truly "declare the Injunctions, and did confuſedly mumble the Word of GOD, "pretending that they were compell'd "to read them; but telling their People to do as they did, and live as "their Fathers had done, for the old "Faſhion was the beſt. They were "alſo required to ſearch out all the "Spreaders of ſeditious Tales; and to "apprehend and keep them in Priſon "till the Juſtices came about to try "them; or till the King's Pleaſure "was known; the Juſtices of the "Peace are very earneſtly preſſed to do "their Duty diligently, and to take "Care likewiſe that the Injunctions "and Laws againſt the Anabaptiſts "and Sacramentaries be duly executed: Dated from Hampton-Court, "in December, in the 30th Year of "his Reign.

AMONG the Letters ſent Biſhop Burnet from Zurick, was one written to Bullenger on the 8th of March, in the Year 1539, by Butler, Elliot, Partridge and Traheron, who had ſtudied for ſome Time under him, and were then entertained either by the King or by Cromwell. They write, "That "many of the Popiſh Ceremonies were "ſtill tolerated; but that new Signifi-"cations were put on them: Such as, "That the Holy Water did put us in "Mind of the Blood of CHRIST, "that cleanſed us from all Defilement: "The Pax was carried about, to re-"preſent our Reconciliation to GOD "thro' CHRIST. Things that were "viſible, were thought fit to be pre-"ſerved, to prevent Commotions. This "Correction quieted ſome: But tho' "theſe Rites were ordered to be kept "up, till the King ſhould think fit to "alter them, yet ſome preached free-"ly againſt them, even before the "King.

"THEY write of the Execution of "the Marquis of Exeter, the Lord "Montagu, and Sir Edward Nevil, "who (they add) was a very brave, "but a very vicious Man. Sir Nicho-"las Cary, who had been a zealous

"Paſtiſt,

" Papiſt, when he came to ſuffer, ex-
" horted all People to read the Scrip-
" tures carefully. He acknowledged
" that the Judgments of GOD came
" juſtly upon him, for the Hatred that
" he formerly bore to the Goſpel.
" The King was threat'ned with a
" War, in which the Emperor, the
" French and the Scots would attack
" him on all Hands; but he ſeemed
" to depiſe it, and ſaid, He ſhould not
" ſleep the leſs quietly for all theſe
" Alarms. The Day after theſe Ti-
" dings were brought him, he ſaid to
" his Counſellors, that he found him-
" ſelf moved in his Conſcience, to pro-
" mote the Word of GOD more than
" ever. Other News came at the
" ſame Time, which might perhaps
" raiſe his Zeal, that three Engliſh
" Merchants were burnt in Spain, and
" that an Indulgence was proclaimed
" to every Man, that ſhould kill an
" Engliſh Heretick. Cranmer was then
" very buſy, inſtructing the People
" and preparing Engliſh Prayers, to be
" uſed inſtead of the Litany.

THE Foundation of the new Biſhopricks was now ſettled. Rymer has given us the Charters, by which they were founded and endowed. The new Modelling of ſome Cathedrals was next taken Care of, in the Project that Cromwell ſent to Cranmer for the Church of Canterbury: It was to conſiſt of a Provoſt, 12 Prebendaries, ſix Preachers, three Readers, one of Humanity and of Greek, another of Divinity and of Hebrew, and another of Humanity and Divinity in Latin, a Reader of Civil Law, and another of Phyſick; 20 Students in Divinity, 10 to be kept at Oxford and as many at Cambridge; 60 Scholars were to be taught Grammar and Logick, with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; for theſe a School-Maſter and an Uſher were to have Salaries; beſides theſe, there were eight Petty Canons, 12 Singing-Men, 10 Choiriſters, a Maſter of the Children, a Goſpeller, an Epiſtler, and two Sacriſtans; two Butlers, two Cooks, a Caterer, two Porters, 12 poor Men, a Steward, and an Auditor, in all 162 Perſons, with the Salaries for every one of theſe, together with an Allowance for an annual Diſtribution of 100 l. for the Poor, and as much for Reparations; and 40 l. for mending the Highways; in all amounting to about 1900 l. a Year.

IN a Letter that Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, " He propoſes the altering
" the Prebendaries to ſomewhat more
" uſeful: For, by all the Experience
" that he had, the Prebendaries had
" ſpent their Time in much Idleneſs,
" and their Subſtance in ſuperfluous
" Living; ſo he thought it was not a
" State to be maintained. Commonly
" they were neither learned nor given
" to teach others, but only good Vi-
" anders: They look to be the Chief,
" and to bear the whole Rule, and by
" their ill Example, the younger Sort
" grew idle and corrupt. The State
" of Prebendaries hath been ſo exceſ-
" ſively abuſed, that when learned
" Men have been advanced to that Poſt,
" they deſiſted from their Studies, and
" from all Godly Exercifes of Preach-
" ing and Teaching; therefore he
" wiſhed the very Name of a Pre-
" bendary might be ſtruck out of the
" King's Foundations. The firſt Be-
" ginning of them was good, ſo was
" that of Religious Men, but both
" were gone off from their firſt Eſtate;
" ſo, ſince the one is put down, it
" were no great Matter if both ſhould
" periſh together: For, to ſay the
" Truth, it is an Eſtate which St.
" Paul did not find in the Church of
" CHRIST; and he thought it would
" ſtand better with the Maintainance
" of the Chriſtian Religion, that there
" were in their Stead 20 Divines, at
" 10 l. a-piece, and as many Students
" of the Tongues, and of French, at
" 10 Marks a-piece: And indeed, if
" there was not ſuch a Number there
" reſident, he did not ſee for what
" Uſe there were ſo many Lectures to
" be read; for the Prebendaries could
" not attend, for the making of good
" Cheer; and the Children in Gram-
" mar, were to be otherwiſe employ'd.
" He, in particular, recommends Dr.
" Crome to be Dean.

TO come to a more melancholy Scene; the King had thrown off all Commerce with the Lutherans in Germany; and ſeemed now to think himſelf ſecure in the Emperor's Friendſhip; yet he did not break with France; tho' on many Occaſions he complained, both of the Ingratitude and Inconſtancy of that King. The Dutchy of Milan ſeemed to be the Object of all his Deſigns; and he was always turned, as the Proſpect of that ſeemed to come in View, or to go out

of Sight. All the King's old Miniſters ſtill kept up his Zeal for his admired Book of the Sacraments, moſt particularly for that Article of Tranſubſtantiation; ſo that the Papiſt Party prevailed with him, to reſolve on ſetting up the Six Articles, which (they ſaid) would quiet all Mens Minds; when they ſaw him maintain that, and the other Articles, with Learning and Zeal. It is certain, he had read a great deal, and heard and talked a great deal more of thoſe Subjects; ſo that he ſeems to have made himſelf a Maſter of the whole Body of Divinity.

UPON the carrying the Six Articles, the Popiſh Party were much exalted. This appears by the End of a Letter written to the Ambaſſadors Abroad; which ſets forth, "How the King had "ſhewed himſelf in that Parliament, "ſo Wiſe, Learned, and Catholick, "that no Prince ever did the like; ſo it "was more doubted, but the Act would "paſs. The Biſhops of Canterbury, "Ely, Saliſbury, Worceſter, Rocheſ-"ter and St. David's, defended the "contrary Side; yet, in the End, the "King confounded them. The Bi-"ſhops of York, Dureſme, Wincheſ-"ter, London, Chicheſter, Norwich, "and Carliſle ſhewed themſelves ho-"neſt and learned Men: He writes "as one of the Peers, for he adds, "we of the Temporalty have been all "of one Opinion. The Lord Chan-"cellor and the Lord Privy Seal had "been of their Side. Cranmer, and "all the Biſhops came over, only he "adds, that Shaxton continued a lewd "Fool; for this Victory, he writes, "that all England had Reaſon to bleſs "GOD.

Cromwell, tho' he complied with the King's Humour, yet he ſtudied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an Alliance, that ſhould certainly ſeparate him from the Emperor, and engage him again into a cloſe Correſpondence with France, on Deſign to ſupport the Princes of Germany againſt the Emperor, whoſe Uneaſineſs under the Laws and Liberties of the Empire began to be ſuſpected; and all the Popiſh Party depended wholly on him.

Cromwell in Concurrence with the Court of France, carried Matters ſo, that the Marriage with Anne of Cleve was made up: This occaſioned one of the moſt injuſtifiable Steps in all that Reign. Among the Papers that were ſent Biſhop Burnet from Zurick, there is a long and particular Account of many Paſſages in this Matter, with ſome other important Tranſactions of this Year, writ by one Richard Hille, who writes very ſenſibly, and very piouſly; and he being zealous for a further Reformation, went out of England as a Man concerned in Trade, which he purſued only as a juſt Excuſe to get out of the Way: But before he went over, he writ a long Account to Bullinger of the Affairs in England. He tells him, "That before Whit-Sunday three "Perſons were burnt in Southwark, "becauſe they had not received the "Sacrament at Eaſter, and had denied "Tranſubſtantiation. There was af-"ter that one Collins, a crazed Man, "likewiſe burned, all by Gardiner's "Procurement.

A little before Midſummer it began to be whiſpered about, that the King intended a Divorce with Queen Anne, who had been married to him above five Months. It was obſerved that the King was much taken with a young Perſon, a Niece of the Duke of Norfolk's (whom he afterwards married) Gardiner took Care to bring them together to his Palace, where they dined once, and had ſome Meetings and Entertainments there. This went on ſome Time before there was any Talk of the Divorce: It was indeed believed that there was an ill Commerce between them. Cromwell was newly made Earl of Eſſex: Bourchier, in whom that Line was extinct, who had been a ſevere Proſecutor, falling from his Horſe, and breaking his Neck, died without being able to ſpeak one Word. The King gave Cromwell not only his Title, but all that fell to the Crown, by his dying without Heirs; yet he enjoyed not this long, for in the Beginning of June he was ſent to the Tower: He did not know the ſecret Cauſe of his Fall; it was generally believed it was becauſe he did not flatter the King enough; and that he was againſt the Divorce, as thinking it would neither be for the King's Honour, nor the Good of the Kingdom. Some ſuſpected that his late Advancement, and great Grants, the King had given him, was an Artifice to make People conclude, when they ſaw him diſgraced, after ſuch high Favour, that certainly ſome very black Thing was diſcovered: And it was alſo thought, that the King

reſtored

reſtored to his Son, (who was ſo weak, that he was thought almoſt a Fool) much of his Father's Eſtate and Goods, as he made him a Baron in December, after his Father's Death, on Deſign to make the Father more ſilent, for Fear of provoking the King to take from him what he had then given him.

Cromwell had many Offices in his Perſon; for beſides that he was Lord Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and Lord Privy Seal, he was Lord Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Rymer has publiſhed the Grants that the King made of thoſe Offices, in which it is ſaid, that they were void upon his Attainder; but which was more, he was Chief Miniſter, and had the King's Confidence for 10 Years together, almoſt as intirely as Cardinal Wolſey had it formerly. Mount had been ſent to Germany to preſs a cloſer League defenſive againſt the Pope, and any Council that he might ſummon: When the Princes did object the Act of the Six Articles and the Severities upon it: He confeſſed to one of the Electors Miniſters, that the King was not ſincere in the Point of Religion; he had therefore propoſed a double Marriage of the King, with Anne of Cleve, and of the Duke of Cleve with the Lady Mary: For, he ſaid, the King was much governed by his Wives. The Elector of Saxony, who had married the other Siſter of Cleve, had conceived ſo bad an Opinion of the King, that he expreſſed no Heartineſs, neither in the Marriage, nor in any Alliance with England; but he yielded to the Importunities of others, who thought the Proſpect of the Advantage from ſuch an Alliance was great.

THERE are great Remains that ſhew how exact a Miniſter Cromwell was; there are laid together many Remembrances of Things, that he was to lay before the King: They are too ſhort to give any great Light into Affairs; yet the Biſhop mentions ſome of them. in one he mentions the Abbots of Glaſſenbury and Reading, who were then Priſoners, and were examined. The Witneſſes, with the Council were ordered to be ſent to Berkſhire and Somerſetſhire. Mention is made of their Accomplices, who were to be tried and to ſuffer with them. To this he adds, that in one of the Zurick Letters, it is written to Bullinger, that three of the richeſt Abbots in England had ſuffered for a Conſpiracy into which they had entered, for reſtoring the Pope's Authority in England.

THE learned Dr. Tanner ſent Biſhop Burnet the Copy of a Letter, that three Viſitors wrote to Cromwell from Glaſſenbury, concerning that Abbot, on the 22d of September, but they do not add the Year: Signed by Richard Pollard, Thomas Moyle, and Richard Layton. "They give him an Account "of their examining the Abbot up- "on certain Articles. He did not "ſeem to anſwer them clearly; ſo "they deſired him to call to his Me- "mory the Things which he then "ſeemed to have forgot. They ſearch- "ed his Study, and found in it a writ- "ten Book againſt the King's Divorce. "They found alſo Pardons, Copies of "Bulls, and a printed Life of Tho- "mas à Becket, but found no Letter "that was material. They examined "him a ſecond Time upon the Arti- "cles that Cromwell had given them, "and ſent up his Anſwer, ſigned by "him, to Court; in which they "write, That his cankered and traiter- "ous Heart, againſt the King and his "Succeſſion, did appear; ſo, with ve- "ry fair Words, they ſent him to the "Tower. They found he was but a "weak Man, and ſickly. Having ſent "him away, they examined the State "of that Monaſtery: They found in "it above 300 l. in Caſh; but had "not the Certainty of the reſt of "their Plate; only they found a fair "Gold Chalice, with other Plate, hid "by the Abbot, that had not been "ſeen by the former Viſitors; of "which, they think, the Abbot in- "tended to have made his own Advan- "tage. They write, That the Houſe "was the nobleſt they had ever ſeen of "that Sort: They thought it fit for the "King; and for none elſe." The Biſhop of Saliſbury ſays, he ſets this down the more particularly, to demonſtrate the Falſity of the extravagant Account that Sanders gives of that Matter, as if it had been without Notice given, that the Abbot was ſeized on, tried, and executed, all of a ſudden: But to return to Cromwell;

IN another Note, he mentions the Determinations made by Day, Heath, and Thirleby, of the Ten Commandments, of Juſtification, and of Purgatory. Another is about Fiſher and More. The Judges Opinion was aſk'd, concerning More and the Nun. Another

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is, Whether the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the Monk, who wrote the Letter, as from Heaven, ſhould be ſent for? In another, that Bocking printed with the Nun's Books, and took away 500 Copies, but left 200 with the Printer. In another, he propoſed to ſend Barns for Melancthon. In another, he aſks, Who ſhall be Prolocutor in the Convocation? In another, he propoſes the making Lady Mary a conſiderable Match for ſome Foreign Prince, the Duke of Orleans, or ſome other.

UPON Cromwell's Impriſonment, the Comptroller was ſent to him, and he ordered him to write to the King, what he thought meet to be written concerning his preſent Condition; and, it ſeems, with ſome Intimations of Hope. Upon that, Cromwell wrote a long Letter to the King. "He begins "it with great Thanks to the King, "for what the Comptroller had ſaid "to him. He was accuſed of Trea- "ſon, but he proteſts he never once "thought to do that which ſhould "diſpleaſe him, much leſs to committ "ſo high an Offence. The King knew "his Accuſers; he pray'd GOD to "forgive them. He had ever loved "the King, and all his Proceedings; "he prays GOD to confound him, if "he had ever a Thought to the con- "trary. He had laboured much, to "make the King a great and a happy "Prince; and acknowledges his great "Obligations to the King. So he "writes, that if he had been capable "to be a Traitor, the greateſt Puniſh- "ment was too little for him. He ne- "ver ſpoke with the Chancellor of the "Augmentations (Baker) and Throck- "morton together, but once: But he "is ſure he never ſpoke of any ſuch "Matter, (as it ſeems, was informed "againſt him.) The King knew what "a Man Throckmorton was, with "Relation to all his Proceedings; and "what an Enemy Baker was to him, "GOD and he knew: The King "knew, what he had been towards "him. It ſeems, the King had adver- "tiſed him of them; but GOD, who "had delivered Suſan when ſhe was "falſly accuſed, could deliver him. "He truſted only in GOD, and in the "King. In all his Service, he had on- "ly conſidered the King; but did not "know that he had done Injuſtice to "any Perſon; yet he had not done "his Duty in all Things, therefore he "aſked Mercy. If he had heard of "Conventicles, or other Offences, he "had for the moſt Part revealed them; "and made them to be puniſhed, but "not out of Malice. He had meddled "in ſo many Things, that he could "not anſwer them all, but of this he "was ſure, that he had never willing- "ly offended; and wherein he had "offended, he humbly begged Pardon. "The Comptroller told him, that 14 "Days ago the King had committed a "great Secret to him, which he had "revealed: He remembered well the "Matter, but he had never revealed "it: For, after the King had told "him what it was that he miſ-liked in "the Queen; he told the King, that "ſhe often deſired to ſpeak with him, "but he durſt not: Yet the King bade "him go to her, and be plain with her, "in declaring his Mind: Upon which "he ſpake privately with her Lord "Chamberlain, deſiring him, not "naming the King, to deal with the "Queen to behave herſelf more plea- "ſantly towards the King; hoping "thereby to have ſome Faults amend- "ed. And when ſome of her Coun- "cil came to him for Licence to the "ſtranger Maids to depart; he did "then require them to adviſe the "Queen to uſe all Pleaſantneſs with "the King. Both theſe Words were "ſpoken, before the King had truſted "the Secret to him, on Deſign that "ſhe might render herſelf more agree- "able to the King; but after the "King had truſted that Secret to him "(which it ſeems was his Deſign to "have the Marriage diſſolved) he "never ſpoke of it, but to the "Lord Admiral; and that was by "the King's Order on Sunday laſt, "who was very willing to ſeek Reme- "dy for the King's Comfort: He pro- "teſts he was ready to die to procure "the King Comfort; he wiſhes he was "in Hell if it was not true. This "was all he had done," (it ſeems the King thought the Change in the Queen's Deportment towards him, was the Effect of his diſcovering the Secret of the King's Purpoſe, and in Order to prevent it) "but for this he humbly "begs Pardon; he underſtood that it "was charged upon him, that he had "more Retainers about him than the "Laws allowed: He never retained "any, except his Houſhold Servants, "but againſt his Will: He had been "preſſed by many, who ſaid they were "his Friends, he had retained their

Children

" Children and Friends, not as Retain-
" ers, for their Fathers and Friends
" promiſed to maintain them: In this,
" GOD knows, he had no ill Intent,
" but begs Pardon if he had offended,
(for that was repreſented as the ga-
thering a Force about him to defend
himſelf) " He concludes, he had not
" behaved himſelf towards GOD and
" the King as he ought to have done.
" And as he was continually calling
" on GOD for Mercy, for Offences
" committed againſt him, ſo he begs
" the King's Pardon for his Offences
" againſt him, which were never wil-
" ful; and he aſſures him, he had ne-
" ver a Thought of Treaſon againſt
" him, either in Word or Deed; and
" he continued to pray for him and
" the Prince, ending, indeed, with
" too abject a Meanneſs.

THESE were all the Particulars that were charged on him upon his firſt Impriſonment: Other Matters were afterwards added to throw the more Load on him; but it ſeems they were not ſo much as thought on or mentioned at firſt: Hill adds, that they once deſigned to burn Cromwell as a Heretick, and that theſe Conſiderations made him confeſs that he had offended the King. What he ſaid that Way at his Execution, was pronounced coldly by him; upon that the Writer runs out very copiouſly, and acknowledges, that their Sins had provoked GOD to bring upon them that great Change that they ſaw in Affairs: They had wholly truſted to the Learning of ſome, and to the Conduct of others; but GOD by the taking theſe away, was calling on them to turn ſincerely to him, and to truſt intirely in him, and to repent with their whole Heart. There was at that Time a great Want of ſincere Labourers, ſo that from Eaſt to Weſt, and from North to South, there was ſcarce one faithful and ſincere Preacher of the Goſpel to be found.

THE Act of diſſolving the King's Marriage, did ſet forth that ſome Doubts were raiſed concerning the King's Marriage, which, as he writes, was manifeſtly falſe, for no Body thought of any Doubtfulneſs in it: Nor did they pray, as is in the Act, that it might be enquired into; for no Body ſpake of it till the King was reſolved to part with the Queen, that he might be married to Mrs. Howard, whom, in his bad Latin, he calls, Parviſſima Puella, A very little Girl. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of the Biſhops judged ſhe was yet a Virgin, which none that knew the Man could believe.

THERE had been no Convocation for two Years, for the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, was prepared by a Commiſſion, given to ſome Biſhops of both Provinces, and to ſome Archdeacons, but no Deans were ſummoned with them. A Convocation ſate in both Provinces in May, in the Year 1539, to which Abbots and Priors were ſummoned; but tho' there were eight Abbots and nine Priors in the Dioceſe of Exeter; yet the Return from thence ſays, there were none in the Dioceſe. Biſhop Burnet ſays he knows not how to reconcile that with the Abbot of Taviſtoke's ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, as appears by the Journals of Parliament.

UPON this Occaſion there was a particular Summons for both Provinces to meet in a National Synod, to judge of the King's Marriage. The Biſhop of Saliſbury ſays when he firſt wrote of this in his Hiſtory, he did not at all reflect on the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, that makes Marriage a Sacrament, in which the two Parties are the Miniſters, who tranſfer their Perſons to one another; and according to the Doctrine of the Neceſſity of the Intention in him that miniſters the Sacrament, how vile ſoever this Deciſion in the Matter of the King's Marriage may ſeem to be, yet it was a juſt Conſequence from that Doctrine; for without a true, free, and inward Intention, which the King affirmed he had not, the Marriage could be no Sacrament; ſo that the heavieſt Part of the Shame of that Deciſion falls indeed on that Doctrine. When the News came to France of the King's deſolving his Marriage with Anne of Cleve, King Francis himſelf aſked the Ambaſſadors upon what Grounds it went: The Cardinal of Ferrara did alſo ſend one to aſk what was alledged for it by Divines and Lawyers. Wallop and others were then the Ambaſſadors from England at the Court: They ſent to the Council an Account of this, and Wallop wrote over to know what he ſhould ſay upon the Subject. The Anſwer which the Council wrote to him was, That the Queen herſelf affirmed her Perſon had not been touched by King Henry: That a learned Convocation had judged the Matter:

That the Biſhops of Dureſme, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned Clerks, who would do nothing but upon juſt and good Grounds; ſo that all Perſons ought to be ſatisfied with theſe Proceedings, as ſhe herſelf was; and here this Matter ended, to the great Reproach of that Body, that went ſo haſtily, and ſo unanimouſly into that ſcandalous Deciſion.

BUT to return to the Zurick Letter, after he had related the Manner of that Judgment of thoſe called Spiritual, who indeed where very carnal: He mentions the Exceptions in the Act of Pardon, for beſides particular Exceptions, all Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries were excepted, and all thoſe that affirmed there was a Fate upon Men, by which the Day of their Death was unalterably determined.

THERE was at this Time a great Deſign againſt Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to be the Dean of Canterbury in theſe Words:

"I know no Man more meet for "the Dean's Room in England, than "Dr. Crome, who by his ſincere "Learning, godly Converſation, and "good Example of Living, with his "great Soberneſs hath done unto the "King's Majeſty as good Service, I "dare ſay, as any Prieſt in England; "and yet his Grace daily remember-"eth all others that doth him Service, "this Man only excepted, who never "had yet, beſides his gracious Favour, "any Promotion at his Hands: "Wherefore if it pleaſe his Majeſty "to put him in the Dean's Room, I "do not doubt, but that he ſhould be "a Light to all the Deans and Mini-"ſters of Colleges in this Realm: "For I know that when he was but a "Preſident of a College in Cam-"bridge, his Houſe was better ordered "than all the Houſes in Cambridge "beſides.

CERTAINLY this good Opinion that Cranmer had of him, made him, in the State in which Things were at this Time, to be the worſe thought of, and the more watched: So when he heard that he was to be ſearched for, he went to the King, and on his Knees begged he would put a Stop to the Severities then on Foot, and that he would ſet many, then in Priſon on the Account of Religion, at Liberty: The King had ſuch a Regard for him, that upon this, he ordered a Stop to be put to further Proſecutions; and he ſet thoſe at Liberty who were then in Priſon, they giving Bail to appear when they ſhould be called for. The King ſeemed to think that by this ſmall Favour, after ſome Severities, People would be more quiet, and more obedient; but after the Parliament was diſſolved, ſix Perſons ſuffered: Three of theſe were Popiſh Prieſts, who ſuffered as Traitors, for denying the King's Supremacy; and Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerom were the other three, they were tied to one Stake and ſuffered without crying out, but were quiet and patient, as if they had felt no Pain. He could never hear any Reaſon given for this their Suffering, unleſs it were to pleaſe the Clergy; they were not condemned by any Form of Law. They had been ſo cautious, ever ſince the Act of the Six Articles paſſed, that they had not opened their Mouths, in Oppoſition to them in Publick: And by the Act all Offences done before it had paſſed, were pardoned. Barnes himſelf ſaid at the Place of Execution, that he did not know for what Cauſe he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were attainted by Act of Parliament, without being brought to make their Anſwers.

THE Biſhop of Chicheſter, Sampſon, tho' a Man compliant in all Things, and Dr. Wilſon, were exempted out of the General Pardon, for no other Crime, as he heard, but that Abel who ſuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, being in the greateſt Extremity of Want and Miſery in Priſon, where it was ſaid he was almoſt eat up by Vermin, they had ſent him ſome Alms: From this Hill goes on to give an Account of Crome, whoſe conſtant Way had been, when he ſaw a Storm riſing, to preach with more Zeal than ordinary againſt the prevailing Corruption: So on Chriſtmas-Day his Enemies that were watching to find Matter to accuſe him, framed ſome Articles, which they carried to the King againſt him: He had condemned in his Sermon, all Maſſes for the Dead, and ſaid, "If "they were profitable to the Dead, "the King and Parliament had done "wrong in deſtroying the Monaſteries "endowed for that End: He alſo ſaid, "That to pray to the Saints, only to "pray for us, was a Practice neither "neceſſary nor uſeful: He added, You "call us the ſeditious Preachers of a "New Doctrine, but 'tis you are the

"ſeditious

" ſeditious Perſons, who maintain the " ſuperſtitious Traditions of Men, and " will not hear the Word of GOD him- " ſelf. The Church of CHRIST will " ever ſuffer Perſecution as it has done " of late among us.

THESE and ſome other Complaints being carried to the King, Crome was commanded to anſwer them: He in his Anſwer explained, and juſtified all he had ſaid. The King had no Mind to carry Matters further againſt ſo eminent a Man; ſo he preſſed a Sentence, in which he ſet forth, that Crome had confeſſed the Articles objected to him; but the King out of his Clemency, intending to quiet his People, appointed Crome to preach at St. Paul's, and there to repeat all the Articles objected to him, and then to read the Judgment that the King gave in the Matter: And it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like Offence again, he was to ſuffer according to Law: The King's Judgment was, " That private Maſſes " were Sacrifices, profitable both to " the Living and to the Dead, but " yet that the King's Majeſty with " his Parliament had juſtly aboliſhed " Monaſteries." Upon this Crome preached, and at the End of his Sermon, he told the People he had received an Order from the King to be read to them; which he read, but ſaid not one Word upon it; and with a ſhort Prayer diſmiſſed the Congregation: Whereas the King expected that he ſhould have applauded his Judgment, and extolled his Favour to himſelf, as Dr. Barnes and his two Companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. Hill was alſo afraid that Crome might be brought into further Trouble. There was an Order ſent to him from the King to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both Latimer and Shaxton to preach any more. They were not excluded from the General Pardon, but were ſtill prohibited to preach: And when they were ſet at Liberty, they were required not to come within 10 Miles of either of the Univerſities, or the City of London, or the Dioceſe in which they had been Biſhops. Thus, ſays he, faithful Shepherds were driven from their Flocks, and ravenous Wolves were ſent in their Stead: He concludes, hoping that GOD would not ſuffer them to be long oppreſſed by ſuch Tyranny.

Sampſon, tho' he fell into this Diſgrace for an Act of Chriſtian Pity, yet hitherto had ſhewed a very entire Compliance with all that had been done: He had publiſhed an Explanation on the firſt 50 Pſalms, which he dedicated to the King: In which, as he extolled his Proceedings, ſo he run out into a ſevere Invective againſt the Biſhop of Rome, and the Uſurpations and Corruptions favoured by that See, and he reflected ſeverely on Pool. Pool's old Friend, Tonſtal, did alſo in a Sermon at St. Paul's on Palm-Sunday in his grave Way, ſet forth his unnatural Ingratitude: But now the Popiſh Party, upon Cromwell's Fall, and the Exaltation of the Duke of Norfolk, by the King's marrying his Neice, broke out into their uſual Violence; and they were, as we may reaſonably believe, ſet on to it by Bonner, who, upon Stokeſly's Death, a Year before, had been brought to London, and immediately upon Cromwell's Diſgrace changed Sides; and from having acted a forced Part with Heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him.

THERE were ſo many Informations brought in the City of London, that a Jury, ſitting in Mercers-Chapel, preſented 500 Perſons to be tried upon the Statute of the Six Articles; which, as may be eaſily imagined, put the City under great Apprehenſions; but Audley, the Lord Chancellor, repreſented to the King, that this was done out of Malice, ſo they were all diſmiſſed, ſome ſay, pardoned. Informations came againſt Papiſts, on the other Side: A Letter was ſent from the Council to Cranmer, to ſend Dr. Benger to the Tower. Two of Bonner's Chaplains were, by Order of Council, ſent to the Archbiſhop, to be examin'd by him. A Vicar was brought out of Wiltſhire, out of whoſe Offices Thomas à Becket's Name was not razed, but he was diſmiſſed; for it was believed to be the Effect only of Negligence, and not of any ill Principles. There was a Letter of Melancthon's, againſt the King's Proceedings, printed in Engliſh: Goodrick, the Biſhop of Ely's Chaplain and Servant was examined, and his Houſe was ſearched for it. Many was brought into Trouble for Words concerning the King and his Proceedings. Poor Marbeck, of Windſor, was impriſoned in the Marſhalſea.

Many

Many Printers were proſecuted, for bringing Engliſh Books into the Kingdom, againſt the King's Proceedings. In one Council-Day, (for all theſe Particulars are taken out of the Council-Books) 25 Bookſellers were examined, as to all Books, more particularly Engliſh Books, that they had ſold theſe laſt three Years. Hains, the Dean of Exeter, was often before the Council, but Particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought againſt him, and they were referred to the King's learned Council. The Biſhops of Ely, Sarum, Rocheſter and Weſtminſter were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all Diligence. He was alſo ſent to the Fleet for lewd and ſeditious Preaching, (the Words in the Council-Book) and ſowing many erroneous Opinions; but, after a good Leſſon and Exhortation, with a Declaration of the King's Mercy and Goodneſs towards him, he was diſmiſſed, under a Recognizance of 500 Marks, to appear (if called for) any Time within five Months, to anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid againſt him.

ON the 14th of May, 1542, an Entry is made, Cranmer being preſent, that it was thought good, if the King's Highneſs ſhall be ſo content, that a General Commiſſion ſhall be ſent to Kent, with certain ſpecial Articles; and generally, that all Abuſes and Enormities of Religion, were to be examined. This was laid on Deſign to ruin Cranmer; but there is no other Entry made in the Council-Book, relating to this Matter, unleſs this was a Conſequence of it, that on the 27th of June, Hards, of Canterbury, a Priſoner for a ſeditious Libel, was, after a good Exhortation, diſmiſſed. And this is all the Light, that the only Council-Book of that Reign, for two Years, affords as to thoſe Matters. Mr. Stype has helped us to more Light.

WHILE Cranmer was viſiting his Dioceſe, there were many Preſentments made of a very different Nature: Some were preſented for adhering ſtill to the old Superſtitions condemned by the King, and for Inſinuations in Favour of the Pope's Authority. Others again, were, on the other Hand, preſented for Doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the Rites ſtill practiſed. This created a great Confuſion thro' that whole Country; and the Blame of all was caſt on Cranmer, by his Enemies, as if he favoured and encouraged that, which was called the New Learning, too much.

A Plot was contrived chiefly by Gardiner's Means, with the Aſſiſtance of Dr. London, and of Thornden, (Suffragan of Dover, and Prebendary of Canterbury) who had lived in Cranmer's Houſe, and had all his Preferment by his Favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raiſed by him, and had pretended Zeal for the Goſpel; but, upon Cromwell's Fall, they reckoned that if they could ſend Cranmer after him, they would effectually cruſh all Deſigns of a farther Reformation.

THEY reſolved to begin with ſome of the Prebendaries and Preachers. Many Articles were gathered out of their Sermons and private Diſcourſes, all terminating in the Archbiſhop; who, as was ſaid, ſhewed ſo partial a Favour to the Men of the New Learning, and dealt ſo harſhly and ſo ſeverely with the others, that he was repreſented to be the principal Cauſe of all the Heat and Diviſions, that were in Canterbury, and in the other Parts of Kent. Theſe Articles went thro' many Hands; but it was not eaſy to prevail with a proper Perſon to preſent them. The Steps made in the Matter are copiouſly ſet forth by Mr. Stype. At laſt they came into the King's Hands; and he, upon that, paſſing by Lambeth, where the Archbiſhop ſtood, in Reſpect to him, as he paſſed by, called him into his Barge, and told him, he had now diſcovered who was the greateſt Heretick in Kent. With that, he ſhewed him the Articles againſt himſelf, and his Chaplains. The Archbiſhop knew the Falſhood of many Particulars; ſo he prayed the King to ſend a Commiſſion to examine the Matter. The King ſaid, he would give him a Commiſſion, but to none elſe. He anſwered, it would not ſeem decent to appoint him to examine Articles exhibited againſt himſelf. The King ſaid, he knew his Integrity, and would truſt it to no other Perſon: Nor would he name above one, (tho' preſſed to it) that ſhould be joined in Commiſſion with him, and he even then ſeemed perſwaded, it was a Contrivance of Gardiner's to ruin him.

THE Archbiſhop went down himſelf into Kent, and then the Conſpirators ſeeing the King's Favour to him, were ſtruck

ſtruck with Fear. Some of them wept and begged Pardon, and were put in Priſon; but the reſt of the Commiſſion, in whoſe Hands the Archbiſhop left the Matter, being ſecretly Favourers of that Party, proceeded faintly; ſo it was writ to Court, that unleſs Dr. Leigh was ſent down, who was well practiſed in Examinations, the Conſpiracy would never be found out: He was, upon that, ſent down; and he ordered a Search to be made at one and the ſame Time, of all ſuſpected Places; and ſo he diſcovered the whole Train. Some of the Archbiſhop's Domeſticks, Thornden in particular, were among the chief of the Informers: He charged them with it. They, on their Knees confeſs'd their Faults, with many Tears. He, who was gentle even to Exceſs, ſaid, he did forgive them, and prayed GOD to forgive them, and to make them better Men. After that, he was never obſerved to change his Countenance, or alter his Behaviour towards them: He expreſs'd the like Readineſs to pardon all the reſt. Many were impriſoned upon theſe Examinations, but the Parliament granting a Subſidy, a General Pardon ſet them all at Liberty; which otherwiſe the Archbiſhop was reſolved to have procured them. This Relation differs in ſeveral Particulars from the Account given of it in the former Part of this Hiſtory, but ſeems to be more exact and better vouched. Another Inſtance is given by the ſame Writer of the King's Zeal for Cranmer. Sir John Goſtwick, Knight for Bedfordſhire, did in the Houſe of Commons charge him for preaching Hereſy, againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, both at Feverſham and Canterbury: The King hearing of this, did, in his rough Way, threaten Goſtwick, calling him Varlet, and charged him to go and aſk Cranmer Pardon, otherwiſe he ſhould feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure. The King ſaid, if he had been a Kentiſh Man, he might have had ſome more Shadow for accuſing him; but being of Bedfordſhire, he could have none. Goſtwick terrified with this Meſſage, made his Submiſſion to Cranmer, who mildly forgave him, and went to the King and moved him for his Favour, which he did not obtain without ſome Difficulty.

IT appears plainly that the King acted, as if he had a Mind to be thought infallible; and that his Subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor leſs. He went on this Year before he took his Progreſs in finiſhing the neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man: A great Part of this was corrected by his own Hand, particularly in that Article of the Creed, the Catholick Church, where there are ſevere Reflections added on the Biſhops of Rome.

THE King went in Progreſs with his Queen, who began to have a great Influence on him; but before the King's Return, her ill Life came to be diſcovered, which ended fatally to her. It is ſcarce worth the Reader's while to ſay any more of a Matter that is ſo univerſally acknowledged. It appears there was a particular View in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's examining her, to draw from her all the Diſcoveries they could make to faſten a Precontract with Dereham on her. Many trifling Stories relating to that being ſuggeſted, ſhe was examined to them all; but tho' ſhe confeſſes a lewd Commerce with Dereham, ſhe poſitively denied every Thing that could infer a Pre-contract, nor did ſhe confeſs any Thing of that Sort done after the King married her; which ſhe ſtill denied very poſitively, even to the laſt. On the 15th of December, Letters were written to the King's Ambaſſadors Abroad, that contain a ſevere Account of the lewd and naughty Behaviour and Lightneſs of her, lately reputed for Queen, at which the King was much troubled.

UPON her Diſgrace there was a new Negotiation propoſed with the Proteſtant Princes of Germany. Mount was again ſent over, to excuſe, as well as he could, the Divorce with Anne of Cleve. He ſaid, he was treated nobly and kindly, in all Reſpects, by the King: He renewed the Propoſition for a League, with Relation to their common Intereſts; but they ſtill ſtood upon this, that they could enter into no Alliance with him, unleſs they agreed in Religion, inſiſting particularly on Private Maſſes, the denying the Chalice, and the Celibate of the Clergy: Upon which a Conference was propoſed in Guelderland, or at Hamburgh or Bremen. The King in Anſwer to this, wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: He expreſſed great Regard to the Elector, but complained that

ſome of his learned Men had written virulently againſt him, and miſrepreſented his Proceedings. Cranmer likewiſe wrote to the Elector, and ſet forth the great Things the King had already done in aboliſhing the Pope's Authority, the Monaſtick State, and the Idolatrous Worſhip of Images: He deſired they would not be uneaſy, though the King, in ſome Things, differed ſtill from them. He was very learned himſelf, and had learned Men about him: He was quick of Apprehenſion, had a ſound Judgment, and was firm in what he once reſolved on; and he hoped the Propoſitions they had ſent over would be well conſidered.

LORD William Howard, the late Queen's Uncle, was then Ambaſſador in France: He tells in one of his Letters, that the Admiral was reſtored to Favour, chiefly by the Means of Madam D'Eſtampes, whoſe Credit with that King is well known. There were Reports, that the Emperor and the French King were in a Treaty, and that in Concluſion, they would join to make War on the King: This was charged on the French, but ſolemnly diſowned by that King. It appears the Propoſition for marrying the Lady Mary to the Duke of Orleans was then begun: Great Exceptions were taken to her being declared a Baſtard: But it was promiſed, that when all other Things were agreed to, ſhe ſhould be declared Legitimate. Upon Queen Catharine Howard's Diſgrace, Lord William was recalled, and Paget was ſent over in his Room.

THERE is in the Paper-Office an original Letter of Lord Paget's to the King, that gives an Account of his Converſation with the Admiral, who was then in high Favour, Montmorancy being in Diſgrace. It is very long, but it contains ſo many important Paſſages, that the Biſhop gives the following Abſtract of it. It is dated from Chablais the 22d of April, in the Year 1542.

"HE gave the Admiral an Account "of his Inſtructions, and of what both "the King and his Council had order-"ed him to ſay: He perceived the "Admiral ſighed, and croſſed himſelf "often; and ſaid, in his Anſwer to "him, that he ſaw the King of France "reſolved to enter into ſome Confede-"racy, he deſired it might be with the "King, and would think of no other "Prince till the King refuſed him: "He thought both the Kings were, "by their Intereſts, obliged to ſtick to "one another, though the Marriage "had never been ſpoke of: It is true, "that would fix and ſtrengthen it. "But he thought 200,000 Crowns was "a very mean Offer for ſuch a King's "Daughter to ſuch a Prince; 4 or "500,000 Crowns was nothing to the "King. The Duke of Orleans was a "Prince of great Courage, and did aſ-"pire to great Things. So mean an "Offer would quite diſcourage them. "The Daughter of Portugal was of-"fered with 400,000 Ducats, together "with the Intereſt of it ſince his Fa-"ther's Death, which was almoſt as "much more. At the firſt Motion of "the Matter, it was anſwered, the "Man muſt deſire the Woman: Now "he does deſire her, and you offer no-"thing; with this he ſighed. Paget "anſwered, and fully ſet out the per-"ſonal Love that he knew his Maſter "had for the French King: That none "of the Occaſions of Suſpicion that "had been given could alienate him "from it, and he reckoned up many "of theſe; he acknowledged there was "great Hopes of the Duke of Orleans, "but he ſtudied to ſhew that the Of-"fer was not unreaſonable, all Things "conſidered. Lewis the XIIth had "but 300,000 Crowns with the King's "Siſter, and the King of Scots had "with the other but 100,000 Crowns: "But he ſaid beſides the 200,000 "Crowns which he offered to give, "they will alſo forgive 800,000 "Crowns that France owed the King, "and diſcharge the 100,000 Crowns "yearly Penſion. To this the Admi-"ral replied, he counted the forgiving "the 800,000 Crowns for nothing: "And for the annual Penſion, they "would be at as much Charge to "maintain her, and her Court. Pa-"get ſaid the 800,000 Crowns was a "juſt Debt, lent in an extreme Ne-"ceſſity; and becauſe it had been long "owing, and often reſpited, muſt that "paſs for nothing? So he bad him "aſk reaſonably, or offer what was "proper reciprocally for it. The Ad-"miral ſaid the King was rich, and "what was 800,000 Crowns to him, "which they were not able to pay. "So the Admiral, ſaid he, wiſhed the "Thing had never been ſpoke of: He "fell next to turn the Motion to the "Lady Elizabeth, and he propoſed a "League offenſive and defenſive a-"gainſt the Emperor; and that what-

"ever

" ever ſhould be got from the Empe-
" ror, ſhould be the King's, in Lieu of
" the Penſion during Life. He knew
" the Emperor was practiſing with the
" King as he was at the ſame Time with
" them. Bonner was then ſent Am-
" baſſador to Spain, and had carried
" over from the King to the Emperor
" three Horſes of Value. The Empe-
" ror might ſay what he will in the
" Way of Practice, but he knew he
" would never unite with the King,
" except he would return to the
" Pope: For ſo the Nuncio told the
" Chancellor, and the Chancellor told
" it to the Queen of Navarre, who
" fell out with him upon that Occa-
" ſion. She told him he was ill e-
" nough before, but now, ſince he
" had the Mark of the Beaſt, (for he
" was lately made a Prieſt) he grew
" worſe and worſe: The Emperor's
" Deſign was only to divide them. He
" offered to them, that the Duke of
" Orleans ſhould be King of Naples,
" and to give Flanders to the Crown
" of France: But in Lieu of that, he
" asked the Renunciation of Milan
" and Navarre, and the reſtoring of
" Piedmont and Savoy: But by this
" the Father and Son being ſo far ſe-
" parate, the Emperor would ſoon
" drive the Duke of Orleans out of
" Naples. He was alſo ſtudying to
" gain the Duke of Cleve, and reſtore
" him Guelder quietly, provided that
" he and his Wife would renounce Na-
" varre: But he concluded, that they
" knew the Emperor did nothing but
" Practice: They knew he offered to
" the King to reconcile him to the
" Pope, without any Breach of his
" Honour, for it ſhould be at the Pope's
" Suit. Paget ſaid, he knew nothing
" of all that, but believed it would be
" hard to reconcile him to the Biſhop
" of Rome, for Virtue and Vice can-
" not ſtand together in one Predica-
" ment. Call ye him Vice, ſaid the
" Admiral, he is the very Devil, and
" I truſt to ſee his Confuſion: Every
" Thing muſt have a Time, and a Be-
" ginning; but when begin you, ſaid
" Paget? The Admiral anſwered, Be-
" fore it be long the King will give
" all the Abbies to his Lay-Gentlemen,
" and ſo by little and little overthrow
" him altogether: Why may not we
" have a Patriarch in France? This
" the Pope's Legate began to perceive,
" and though they talked of a Ge-
" neral Council, he believed the Pope
" would as ſoon be hanged as call
" one. Paget ſaid, he would be glad
" to ſee them once begin to do ſome-
" what. Ah, ſaid the Admiral, I'm
" ill matched: He wiſhed the entire
" Union of the Two Kings, and if an
" Interview might be between them,
" it would be the happieſt Thing could
" befal Chriſtendom: But he believed
" ſome of the King's Council leaned
" too much to the Emperor, and pro-
" poſed ſeveral Advantages from it.
" He ſaid the Emperor cared not if
" Father, Friend, and all the World
" ſhould ſink, ſo his inſatiable Deſires
" might be ſatisfied. He ſuffered two
" of his Brothers-in-Law to periſh for
" want of 50,000 Crowns: Firſt, the
" King of Hungary, and then the
" King of Denmark, whom he might
" have reſtored, if he would have
" given him 10,000 Crowns. He was
" then low enough, and they would
" do well to fall on him, now that he
" was ſo low, before he took Breath;
" ſo he preſſed Paget to put Matters
" on heartily with the King: He
" thought it an unreaſonable Thing for
" the Emperor and his Brother to aſk
" Aid againſt the Turk, to defend their
" own Dominions, when they kept the
" King's Dominions from him. Paget
" gave the King an Account of all
" this Converſation very particularly,
" with an humble Submiſſion to him,
" if in any Thing he had gone too far.
" The Court of France believed the
" Emperor was treating with the King,
" for the Marriage of the Lady Mary;
" and that for that End, Bonner was
" ſent to Spain, who was looked on
" as a Man throughly Imperial. After
" Paget had ended his Letter, written
" on the 19th of April, he adds a long
" Poſtſcript on the 22d, for the Ad-
" miral had entered into farther Diſ-
" courſe with him the next Day. He
" told him how ſorry he was to ſee
" all his Hopes blaſted: He could not
" ſleep all Night for it. They had
" Letters from their Ambaſſadors in
" England, and were amazed to find
" that a King who was ſo rich ſtood
" for ſo ſmall a Matter. The Pope
" had offered the Duke of Guiſe's Son
" 200,000 Crowns with his Niece:
" He ſaid, he was much troubled at
" all this: All that were about the
" King his Maſter, were not of one
" Mind, and he had been reproached
" for beginning this Matter. They
" knew the Falſhood, and the Lies of
" the

" the Pope and the Emperor well " enough: He wiſhed they would con- " ſider well what the Effects of an en- " tire Friendſhip with the King of " France might be: The French could " do no more than they could do: " Within two Years they would owe " the King 100,000 Crowns, beſides " the 100,000 Crowns during the King's " Life, and 50,000 Crowns for ever " after that: But he ſaid in thoſe " Treaties many Things ought to be " done for their own Defence: At " this he was called away by the King, " but came afterwards to Paget: He " ſaid it was not 100,000, nor 200,000 " Crowns could enrich the one, " or impoveriſh the other King: So " he added, we aſk your Daughter, " and you ſhall have our Son; but de- " ſired, that they might carry the " Matter further into a League, to " make War on the Emperor, Defen- " ſive, for all their Territories.

" HE propos'd, that the King ſhould " ſend 10,000 Foot and 2000 Horſe " into Flanders, and to pay 5000 Ger- " mans; and the French King ſhould " furniſh the ſame Number of Foot " and of Germans, and 3000 Horſe, " and an equal Number of Ships on " both Sides; and the King of France " ſhould in ſome other Places fall into " the Emperor's Dominions, at an Ex- " pence of 200,000 Crowns a Month. " What a Thing ſaid he would it be " to the King to have Gravelin, Dun- " kirk, and all thoſe Quarters adjoin- " ing to Calais? Paget anſwered, They " might ſpend all their Money, and " catch nothing: And he did not ſee " what Ground of Quarrel his Maſter " had with the Emperor; upon which " the Admiral replied, Does not he " owe you Money? Hath he not " broken his Leagues with you in " many Particulars? Did not he pro- " voke us to join with the Pope and " him, to drive your Maſter out of the " Kingdom? And hath he not now " put the Pope on offering a Council " to ſit at Mantua, Verona, Cambray, " or Metz, (this laſt Place was lately " named) all on Deſign to ruin you? " A Peſtilence take him, ſaid he, falſe " Diſſembler that he is! If he had you " at ſuch an Advantage, as you now " have him, you ſhould feel it: And " he run out largely, both againſt the " Biſhop of Rome, and the Emperor: " He deſired the War might begin that " Year, the Emperor being ſo low, " that for all his Millions, he had not " a Penny.

ON all this the Admiral ſeemed wonderfully ſet; Paget excuſed himſelf from entering further into theſe Matters, and deſired, that they might be propoſed to the King by the French Ambaſſador then at London; yet being preſſed by the Admiral, he promiſed to lay all before the King, and did it very fully, but with many Excuſes and much Submiſſion. The King's Council writ a ſhort Anſwer to this long Letter: They expreſſed their Confidence in the Admiral, with great Acknowledgements for his Affection to the King; but they ſeemed to ſuſpect the King of France, that all his Profeſſions were only to get Money from the King. 200,000 Crowns ſeemed nothing when they were willing to forgive him a Million: But by this Letter it ſeems the French Ambaſſadors did ſtill inſiſt on 600,000 Crowns to be paid down: So this Matter was let fall. To ſay all that relates to the Duke of Orleans at once, the Biſhop here gives the Reader a Paper of Inſtructions, dated at Rheims the 8th of September 1543, wherein he expreſſes his great Deſire to have the Holy Goſpel preached throughout the whole Kingdom of France; and ſays, it is impoſſible to read it, and to doubt either of his being ſincerely a Proteſtant, or at leaſt that he was willing to profeſs it openly: And it can be as little doubted, that in this he had his Father's Leave, to do what he did. The re-taking of Luxemburg put an End to this Propoſition: But it ſeems, the Emperor apprehended, that the Heat of this young Prince might grow uneaſy to him; therefore he took all Methods to ſatisfy his Ambition. For, on the 18th of December, 1544, the Ambaſſadors at the Emperor's Court wrote over, that he was treating a Match between his own eldeſt Daughter, and the Duke of Orleans; and that he offered to give with her the antient Inheritance of the Houſe of Burgundy, the two Burgundies, and the Netherlands: Or if he would marry his Brother Ferdinand's ſecond Daughter, to give the Dutchy of Milan with her. They alſo mention in April hereafter, that he came to the Emperor, and ſtayed ſome Days with him at Antwerp, and then went back. On this they all concluded, that the Treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the two Ladies he liked beſt; for there could

could be no Compariſon made between what was offered with them. But all the Negotiation, and all the Hopes of that Prince vaniſhed on the 11th of Septemper, 1545; for Karn the King's Ambaſſador in Flanders, writ over, that on that Day he died of the Plague.

THE Biſhop of Salisbury next puts together all that he found in the Minutes of Convocation, during this Reign. The neceſſary Erudition was never brought in Convocation: But it was treated by ſome Biſhops and Divines, of both Provinces, and publiſhed by the King's Authority. It ſeems, when the Doctrine was thus ſettled, there was a Deſign to carry on the Reformation further. There was a Convocation held in January 1541; in the ſecond Seſſion of which, the Archbiſhop delivered them a Meſſage from the King, That it was his Pleaſure, that they ſhould conſult concerning the reforming our Errors. And he delivered ſome Books to them, to be examined by them: It does not appear, what Sort of Books, or Errors thoſe were; whether of Papiſts, Sacramentaries, or of Anabaptiſts; for of this laſt Sort, ſome had crept into England. The Buſineſs of Munſter had made that Name ſo odious, that three Years before this, in October 1538, there was a Commiſſion ſent to Cranmer, Stokeſly, Sampſon, and ſome others, to enquire after Anabaptiſts, to proceed againſt them, to reſtore the Penitent, to burn their Books, and to deliver the Obſtinate to the ſecular Arm.

IN October 1545, there was an Order of Council publiſhed, to take away Shrines and Images: Several Commiſſions were granted for executing this; in ſome, they add Bones for Images. The Archbiſhop did likewiſe move the Convocation, in the King's Name, to make Laws againſt Simony, and to prepare a Book of Homilies, and alſo a new Tranſlation of the Bible: For, it ſeems, Complaints were made of the Tranſlation then printed, and ſet up in Churches. The ſeveral Books of the Bible were parcelled out, and aſſigned to ſeveral Biſhops to tranſlate them. This came to nothing, during this Reign; but this ſame Method was followed in Queen Elizabeth's Time. In the 5th Seſſion, the Perſons were named for this Tranſlation. Cranmer had, ſome few Years before this, parcelled out the old Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to ſeveral Biſhops and Divines, to be reviſed and corrected by them: But it was then much oppoſed. The Acts of the Apoſtles were aſſigned to Stokeſly; but he ſent in no return upon it, ſo the Archbiſhop ſent to him for it. His Anſwer was ſullen: "He "wonder'd what the Archbiſhop meant, "thus to abuſe the People, by giving "them Liberty to read the Scripture, "which did nothing but infect them "with Hereſy, He had not looked "on his Portion; and never would; "ſo he ſent back the Book, ſaying, He "would never be guilty of bringing "the ſimple People into Error." Notwithſtanding this, Cranmer had publiſhed a more correct New Teſtament in Engliſh; which is referred to in the Injunctions that were formerly mentioned; but now he deſigned a new Tranſlation of the whole Bible. In the 6th Seſſion, which was on the 17th of February, a Statute againſt Simony was treated of: There was alſo ſome Diſcourſe about tranſlating the LORD's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the Vulgar Tongue: And it was conſidered, how ſome Words in them ought to be tranſlated; but what theſe were, is not mentioned: Only, it ſeems, there was a Deſign to find Faults in every Thing that Cranmer had done.

ON the 24th of February ſeveral Matters were treated of; that in particular is named, That none ſhould let Leaſes beyond the Term of 21 Years. They treated about many of the Rituals, and of Thomas á Becket, and of the adorning of Images, and about reforming ſome ſcandalous Comedies. On the 3d of March, the Archbiſhop told them from the King, that it was his Pleaſure, that the Tranſlation of the Bible ſhould be reviewed by the two Univerſities. The Biſhops did not agree to this; and, it ſeems, they inſiſted much upon Trifles: For they treated of this, whether, in the Tranſlation of the Bible, the LORD, or our LORD, ſhould be the conſtant Form. On the ſame Day, the Lord Chancellor exhibited to them an Act, allowing, that the Biſhop's Chancellors might marry. To this the Biſhops aſſented. Some other Matters were propos'd; but all was referred to the King. Some Homilies were offer'd on different Subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The Archbiſhop alſo told them, that the King would have the Books of the ſeveral Offices, uſed in Churches, to be examined and corrected: In par-

ticular, that both at Matins and Veſpers, one Chapter of the New Teſtament, ſhould be read in every Pariſh. Some Petitions were offered by the Clergy: The firſt was for making a Body of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Of this we hear no more in this Reign; but we are aſſured, that there was a digeſted Body of them prepared, probably it was very near the ſame, that was alſo prepared in King Edward's Time. Cranmer in a Letter that he wrote to the King out of Kent, on the 24th of January 1545-6, tells him, "That, ac- "cording to his Commands, he had "ſent for the Biſhop of Worceſter, to "let him know, that the King's Plea- "ſure was to have the Names of ſuch "Perſons ſent him, as he had formerly "appointed to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws "for the Realm". The Biſhop promiſed, with all ſpeed, to enquire out their Names and the Book which they made, and to bring both to the King. By this it appears, that Perſons had been named for that, and that a Commiſſion was granted, purſuant to which the Work had been prepared: For Things of this Kind were never neglected by Cranmer. It ſeems, it had been done ſome Years before, ſo that it was almoſt forgotten; but now, in one of King Henry's lucid Interval's it was prepared, as Mr. Strype has publiſhed: But now it came to paſs, that no further Progreſs was made during this Reign, in ſo important and ſo neceſſary a Work, is not eaſily to be accounted for; ſince it muſt have contributed much to the Exaltation of the King's Supremacy, to have all the Eccleſiaſtical Courts governed by a Code authorized by him. In the Convocation, in the Year 1543, we have only this ſhort Word, That on the 29th of April, the Archbiſhop treated of the Sacraments, and on the next Day, on the Article of Free-will.

IT does not appear what moved Bell, Biſhop of Worceſter to reſign his Biſhoprick. Rymer has printed his Reſignation; in which it is ſaid, that he did it ſimply, of his own Accord. He lived 'till the Year 1556, as his Tombſtone in Clerkenwell Church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further Reformation, and ſo withdrew at this Time; or whether the old Leaven yet remaining with him, made it uneaſy for him to comply, does not appear: If his Motives had been of the former Sort, it may be ſuppoſed, he would have been thought of, in King Edward's Time: And if of the Latter, then in Queen Mary's Reign he might again have appeared; ſo it muſt be left in the Dark, what his true Motive was.

Audley, who had been Lord Chancellor from the Time that Sir Thomas More left that Poſt, fell ſick in the Year 1544, and ſent the Great Seal to the King, by Sir Edward North and Sir Thomas Bland. The King delivered it to the Lord Wriotheſly, and made him Lord Keeper during the Lord Audley's Infirmity, with Authority to do every Thing that the Lord Chancellor might do; and the Duke of Norfolk tendered him the Oaths. It ſeems, there was ſuch a Regard had to the Lord Audley, that, as long as he lived, the Title of Lord Chancellor was not given with the Seals; but, upon his Death, Wriotheſly was made Lord Chancellor. This ſeems to be the firſt Inſtance of a Lord Keeper, with the full Authority of a Lord Chancellor.

THE Breach between England and France was driven on by the Emperor's Means, and promoted by all the Popiſh Party: So the King to prevent all Miſchiefs from Scotland, during this War with France, entered into an Agreement with the Earls of Lenox and Glencairne, and the elect Biſhop of Caithnes, Brother to the Earl of Lenox, in May 1544. The Articles are publiſhed, they promiſed,

I. "THAT they ſhould cauſe the "Word of GOD to be truly taught in "their Countries.

II. "THEY ſhould continue the "King's faithful Friends.

III. "THEY ſhould take Care that "the Queen be not ſecretly carried "away.

IV. "THEY ſhould aſſiſt the King, "to ſeize on ſome Caſtles on the "Borders.

AND they delivered the elect Biſhop of Caithnes to the King as an Hoſtage, for their obſerving three Things. On the other Hand, "The King engaged "to ſend Armies to Scotland, both by "Sea and Land; and to make the "Earl of Lenox, (written in this Le- "vinax) as ſoon as he could, Governor "of Scotland: And that he ſhould be- "ſtow his Neice, Lady Margaret "Dowglas, on him." There was a fuller Agreement made with them, with more Particulars in it on the 26th of June; and a Penſion of 250 l. was aſſigned to the Earl of Glencairne, and

125 to his Son, both during Life. Thoſe in the Caſtle of St. Andrew's, were alſo taken into the King's Protection: And they promiſed to promote the Marriage, and the King's Intereſts; and to deliver up the Caſtle, when demanded. There were alſo private Agreements made with Norman Leſley, Kircaldy of the Grange, and ſome others, all to be found in Rymer.

THE often-cited Seckendorff tells us, that at this Time they in Germany begun to have greater Hopes of the King than ever. Mount was again ſent to offer an Alliance with them: He excuſed all the late Proceedings. He ſaid, Cromwell had raſhly ſaid, "That he hoped to ſee the Time, "that he ſhould ſtrike a Dagger into "the Heart of him that ſhould oppoſe "the Reformation;" which his Judges thought was meant of the King. He ſaid Barnes had indiſcreetly provoked the Biſhop of Wincheſter; he alſo blamed their Ambaſſadors, for entering into Diſputes in writing with the King. He believed Melancthon and Bucer would have managed that Matter with more Succeſs. Bucer ſeconded Mount's Motions, and magnified what the King had already done; tho' there was no compleat Reformation yet effected.

THIS did not move the Elector: He looked on the King, as an Enemy to their Doctrine. His whole Deſign, in what he had done, was, to make himſelf the Head of the Church, to which he was not called of GOD. His Government was tyrannical, and his Life flagitious; ſo he looked for no Good from him. The King of France moved him to undertake a Mediation between him and the King; but the Elector referred that to a General Meeting of thoſe who were engaged in the common Smalcaldick League. The Princes in Germany having their chief Dependance on the Kings of France and England, ſaw how much they were weakened, and expoſed to the Emperor, by the War which was going on between thoſe two Kings; ſo they ſent ſome impowered by them, to try if it was poſſible to prevent that War, and to mediate a Reconciliation between them. To theſe, when they delivered their Meſſage to the King, he complained of the Injuſtice and Wilfulneſs of the French King: He thought their Inpoſition would have no Effect, and he uſed theſe Words, in an Anſwer to their Memorial, "We give them well "to underſtand, that we do both re- "poſe an ampler and a fuller Confi- "dence in them, than the French "King either doth or will do.

De Bellay who being often employ'd, underſtood thoſe Matters well, tells us, that the Emperor and King Henry had agreed to join their Armies and to march directly into France. He tells in another Place, that if King Henry had followed the Opinion of his Council, which was for his Landing in Normandy with 30,000 Men, he would have carried that whole Dutchy; and he aſcribes his Error in that Matter, to the Providence of GOD, that protected France from ſo great a Danger: The Emperor had propoſed to the King that upon the Junction of their two Armies, they ſhould march ſtrait to Paris: For they reckoned that both their Armies would have amounted to 90,000 Foot, and 20,000 Horſe: But after the Emperor had drawn the King into his Meaſures, he went on taking ſome Towns, purſuing his own Ends, and then made his own Peace with France, and left the King engaged in the War: So the King finding the Emperor's main Army was not like to join him, ſome Bodies out of the Netherlands only coming to act in Conjunction with him, upon that he ſent the Duke of Norfolk to beſiege Montrevil, and he himſelf ſat down before Bulloigne. Marſhall Bies, Governor of Bulloigne, apprehending the Importance of Montrevil, carried a conſiderable Part of the Garriſon of Bulloigne with him, and threw himſelf into Montrevil: By this Means he left Bulloigne weak, and in ill Hands. In the mean Time the Emperor took Luxemburg, and ſome other Places; ſo all the Project with which he had amuſed the King, vaniſhed, and a Peace was ſtruck up between him and the King of France.

THE French ſent an Army to raiſe the Siege of Montrevil; and they were moving ſo as to get between the Duke of Norfolk, and the King's Army: Upon which the Duke of Norfolk raiſed the Siege, but Bulloigne was taken; and that ſmall Conqueſt was out of Meaſure magnified by thoſe who ſaw their own Advantage in flattering their Maſter, tho' at a vaſt Charge he had gained a Place, ſcarce worth the keeping.

THE Emperor had that Addreſs, and he had ſo ſtrong a Party about the

King, that even all this was excuſed, and the Intercourſe between the two Courts was not diſcontinued.

IN one Point the Emperor was neceſſary to the King, and he kept his Word to him. It is certain the King had great Apprehenſions of the Council that was now ſitting at Trent, and the more becauſe Pool was one of the Legates ſent to preſide in it; who, as he had Reaſon to apprehend, would ſtudy to engage the Council to confirm the Pope's Cenſure, thundered out againſt the King; and it was believed, he was named Legate for that End. The King of France had offered to Gardiner, that if he King would join with him, he would ſuffer no Council to meet, but as the King ſhould conſent to it: But his fluctuating Temper was ſo well known, that the King truſted in this Particular more to the Emperor, whoſe Intereſt in that Council he knew muſt be great; and the Emperor had promiſed that the Council ſhould not at all intermeddle in the Matter between the Pope and the King: The Effect ſhewed he was true in this Particular.

THE King finding himſelf ſo diſappointed, and indeed abandoned by the Emperor, ſent the Earl of Hertford with Gardiner to him, to expoſtulate with him. A Letter of the King's was ſent by them to the Emperor, written in a very ſevere Strain, charging him with Perfidy. The Emperor either had the Gout or pretended to have it, ſo that he could not be ſpoke with: His chief Miniſters at that Time, who were Grandville, and his Son the Biſhop of Arras, delay'd them from Day to Day, and diſcovered much Chicane, as they wrote it; upon which they grew ſo uneaſy, that at laſt they demanded a poſitive Anſwer; and then theſe Miniſters told them, that the Emperor could not carry on the War longer againſt France: But he offered to mediate a Peace between England and France. After that they complain that they ſaw the Pretence of Mediation was managed deceitfully; for the Emperor's Deſign upon Germany being now ready, he apprehended thoſe two Kings, if not engaged in War one with another, would ſupport the Princes of the Empire, and not ſuffer the Emperor, under the Pretence of a religious War, to make himſelf Maſter of Germany. Therefore he ſtudied to keep up the War between France and England. Maurice, Prince of Saxony, was this Year, during the Emperor's War with France, in his Court: Whether he was mediating or treating about his perfidious abandoning the Elector, and the other Princes of the Smalcaldick League, is uncertain.

BEFORE the King went out of England, a great Step was made towards the reforming the Publick Offices. A Form of Proceſſion in the Engliſh Tongue was ſet out by the King's Authority, and a Mandate was ſent to Bonner to publiſh it. The Title of it was, An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majeſty and his Clergy, to be read to the People: Alſo a Litany with Suffrages to be ſaid or ſung, in the Time of the Proceſſions. In the Litany they did ſtill invocate the Bleſſed Virgin, the Angels and Archangels, and all Holy Orders of Bleſſed Spirits, all Holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors and Virgins, and all the bleſſed Company of Heaven to pray for them: After the Word Conſpiracy, this is added, From the Tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable Enormities: The reſt of the Litany is the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only ſome more Collects are put at the End, and the Whole is call'd A Prayer of Proceſſion. To this we added ſome Exerciſes of Devotion, called Pſalms; which are collected out of ſeveral Parts of Scripture, but chiefly the Pſalms. They are well collected, and the whole Compoſition, as there is nothing that approaches to Popery in it, ſo it is a ſerious and well digeſted Courſe of Devotion. There follows a Paraphraſe on the LORD's Prayer: On the fourth Petition, there are Expreſſions that ſeem to come near a true Senſe of the Preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament; for by Daily Bread as ſome of the Antients thought the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is underſtood, which is thus expreſſed, The lively Bread of the bleſſed Body of Our Saviour JESU CHRIST, and the ſacred Cup of the precious and bleſſed Blood which was ſhed for us on the Croſs. This agrees with our preſent Senſe, that CHRIST is preſent, not as he is now in Heaven, but as he was on the Croſs: And that being a Thing paſſed, he can only be preſent in a Type and a Memorial. The Preface is an Exhortation to Prayer, in which theſe remarkable

markable Words will be found, "It is "very convenient and much accepta- "ble to GOD, that you ſhould uſe "your private Prayer in your Mother "Tongue, that you underſtand what "you aſk of GOD, may more earneſt- "ly and frequently deſire the ſame; "your Hearts and Minds agreeing to "your Mouth and Words." This is indeed all over of a pious and noble Strain, and except the Invocation of the Saints and Angels, it is an unexceptionable Compoſition. At the ſame Time Catharine Parre, whom the King had lately married, collected ſome Prayers and Meditations, "wherein "the Mind is ſtirred patiently to ſuf- "fer all Affliction here, to ſet at nought "the vain Proſperity of this World, "and always to long for everlaſting "Felicity." Which were printed in the Year 1545.

BUT ſo apt was the King, whether from ſome old and inherent Opinions that ſtill ſtuck with him, or from the Practices of thoſe who knew how to flatter him ſuitably to his Notions, to go backward and forward in Matters of Religion; that tho' on the 15th of October, 1545, he ordered a Mandate to be ſent to Bonner, to publiſh the Engliſh Proceſſion ordained by him, which was executed the Day following; yet on the 24th of that Month, there was a Letter written to Cranmer, declaring the King's Pleaſure for the ſetting up an Image, that had been taken down by his Injunctions; he ordered him at the ſame Time to aboliſh the Uſe of Holy Water, about St. John's Tide, and to take down an Image called, Our Lady of Pity in the Pew, for the Idolatry that was committed about it. At this Time it was diſcovered that great Indulgencies, with all ſuch like Favours were ſent from Rome to Ireland; ſo that generally in that Kingdom, the King's Supremacy was rejected, and yet at the ſame Time it appears that many were put in Priſon for denying the Preſence in the Sacrament: And a Proclamation was ſet out, both againſt Tindal's New Teſtament, and Coverdale's.

Thirleby, Biſhop of Weſtminſter, was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor, and afterwards Secretary Petre was ſent to the ſame Court. Mount continued likewiſe to be employ'd, but without a Character: He ſeems to have been both honeſt and zealous; and in many Letters writ both in the Year 1545, and 1546, he warned the King of the Emperor's Deſigns to extirpate Lutheraniſm, and to force the whole Empire to ſubmit to the Pope and the Council, then ſitting at Trent. The German Princes ſent over a vehement Application to the King, to conſider the Caſe of Herman, Biſhop of Colen, praying him to protect him, and to interceed for him. They gave a great Character of the Man, of which Mount makes Mention in his Letters; but it is not to be found that the King interpoſed in that Matter: The Emperor ſeemed to enter into great Confidences with Thirleby, and either impoſed on him, or found him eaſily wrought on. He told him, that the King of France was making great Levies in Swiſſerland, and he was well aſſured that they were not deſigned againſt himſelf: So he warned the King to be on his Guard. This being inquired into, was not only denied by the Court of France, but was found to be falſe, and was looked on as an Artifice of the Emperor's to keep up a Jealouſy between thoſe two Courts. By ſuch Practiſes he prevailed on Thirleby, to aſſure the King, that the Emperor did not deſign to enſlave Germany, but only to repreſs the Inſolence of ſome Princes, and to give Juſtice a free Courſe: All the News he wrote from thence did run in this Strain; ſo that Germany was fatally abandoned by both Kings. Yet ſtill the King ſent over to the Emperor repeated Complaints of the ill Treatment his Subjects met with in Spain, from Inquiſitors; and that in many Courts, Juſtice was refuſed to be done them, upon this Pretence, That the King and all who adhered to him, were declared Hereticks, and as ſuch, they were excommunicated by the Pope, and ſo were not to be admitted to ſue in Indicatories: Theſe were ſent over to Thirleby, but it is not known what was done upon all the Repreſentations.

THE laſt Meſſage the King ſent to the Germans, was in the Year 1546, by Mount, with whom one Butler was joined: The German Princes, in General Terms, prayed the King to inſiſt on rejecting the Council of Trent, aſſuring him that the Pope would ſuffer no Reformation to be made. This Letter was agreed to by the greater Number of the Princes of the Union, only the Elector of Saxony had conceived great Prejudices ag inſt the King. He ſaid, "He was an impious Man,

" with whom he desired to have no " Commerce. He was no better than " the Pope, whose Yoke he had thrown " off only for his own Ends: And that " he intended out of the two Religi- " ons to make a third, only for enrich- " ing himself; having condemned the " principal Points of their Doctrine in " his Parliament.

THERE was at this Time a secret Disgust, the Emperor was in towards his Brother Ferdinand; upon which Ferdinand sent a Message to the King, setting forth the just Claim he had to his Father's Succession in Spain; since, by the Agreement of the Marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabel of Castile, a special Provision was made, that whensoever there was a second Son issuing from that Marriage, the Kingdom of Arragon, and all that belonged to it, should be again separated from Castile. He also pretended, that he ought to have had a larger Share in the Succession of the House of Burgundy; and that instead of those rich Provinces, he was forced to accept of Austria, and the Provinces about it, which lay exposed to the Turks, and were loaded with great Debts, contracted by his Grandfather, Maximilian. To this the King sent an Answer secretly, and ordered the Person that carried it, to insist on the Discourse of his Pretensions to the Netherlands, which were then wastly rich. He was particularly required to observe Ferdinand's Behaviour, and all that he said on that Subject: And it seems, that our Court being then on a good Understanding with the Court of France, communicated the Matter to Francis; for he wrote, soon after that, a Letter to Ferdinand, encouraging him to stand on his Claim, and promising him his Assistance to support his Pretensions on the Emperor: But Ferdinand not being inclined to trust the Court of France with this Secret, sent the Letter to the Emperor.

THE last Transaction of Importance in this Reign, was the Fall of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Earl of Surrey, his Son. It is said, in the Council-Book, in the Year 1543, that the Earl was accused for eating Flesh in Lent, without Licence; and for walking about the Streets in the Night, throwing Stones against Windows, for which he was sent to the Fleet. In another Letter he is complained of for riotous Living. Towards the End of the Year 1546, both he and his Father were put in Prison: And, it seems, the Council wrote to all the King's Ambassadors beyond Sea, an Account of this, much aggravated, as the Discovery of some very dangerous Conspiracy, which they were to represent to those Princes, in very black Characters. Bishop Thirleby wrote a long Letter concerning them, the following is a Copy of that Part of it which relates to this pretended Discovery, dated from Hailbron on Christmas-Day, 1546:

" HE understood by the Council's " Letter to him, what ungracious and " ingrateful Persons they were found " to be. He professes he ever loved " the Father, for he thought him a " true Servant to the King: He says, " he was amazed at the Matter, and " did not know what to say. GOD " had not only on this Occasion, but " on many others, put a Stop to trea- " sonable Designs against the King, " who (next to GOD) was the chief " Comfort of all good Men. He en- " larges much on the Subject, in the " Stile of a true Courtier. The Mes- " senger brought him the Council's " Letter, written on the 15th of De- " cember, on Christmas-Eve, in which " he saw the malicious Purpose of " these two ungracious Men: So, ac- " cording to his Orders, he went im- " mediately to demand Audience of " the Emperor; but the Emperor in- " tended to repose himself for three " or four Days, and so had refus'd " Audience to the Nuntio, and to " all other Ambassadors; but he said, " he would send a Secretary, to whom " he might communicate his Business. " Joyce, his Secretary coming to him, " he set forth the Matter as pompous- " ly as the Council had represented it " to him. In particular, he spoke of " the Haughtiness of the Earl of Sur- " rey, of all which the Secretary pro- " mised to make Report to the Empe- " ror, and likewise to write an Ac- " count of it to Granville. Thirleby " excuses himself that he durst not " write of this Matter to the King: " He thought it would renew in him " the Memory of the Ingratitude of " these Persons, which must wound a " noble Heart.

AFTER so black a Representation, great Matters might be expected; but the following Original Letter of the Duke of Norfolk's, gives a very different Account of that Matter, at least with

with Relation to the Father. He writes, " That the Lord Great Chamberlain, " and the Secretary of State, had ex- " amined him upon divers Particulars: " The firſt was, Whether he had a " Cypher with any Man? He ſaid, He " had never a Cypher with any Man, " but ſuch as he had for the King's Af- " fairs, when he was in his Service: " And he does not remember that " ever he wrote in Cypher, except " when he was in France, with the " Lord Great Maſter that now is, and " the Lord Rochford: Nor does he " remember whether he wrote any " Letters then, or not; but theſe two " Lords ſigned whatſoever he wrote. " He heard, that a Letter of his was " found among Biſhop Fox's Papers, " which being ſhewed to the Biſhop " of Dureſme, he adviſed to throw it " into the Fire: He was examined up- " on this: He did remember the Mat- " ter of it was, the ſetting forth the " Talk of the Northern People, after " the Time of the Commotions: But " that it was againſt Cromwell, and " not at all againſt the King; (ſo far " did they go back, to find Matter " to be laid to his Charge) but whe- " ther that was in Cypher, or not, he " did not remember. He was next " aſked, if any Perſon had ſaid to him, " that if the King, the Emperor, and " the French King came to a good " Peace, whether the Biſhop of Rome " would break that by his Diſpenſa- " tion; and whether he inclined that " Way. He did not remember he had " heard any Man ſpeak to that Pur- " poſe: But, for his own Part, if he " had 20 Lives, he would rather ſpend " them all, than that the Biſhop of " Rome ſhould have any Power in this " Kingdom again. He had read much " Hiſtory, and knew well how his " Uſurpation began and increaſed; and " both to Engliſh, French, and Scots, " he has upon all Occaſions ſpoken " vehemently againſt it. He was alſo " aſked, if he knew any Thing of a " Letter from Gardiner and Knevet, " the King's Ambaſſadors at the Em- " peror's Court, of a Motion made to " them for a Reconciliation with that " Biſhop, which was brought to the " the King at Dover, he being then " there.

IN Anſwer to this, he writes, " He " had never been with the King at Do- " ver ſince the Duke of Richmond " died: But for any ſuch Overture, " he had never heard any Thing of it, " nor did any Perſon ever mention it " to him. It had been ſaid in Coun- " cil, when Sir Francis Bryan had " like to have died, as a Thing re- " ported by him, that the Biſhop of " Wincheſter had ſaid, he could deviſe " a Way to ſet all Things right between " the King and the Biſhop of Rome. " Upon which, as he remembers, Sir " Ralph Sadler was ſent to Sir Francis, " to aſk the Truth of that; but Sir " Francis denied it; and this was all " that ever he heard of any ſuch " Overture. It ſeems theſe were all " the Queſtions that were put to him, " to which thoſe were his Anſwers. " He therefore prayed the Lords, to " intercede with the King, that his " Accuſers might be brought Face to " Face, to ſay what they had againſt " him; and he did not doubt, but it " would appear, he was falſely ac- " cuſed. He deſired to have no more " Favour than Cromwell had; he " himſelf being preſent when Crom- " well was examined. He adds, Crom- " well was a falſe Man, but he was " a true, poor Gentleman. He did " believe, ſome falſe Man had laid " ſome great Thing to his Charge. He " deſired, if he might not ſee his Ac- " cuſers, that he might at leaſt know " what the Matters were, and if he " did not anſwer truly to every Point, " he deſired not to live an Hour longer.

" HE had always been purſued by " great Enemies about the King; ſo " that his Fidelity was tried like Gold. " If he knew wherein he had offend- " ed, he would freely confeſs it: On " Tueſday in the laſt Whitſun-Week, " he moved the King, that a Marriage " might be made between his Daugh- " ter (the Dutcheſs of Richmond) and " Sir Thomas Seymour; and that his " Son Surrey's Children might, by " Croſs-Marriages, be allied to my " Lord Great Chamberlain's Children, " (the Earl of Hertford.) He appealed " to the King, whether his Intention " in theſe Motions did not appear to " be honeſt. He next reckons up his " Enemies. Cardinal Wolſey confeſs'd " to him at Aſher, that he had ſtudied " for 14 Years, how to deſtroy him, " ſet on it by the Duke of Suffolk, " the Marquis of Exeter ſuffer'd, Crom- " well examined his Wife more ſtrict- " ly concerning him, than all other " Men; of which ſhe ſent him Word " by her Brother, the Lord Mountjoy,

" and

" and Cromwell had often ſaid to him-
" ſelf, that he was a happy Man, that
" his Wife knew nothing againſt him,
" otherwiſe ſhe would undo him. The
" late Duke of Buckingham, at the
" Bar, where his Father ſate Lord
" High Steward, ſaid, that he himſelf
" was the Perſon in the World whom
" he had hated moſt, thinking he
" had done him ill Offices with the
" King: But he ſaid, he then ſaw the
" contrary. Rice, that married his
" Siſter, often ſaid, He wiſhed he could
" find the Means to thruſt his Dagger
" in him. It was well known to many
" Ladies in the Court, how much both
" his two Nieces, whom it pleaſed the
" King to marry, had hated him. He
" had diſcovered to the King that, for
" which his Mother-in-Law was at-
" tainted of Miſpriſon of Treaſon.
" He had always ſerved the King faith-
" fully, but had of late received
" greater Favours of him, than in
" Times paſt: What could therefore
" now move him to be falſe to him?
" A poor Man, as I am, yet I am his
" own near Kinſman. Alas! alas my
" Lords (writes he) that ever it ſhould
" be thought any Untruth to be in
" me. He prays them to lay this be-
" fore the King, and jointly to beſeech
" him, to grant the Deſires contained
" in it. So he ends it with ſuch Sub-
" miſſions, as he hoped might mollify
" the King.

BY all that appears concerning the Duke of Norfolk, he was deſigned to be deſtroyed only upon Suſpicion; and his Enemies were put on running far back to old Stories, to find ſome Colours to juſtify ſo black a Proſecution. This was the laſt Act of the King's Reign, which, happily for the old Duke, was not finiſhed when the King's Death prevented the Execution.

BISHOP Burnet having now ended what he had to ſay of King Henry, adds a few Reflections on him and on his Reign. He had certainly a greater Meaſure of Knowledge in Learning, more particularly in Divinity, than moſt Princes of that, or of any Age; that gave Occaſion to thoſe exceſſive Flatteries, which in a great Meaſure corrupted his Temper, and diſfigured his whole Government. It is deeply rooted in the Nature of Man to love to be flattered, becauſe Self-Love makes Men their own Flatterers, and ſo they do too eaſily take down the Flatteries that are offered them by others, who when they expect Advantages by it, are too ready to give this Incenſe to their Vanity, according to the Returns that they expect from it.

FEW are ſo honeſt and diſintereſted in their Friendſhip, as to conſider the real Good of others; but chuſe rather to comply with their Humour and Vanity. And ſince Princes have moſt to give, Flattery (too common to all Places) is the natural Growth of Courts; in which, if there are ſome few ſo unfaſhion'd, to thoſe Places, as to ſeek the real Good and Honour of the Prince, by the plain Methods of blunt Honeſty, which may carry them to contradict a miſtaken Prince, to ſhew him his Errors, and with a true Firmneſs of Courage, to try to work even againſt the Grain; while they purſue that, which, tho' it is the real Advantage and Honour of the Prince, yet it is not agreeable to ſome weak or perverſe Humour in him: Theſe are ſoon over-topped by a Multitude of Flatterers, who will find it an eaſy Work to undermine ſuch faithful Miniſters; becauſe their own Candor and Fidelity, makes them uſe none of the Acts of a Countermine. Thus the flatter'd Prince eaſily goes into the Hands of thoſe who humour and pleaſe him moſt, without regarding either the true Honour of the Maſter, or the Good of the Community.

IF weak Princes, of a ſmall Meaſure of Knowledge and a low Capacity, fall into ſuch Hands, the Government will dwindle into an unactive Languiſhing, which will make them a Prey to all about them and expoſe them to univerſal Contempt both at Home and Abroad; while the Flatterers make their own Advantages the chief Meaſure of the Government, and do ſo beſiege the abuſed and deluded Prince, that he fancies he is the Wonder and Delight of all the World; when he is under the laſt Degrees of the Scorn of the worſt, and of the Pity of the beſt of his People.

BUT if theſe Flatterers gain the Aſcendant over Princes of Genius and Capacity, they put them on great Deſigns, under the falſe Repreſentations of Conqueſts and Glory: They engage them either to make or break Leagues at Pleaſure, to enter upon Hoſtilities without any previous Steps or Declarations of War, to ruin their own People for ſupporting thoſe Wars that were

carried

carried on with all the Methods, both of Barbarity and Perfidy; while a ſtudied Luxury and Vanity at Home is kept up to amuſe and blind the ignorant Beholders, with a falſe Shew of Luſtre and Magnificence.

THIS had too deep a Root in King Henry, and was too long flattered by Cardinal Wolſey, to be even afterwards brought into true Bounds and juſt Meaſures, yet Wolſey purſued the true Maxims of England, of maintaining the Ballance during his Miniſtry. Our Trade lay then ſo entirely in the Netherlands, without our ſeeming to think of carrying it further, that it was neceſſary to maintain a good Correſpondence with thoſe Provinces: And Charles's Dominions was ſo wildly ſcattered, that till Francis was taken Priſoner, it was viſibly the Intereſt of England to continue ſtill jealous of France, and to favour Charles. But the taking of Francis the Iſt, changed the Scene, France was then to be ſupported. It was alſo ſo exhauſted, and Charles's Revenue was ſo encreaſed, that without great Sums both lent him, and expended by England, all muſt have ſunk under Charles's Power, if England had not held the Ballance.

IT was alſo a Maſter-piece in Wolſey to engage the King to own that the Book againſt Luther was written by him, in which the Secret of thoſe who, no Doubt, had the greateſt Share in Compoſing it, was ſo cloſely laid, that it never broke out. Seckendorff tells us, that Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomiſt, and had been engaged in Diſputes with Eraſmus, and was afterwards made Archbiſhop of York. If any of theſe who ſtill adhered to the old Doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably when they ſaw King Henry depart from ſo many Points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond Sea, and have robbed him of that falſe Honour, and thoſe exceſſive Praiſes which that Book had procured him. It is plain More wrote it not; for the King having ſhewed it him before it was publiſhed, he (as he mentions in one of his Letters to Cromwell) told the King, that he had raiſed the Papacy ſo high, that it might be objected to him, if he ſhould happen to have any Diſpute with the Pope, as was often between Princes and Popes; and it will be found that he, in another Letter, ſays, he was a Sorter of that Book. This ſeems to relate only to the Digeſting it into Method and Order.

How far King Henry was ſincere in pretending Scruples of Conſcience, with Relation to his firſt Marriage, can only be known to GOD. His Suit of Divorce was managed at a vaſt Expence, in a Courſe of many Years; in all which Time, how ſtrong ſoever his Paſſion was for Anne Boleyn, yet her being with Child, ſo ſoon after her Marriage, is a clear Evidence that till then they had no unlawful Commerce. It does not appear, that Wolſey deſerved his Diſgrace, unleſs it was that by the Commiſſion given to the two Legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or ſeverally; ſo that tho' Campegio refuſed to concur, he might have given Sentence legally, yet he being truſted by the Pope, his acting according to Inſtructions, did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Correction: And had any material Diſcovery been made to render Wolſey criminal, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed it would have been publiſhed.

THE new Flatterers falling in with the King's Paſſion, out-did and ruined Wolſey. More was the Glory of the Age; and his Advancement was the King's Honour more than his own, who was a true Chriſtian Philoſopher. He thought the Cauſe of the King's Divorce was juſt, and as long as it was proſecuted at the Court of Rome, ſo long he favoured it: But when he ſaw that a Breach with that Court was like to follow, he left the Poſt he was in, with a ſuperior Greatneſs of Mind. It was a Fall great enough to retire from that into a private State of Life; but the carrying Matters ſo far againſt him as the King did, was one of the juſteſt Reproaches of that Reign. More's Superſtition ſeems indeed contemptible, but the Conſtancy of his Mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's Miniſtry was in a conſtant Courſe of Flattery and Submiſſion, but by that he did great Things that amaze one, who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the King's Supremacy, inſtead of the Uſurpations of the Papacy, and the rooting out the Monaſtick State in England, conſidering the Wealth, the Numbers, and the Zeal of the Monks and Friars in all the Parts of the Kingdom, as it was a very bold Undertaking, ſo it was executed with great Method, and per-

formed in ſo ſhort a Time, and with ſo few of the Convulſions that might have been expected, that all this ſhews what a Maſter he was, that could bring ſuch a Deſign to be finiſhed in ſo few Years, with ſo little Trouble or Danger.

BUT in Concluſion, an unfortunate Marriage to which he adviſed the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy what he himſelf had brought about, was, no Doubt, backward in the Deſign of breaking it, when the King had told him of it: And then upon no other viſible Ground, but becauſe Anne of Cleve grew more obliging to the King, than ſhe was formerly, the King ſuſpected that Cromwell had betrayed his Secret, and had engaged her to a ſofter Deportment on Deſign to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that, diſgrace and deſtroy him.

THE Duke of Norfolk was never till Cromwell's Fall, the firſt in Favour: But he had ſtill kept his Poſt, by perpetual Submiſſion and Flattery. He was ſacrificed at laſt to the King's Jealouſſy, fearing that he might be too great in his Son's Infancy; and being conſidered as the Head of the Popiſh Party, might engage in an uneaſy Competition with the Seymours, during the Minority of his Son; for the Points he was at firſt examined on, were of an old Date, of no Conſequence, and ſupported by no Proof.

WHEN the King firſt threw off the Pope's Yoke, the Reformers offered him in their Turns, all the Flatteries they could decently give; and if they could have had the Patience to go no further, then as he was willing to parcel out a Reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it: But he ſeemed to think that as it was pretended in Popery, that Infallibility was to go along with the Supremacy; therefore thoſe who had yielded to the one, ought likewiſe to ſubmit to the other. He turned againſt them when he ſaw that their Complaiſance did not go ſo far: And upon that, the Adherers to the old Opinions returned to their old Flatteries, and for ſome Time ſeemed to have brought him quite back to them; which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the old Leaven of the Papacy was ſtill working in them; ſo that he was all the while fluctuating; ſome Times making Steps to a Reformation, but then returning back to his old Notions: One Thing probably wrought much on him. It has appeared that he had great Apprehenſions of the Council that was to meet at Trent, and the Emperor's Engagements to reſtrain the Council from proceeding in his Matter, was the main Article of the new Friendſhip made up between them; and it may be very reaſonably ſuppoſed that the Emperor repreſented to him, that nothing could ſecure that Matter ſo certainly as his not proceeding to any further Innovotions in Religion: More particularly his adhering firmly to the received Doctrine of CHRIST's Preſence in the Sacrament, and the other Articles ſet forth by him: This agreeing with his own Opinion, had, as may be well imagined, no ſmall Share in the Change of his Conduct at that Time.

THE dextrous Application of Flattery had generally a powerful Effect on him: But whatſoever he was, and how great ſoever his Pride and Vanity, and his other Faults were, he was a great Inſtrument in the Hand of Providence for many good Ends: He firſt opened the Door to let Light in upon the Nation: He delivered it from the Yoke of blind and implicit Obedience: He put the Scriptures in the Hands of the People, and took away the Terror they were formerly under by the Cruelty of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: He declared this Church to be an entire and perfect Body within itſelf, with full Authority to decree and to regulate all Things, without any Dependance on any Foreign Power: And he did ſo unite the Supreme Headſhip over this Church, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that it ſeemed a juſt Conſequence that was made by ſome in a Popiſh Reign, that he who would not own that this Supremacy was in him, did by that renounce the Crown, of which that Title was made ſo eſſential a Part, that they could no more be ſeparated.

HE attacked Popery on its ſtrong Holds, the Monaſteries, and deſtroyed them all: And thus he opened the Way to all that came after, even down to our Days: So that while we ſee the Folly and Weakneſs of Man in all his perſonal Failings, which were very many, and very enormous, we at the ſame Time ſee both the Juſtice, the Wiſdom, and the Goodneſs of GOD, in making him who was once the Pride and Glory of Popery, become its Scourge and Deſtruction: And in directing

recting his Pride and Paſſion ſo, as to bring about, under the Dread of his unrelenting Temper, a Change that a milder Reign could not have compaſſed, without great Convulſions and much Confuſion: Above all the reſt, we ought to adore the Goodneſs of GOD, in reſcuing us by his Means from Idolatry and Superſtition, from the vain and pompous Shews, in which the Worſhip of GOD was dreſſed up, ſo as to vye with Heatheniſm itſelf, into a Simplicity of believing, and a Purity of Worſhip, conform to the Nature and Attributes of GOD, and the Doctrine and Example of the Son of GOD.

MAY we ever value this as we ought; and may we in our Tempers and Lives, ſo expreſs the Beauty of this Holy Religion, that it may ever ſhine among us, and may it ſhine out from us, to all round about us, and then we may hope that GOD will preſerve it to us, and to our Poſterity after us for ever.

Of what happened during the Reign of King EDWARD the VIth, from the Year 1547, to the Year 1553.

BISHOP Burnet ſays, he had ſuch copious Materials when he wrote of this King, partly from the original Council-Book, for the two firſt Years of that Reign, but chiefly from the Journal, writ in that King's own Hand, that he ſays he ſhall not be able to give the Reader ſo many new Things in this, as he did in the former, or may be able to do in the ſucceeding Reign.

HE begins with acknowledging a great Error committed in copying out a Letter of Luther's, that he found among Bucer's Collections. The noble Seckendorff was the firſt that admoniſhed him of this, but with a Modeſty ſuitable to ſo great a Man, without that Rancour, in which ſome among ourſelves have vented their ill Nature againſt him. He took the ſure Method to confeſs his Error, and to procure an exact collated Copy of that Paper, from that learned Body, to whoſe Library it belongs. It is an Original in Luther's own Hand, but it could not have been eaſily read, if Bucer had not writ out a Copy of it, which is bound up in the ſame Volume with the Original. It was an Inſtruction that Luther gave to Melancthon, when he went into Heſſe, in the Year 1534, to meet and treat with Bucer, upon that fatal Difference, concerning the Manner of the Preſence in the Sacrament: In which it appears, "That Luther "was ſo far from departing from his "Opinion, that he plainly ſays, he "could not communicate with thoſe "of the Zuinglian Perſuaſion, but he "would willingly tolerate them, in "Hopes that in Time they might come "to communicate together: And as "for a political Agreement, he does "not think the Diverſity of Religion "ought to hinder that, no more than "it was a Bar to Marriage or Com-"merce, which may be among thoſe "of different Religions.

THE Biſhop ſays he ſhould next enter into the Hiſtorical Paſſages of King Edward's Reign; but a great Diſcovery, made with Relation to the moſt important Foreign Tranſaction, that happen'd both in King Henry's and King Edward's Reign, (meaning the Council of Trent, the firſt Seſſion of which was in the former Reign, and the ſecond in this) gave him an Opportunity of acquainting the World with many extraordinary Paſſages relating to it.

THERE was a large Parcel of Original Letters written to Granville, then Biſhop of Arras, afterwards Cardinal and the Chief Miniſter of Charles the Emperor, that, when he left the Netherlands, were in the Hands of ſome of his Secretaries, and were not carried away by him. About 50 Years after that, Mr. William Trumball, then King James the Iſt's Envoy at Bruſſels, Grand-Father to Sir William Trumball (a Perſon eminently diſtinguiſhed by his Learning and Zeal for Religion, as well as by the Embaſſies, and other great Employments he has ſo worthily borne) got theſe into his Hands: No Doubt, under the Promiſe of abſolute Secreſy, during the Lives of thoſe who had them; ſince if they had been publiſhed, it might have been eaſily traced, from whence they muſt have come; which would have been fatal to thoſe who had parted with them, in a Court ſo bigotted, as was that of Albert and Iſabella. The Biſhop tells us he has read over the whole Series of that worthy Gentleman's own Letters

Letters to King James the Iſt, and ſaw ſo much Honeſty and Zeal running thro' them all, that, it ſeems, nothing under ſome ſacred Tie, could have obliged both Father and Son, to keep ſuch a Treaſure ſo ſecret from all the World, eſpecially as Father Paul's Hiſtory came out at that Time in London; to which theſe Letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of October, 1551, to the laſt of February, 1551-2, would have given an authentick Confirmation. It is impoſſible to doubt of their being Originals: The Subſcriptions and Seals of moſt of them are ſtill entire.

THESE were by Sir William depoſited in Biſhop Stillingfleet's Hands, when he was ſent to his Foreign Employments; that ſuch Uſe might be made of them, when he found a Perſon that was Maſter of the Spaniſh Tongue, as the Importance of the Diſcovery might deſerve. Soon after that, Dr. Geddes returning from Liſbon, after he had been above 10 Years Preacher to the Engliſh Factory there; and Biſhop Stillingfleet underſtanding that he was Maſter of the Spaniſh Tongue, put all theſe Papers in his Hands. He tranſlated them into Engliſh, intending to print the Originals in Spaniſh with them: But none of our Printers would undertake that, they reckoning, that where the Vent of the Book might be looked for, which muſt be in Spain and Italy, they were ſure it would not be ſuffered to be ſold: He was therefore forced to print the Tranſlation in Engliſh, without printing the Originals.

SINCE that Time, that learned and judicious Frenchman, M. Le Vaſſor, has publiſhed a Tranſlation of them in French, with many curious Reflections: But tho' he found, that a compleat Edition of the Letters in Spaniſh, was a Thing that the Bookſellers in Holland would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could by giving the Parts of the Letters that were the moſt critical, and the moſt important, in Spaniſh. Both theſe Books are highly valuable. The chief Writer of thoſe Letters, Vargas, was a Man not only very learned, but of a ſuperior Genius to moſt of that Age, as appears both by the Letters themſelves, and by the great Poſts he went thro'. He was ſpecially employed by the Emperor, both in the Seſſion that was held in the former Reign, and in that which ſat in this Reign; to which only theſe Letters do relate. He was the chief of the Council that the Emperor's Ambaſſadors had, in Matters, in which either Divinity or Canon-Law (the laſt being his particular Profeſſion) were neceſſary: And ſuch a Value was ſet on him, that the Emperor ſent him Ambaſſador to the Republick of Venice: And when the laſt Seſſion was held by Pope Pius the IVth, Philip ſent him Ambaſſador to Rome, as the Perſon that underſtood beſt how to manage that Court, with Relation to the Seſſion of the Council.

IT may give the Reader a juſt Idea of that Council, both of the Fraud ad Inſolence of the Legate, and of the Method in which Matters were carried there, to ſee ſome of the more ſignal Paſſages in thoſe Letters; that it may both give him true Impreſſions of what was tranſacted there, and may move him to have Recourſe to the Letters themſelves. He ſets forth, "How "much the Pope and his Miniſters "dreaded the coming of the Proteſ-"tants to the Council: We can plain-"ly perceive that they are not them-"ſelves, nor in a Condition to treat "about any Buſineſs, when they are "brought to touch on that Point.—— "Theſe may, to their own Mortifica-"tion, deliver their Minds freely "againſt Abuſes, and ſome other "Things.———Whoſoever offers any "Thing that is not grateful to the "Legate, or that doth not ſuit exactly "with ſome Peoples Pre-poſſeſſions; he "is reported to have ſpoke ill, and "to think worſe; and to have taken "what he ſaid, out of I do not know "whom.———There are ſeveral Mat-"ters, which the Legate ought to "treat with more Deliberation, than "he hath hitherto handled Things: "I pray GOD give him Grace to un-"derſtand this.

IN the next Letter, without Date, mention is made of a Letter, that the Emperor wrote to the Pope; in which he did aſſure him, "That nothing "ſhould be done in the Council, but "that which he had a Mind ſhould "be done in it: And that he would "oblige the Prelates to hold their "Tongues, and to let Things paſs "without any Oppoſition. The Copy "of this being ſhewed the Ambaſſador, "he was aſtoniſhed at it: But Vargas "ſaid, it was not to be underſtood "literally (in the Original it is judai-"cally) it was only writ to bring the

"Pope

" Pope to grant the Bull: But that it " was not intended by it, that the " Pope ſhould be ſuffered to do Things " as would bring all to Ruin, but " only to do ſuch Things as are rea- " ſonable." He adds in Latin, " That " the Liberty the Pope took was not " only a Diſeaſe and Sickneſs of Mind, " but was really grown to a Fury and " a Madneſs. Here the Spirit of the " Promiſe is ſet up againſt the Letter; " and a ſtrict adhering to Words, is " counted a Part of the Yoke of Juda- " iſm, from which ſome moſt Chriſ- " tian Princes have thought fit on ma- " ny Occaſions, to emancipate them- " ſelves.

IN another Letter he ſets forth the Behaviour of the Prelates: " The Le- " gate never ſo much as acquaints " them with the Matter, all Things " appearing well to them at firſt Sight, " and, who knowing nothing of Mat- " ters, until they are juſt ready to be " pronounced, paſs them without any " more ado. ——— I am willing to let " you know how Things are carried " here, and what the Pope's Aims are, " who ſeems to authorize all his own " Pretenſions by the Council. ——— " There are ſeveral other Things I am " not at all ſatisfy'd with, which were " carried here with the ſame Slight " that Pope Paul made uſe of. ——— " And is not this a bleſſed Beginning " of a Council! ——— As to the Ca- " nons of Reformation, —— they are " of ſo trivial a Nature, that ſeveral " were aſhamed to hear them; and " had they not been wrapped up in " good Language together, they would " have appeared to the World to be " what they are.

IN another Letter he writes, " I " cannot ſee how either Catholicks or " Hereticks can be ſatisfy'd with what " is done here. ——— All that is done " here is done by the Way of Rome; " for the Legate, tho' it were neceſ- " ſary to ſave the World from ſinking, " will not depart one Tittle from the " Orders he receives from thence; nor " indeed from any Thing, that he has " once himſelf reſolved on.

IN another he writes, " As for the " Legate, he goes on ſtill in his old " Way, conſuming of Time to the " laſt Hour, in Diſputations and Con- " gregations, concerning Doctrines, " and will at laſt produce ſome Thing " in a Hurry, in falſe Colours, that " may look plauſible; by which Means " they have no Time to read, and " much leſs to underſtand what they " are about. ——— Words or Perſua- " ſions do ſignify but very little in this " Place; and I ſuppoſe, they are not " of much greater Force at Rome. — " By what I can perceive, both GOD " and his Majeſty are like to be very " much diſhonoured by what will be " done here. And if Things ſhould " go on thus, and be brought to ſuch " an Iſſue, as the Pope and his Miniſ- " ters aim at, and give out, the " Church will be left in a much " worſe Condition, than ſhe was in be- " fore ———. I pray GOD the Pope " may be prevailed on to alter his Mea- " ſures: Tho' I ſhall reckon it a Mira- " cle, if he is, and ſhall thank GOD " for it, as ſuch.

IN another he writes, " There are " not Words to expreſs the Pride, Diſ- " reſpect and Shameleſſneſs wherewith " the Legate proceeds. —— The Suc- " ceſs and End of this Synod, if GOD " by a Miracle does not prevent it, " will be ſuch as I have foretold. I " ſay, by a Miracle, becauſe it is not " to be done by any humane Means: " So that his Majeſty does but tire " himſelf in vain, in negotiating with " the Pope, and his Miniſters. ——— " The Legate has hammer'd out ſuch " an infamous Reformation, (for it de- " ſerves no better Epithet) as muſt " make us a Jeſt to the World. The " Prelates that are here reſent it high- " ly; many of them reckoning that " they wound their Conſciences by " holding their Tongues, and by ſuf- " fering Things to be carried thus.

UPON the Point of collating to Be- nefices, he writes, " We ought to put " them to ſhew what Right the Pope " has to collate to any Benefice what- " ſoever. I will undertake to demon- " ſtrate from the Principles and " Foundations of the Law of GOD and " of Nature, and of Men; and from " the antient Uſage of the Church, " and from good Policy, that he has " no Manner of Right to it; and all " this without doing Injury to his Dig- " nity, and the Plenitude of his Pow- " er. He adviſes the leaving thoſe " Matters to a better Time, in which " GOD will purge the Sons of Levi; " which Purgation muſt come, and " that with a ſevere Scourge; it being " impoſſible that a Thing ſo violent " and ſo fraught with Abuſes ſhould " hold long. The whole Nerve of

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" poſe, either in this or any following
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" the Emperor will continue to ſolicit
" the Pope, that Things may not be
" carried there, at ſuch a ſcandalous Rate
" as they have been hitherto: And
" And that he will take Care that no
" Occaſion be given to the Council
" to diſperſe itſelf upon the Prelates
" ſpeaking their Mind freely, or deny-
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IN another he writes, " This Synod
" muſtered tumultuouſly, and inglori-
" ouſly." In another he writes,
" It was an aſtoniſhing Thing that the
" Legate had foiſted in ſeveral Paſ-
" ſages into the Doctrine of Orders,
" which muſt of Neceſſity ruin all.
" By the brutal Violences, Pretenſions,
" and Obſtinacy of the Legate, Things
" are running into ſuch a State, as muſt
" in the End, if I am not miſtaken,
" make both himſelf and the whole
" Earth to tremble: Or if it does not
" make him tremble, it muſt be be-
" cauſe he is given over to a repro-
" bate Senſe: As in Truth, he ſeems
" to be abundantly in every Thing
" he does.

IN another he writes, " All they
" drive at is to get the Pope's Preten-
" ſions eſtabliſhed under the Doctrine
" of Order; and ſo inſtead of heal-
" ing, to deſtroy and ruin all: Thoſe
" being Matters which were never ſo
" much as propoſed, or diſputed in the
" Council: Neither is it fitting, as
" Things ſtand here, that they, or
" any Thing elſe of the ſame Nature
" ſhould be meddled with in this
" Synod.

HE enlarges on the Authority of Biſhops " being derived from CHRIST,
" though ſubjected to the Pope; and
" he writes that upon this Bottom on-
" ly the Hierarchy of the Church can
" be eſtabliſhed: To ſettle it on any
" other, is, in Effect, to confound and
" deſtroy it. Nevertheleſs, the Pope,
" if he could carry this Point, tho' all
" Things elſe were ruined, and what-
" ever was done in the Antient Church
" condemned, would find his own Ac-
" count in it: For after that there
" would be no Poſſibility of ever ha-
" ving any Thing redreſſed." The Decree of Order, on which the Legate had ſet his Heart, is ſet down at the End of this Letter; the Tranſlation of it into Engliſh runs thus:

" THIS may be called the New
" Jeruſalem that comes down from
" Heaven: Which was by the moſt
" exactly regulated Policy of the
" Old Jeruſalem, ſhadowed only as a
" Pattern to repreſent the Heavenly
" Jeruſalem: For as ſhe had many dif-
" ferent Orders, under one Chief Go-
" vernor, ſo the viſible Church of
" CHRIST has his Chief Vicar; for
" he is the only and Supreme Head in
" Earth, by whoſe Diſpenſation Of-
" ces are diſtributed ſo to all the other
" Members, that in the ſeveral Orders
" and Stations in which they are
" placed, they may execute their Fun-
" ctions to the Good of the whole
" Church, with the greateſt Peace and
" Union. A Deputation of 20 was
" named to conſider of this. The Le-
" gate and the two Preſidents making
" three of that Number, it was ſevere-
" ly attacked by the Biſhop of Guadix.

IN his laſt Letter he writes, " That
" the Legates would one Way or other
" bring about the Diſſolution of the
" Synod; which will be certainly done,
" if they can but get the ſaid Clauſes
" determined, becauſe in them they
" will have gained all that they Deſire:
" And after that they will never ſtand
" in need of any more Councils to
" ſerve their Pretenſions. And in
" Caſe they ſhould not be able to
" carry thoſe Points, they will then,
" to rid themſelves of this Yoke that is
" upon their Neck, and of their Fears
" they will be under when they ſhall
" find that they are not able to bring
" the Synod to do all the Miſchief
" to the Church, and to the Authority
" of the preſent, and all General
" Councils, that the Pope and his Mi-
" niſters would have them do, they
" will then perplex and confound all.

THESE are very clear Diſcoveries of the Zeal and Indignation which poſſeſſed this great Stateſman, during this whole Seſſion: He ſhews alſo the Opinion he had of the former Seſſion under Pope Paul, (in which he had likewiſe aſſiſted) in the Directions he gives concerning the Government of a Council, and of the Office of an Ambaſſador,

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" ouſly." In another he writes,
" It was an aſtoniſhing Thing that the
" Legate had foiſted in ſeveral Paſ-
" ſages into the Doctrine of Orders,
" which muſt of Neceſſity ruin all.
" By the brutal Violences, Pretenſions,
" and Obſtinacy of the Legate, Things
" are running into ſuch a State, as muſt
" in the End, if I am not miſtaken,
" make both himſelf and the whole
" Earth to tremble: Or if it does not
" make him tremble, it muſt be be-
" cauſe he is given over to a repro-
" bate Senſe: As in Truth, he ſeems
" to be abundantly in every Thing
" he does.

IN another he writes, " All they
" drive at is to get the Pope's Preten-
" ſions eſtabliſhed under the Doctrine
" of Order; and ſo inſtead of heal-
" ing, to deſtroy and ruin all: Thoſe
" being Matters which were never ſo
" much as propoſed, or diſputed in the
" Council: Neither is it fitting, as
" Things ſtand here, that they, or
" any Thing elſe of the ſame Nature
" ſhould be meddled with in this
" Synod.

HE enlarges on the Authority of Biſhops " being derived from CHRIST,
" though ſubjected to the Pope; and
" he writes that upon this Bottom on-
" ly the Hierarchy of the Church can
" be eſtabliſhed: To ſettle it on any
" other, is, in Effect, to confound and
" deſtroy it. Nevertheleſs, the Pope,
" if he could carry this Point, tho' all
" Things elſe were ruined, and what-
" ever was done in the Antient Church
" condemned, would find his own Ac-
" count in it: For after that there
" would be no Poſſibility of ever ha-
" ving any Thing redreſſed." The Decree of Order, on which the Legate had ſet his Heart, is ſet down at the End of this Letter; the Tranſlation of it into Engliſh runs thus:

" THIS may be called the New
" Jeruſalem that comes down from
" Heaven: Which was by the moſt
" exactly regulated Policy of the
" Old Jeruſalem, ſhadowed only as a
" Pattern to repreſent the Heavenly
" Jeruſalem: For as ſhe had many dif-
" ferent Orders, under one Chief Go-
" vernor, ſo the viſible Church of
" CHRIST has his Chief Vicar; for
" he is the only and Supreme Head in
" Earth, by whoſe Diſpenſation Of-
" ces are diſtributed ſo to all the other
" Members, that in the ſeveral Orders
" and Stations in which they are
" placed, they may execute their Fun-
" ctions to the Good of the whole
" Church, with the greateſt Peace and
" Union. A Deputation of 20 was
" named to conſider of this. The Le-
" gate and the two Preſidents making
" three of that Number, it was ſevere-
" ly attacked by the Biſhop of Guadix.

IN his laſt Letter he writes, " That
" the Legates would one Way or other
" bring about the Diſſolution of the
" Synod; which will be certainly done,
" if they can but get the ſaid Clauſes
" determined, becauſe in them they
" will have gained all that they Deſire:
" And after that they will never ſtand
" in need of any more Councils to
" ſerve their Pretenſions. And in
" Caſe they ſhould not be able to
" carry thoſe Points, they will then,
" to rid themſelves of this Yoke that is
" upon their Neck, and of their Fears
" they will be under when they ſhall
" find that they are not able to bring
" the Synod to do all the Miſchief
" to the Church, and to the Authority
" of the preſent, and all General
" Councils, that the Pope and his Mi-
" niſters would have them do, they
" will then perplex and confound all.

THESE are very clear Diſcoveries of the Zeal and Indignation which poſſeſſed this great Stateſman, during this whole Seſſion: He ſhews alſo the Opinion he had of the former Seſſion under Pope Paul, (in which he had likewiſe aſſiſted) in the Directions he gives concerning the Government of a Council, and of the Office of an Ambaſſador,

dor, which he drew up before the Council was re-aſſembled, in this its ſecond Seſſion, in which theſe Words are:

" IN the whole Conduct of this " Council of Trent, there does not ap- " pear the leaſt Footſteps of any of the " fore-mentioned Eſſentials of a General " Council: On the contrary, the moſt " pernicious and effectual Methods " that can be contrived, have been " taken to deſtroy Liberty totally; " and to rob Councils of that Autho- " rity, which in Caſe of great Storms, " uſed to be the Sheet-Anchor of the " Church; by which Means, they have " cut off all Hope of ever having any " Abuſes, that infeſt the Church re- " dreſſed, to the great Diſparagement " of all paſt, as well as future Coun- " cils; from which no Good is ever to " be expected.

" THE Conduct of this Council has " been of pernicious Conſequences: In " which, under the Title of directing " it, the Pope's Legates have ſo ma- " naged Matters, that nothing but " what they have a Mind to, can be " propoſed, diſcuſſed, or defined there- " in; and that too after ſuch a Man- " ner, as they would have it. All the " Liberty that is here being only ima- " ginary: So that there naming it, is " nothing but Cheat and Banter; which " is ſo notorions, that ſeveral of the " Prelates even among the Pope's Pen- " ſioners, have not the Face to deny it. " The Cauſe, that they have inſerted " into the Canons of Reformation; " which is, ſaving in all Things the " Authority of the Apoſtolick See, is " telling the World in plain Terms, " that what the Pope does not like ſhall " ſignify nothing. He writes of cer- " tain Methods, that the Legates have " uſed in negociating with People to " change their Minds: This they have " done ſo often, that it is now taken " Notice of by every Body: Neither " can there be any Courſe more per- " nicious, or deſtructive of the Liberty " of the Council. The Legates many " Times, when they propoſed a Thing, " declared their Opinion of it firſt. " Nay, in the Middle of Voting, when " they obſerving any Prelate not to " vote as they would have him, they " have taken upon themſelves to ſpeak " to it, before another was ſuffered to " vote, doing it ſometimes with ſoft " Words, and at other Times with " harſher; letting others to underſtand " thereby, how they would have them " vote. Many Times railing at the " Prelates, and expoſing them to Scorn, " and uſing ſuch Methods, as would " makes one's Heart bleed to hear of, " much more to ſee.

" THE common Method was, the " Legates aſſembled the Prelates in a " General Congregation, the Night be- " fore the Seſſion was to be held. Then " they read the Decrees to them, as " they and their Friends had been " pleaſed to form them. By which " Means, and by their not being under- " ſtood by a great many Prelates, ſome " not having the Courage to ſpeak " their Minds, and others being quite " tired out with the Length of the " Congregation, the Decrees were paſt. " We, who ſaw and obſerved all theſe " Doings, cannot but lament both our " own Condition, and the loſt Autho- " rity of Councils.

" HE ſhews, the Legate's Drift was " to canonize all the Abuſes of the " Court of Rome: So they never ſuf- " fered them to be treated of freely, " but managed them like the Com- " pounding of a Law-Suit: In all which " Courſes, it is certain, the HOLY " GHOST did not aſſiſt: They ſtriving " ſtill to authorize Abuſes; and giving " the World to underſtand, that the " Pope is gracious, in granting them " any Thing, as if all were his own: " Taking Abuſes, tho' never ſo perni- " cious, and ſplitting them, as they " thought good: By which Artifice, " that Part of the Abuſe which was " approved of by the Synod, becomes " perpetual; and for the Part that was " reprobated, they will, according to " their Cuſtom, find Way to defeat its " Condemnation.

" THERE is nothing, that can be " ſo much as put to the Vote, without " the Conſent of the Legates: Who, " notwithſtanding, that they are (by " Reaſon of the great Number of Pen- " ſioners, which the Pope has here) " always ſure of a Majority, do never- " theleſs make Uſe of ſtrange Tricks, " in their Conduct of the Council — " Beſides, by having made their own " Creatures the Secretaries, Notaries, " and all the other Officers of the " Council, they have made it thereby " a Body, without any Thing of Soul " or Strength in it: Whereas, all thoſe " Officers ought to have been appointed " by the Council, and eſpecially the " Notaries.

" THIS

" THIS is the Courſe that has been " hitherto taken in the Council of " Trent, which is employed rather in " ſtruggling with the Pope and his " Legates, who ſeek to engroſs all to " themſelves, than in reforming and " remedying the Evils, under which " the Church Groans ——— I pray " GOD it do not encreaſe them, by the " Courſe it takes, by Artifice and Diſ- " ſimulation to reduce the whole Synod " to the Will of the Pope. ——— It " may be truly ſaid, we are in a Con- " vention of Biſhops, but not in a " Council. ——— It would have been " much better, not to have celebrated " a Council at this Time, but to have " waited, 'till GOD had put the Chriſ- " tian Commonwealth in a better Diſ- " poſition; ——— rather than to have " celebrated one after this Manner, " with ſo little Fruit, to the great Sor- " row of Catholicks, the Scorn of He- " reticks, and the Prejudice of the Pre- " ſent and of all future Councils."—— So much may ſerve, to ſhew the Senſe that Vargas had of the firſt, as well as of the ſecond Seſſion of the Council of Trent.

Malvenda, one of the Emperor's Divines, that was there, complains in one Letter, " That the Decrees, but eſpe- " cially the Matters of Doctrine, were " communicated to them very late. So " that notwithſtanding the Subſtance " of theſe Decrees may be ſound, " which it is well if it is, nevertheleſs, " conſidering, that they are to correct " them upon a bare hearing them read, " on the Eve of a Seſſion, that muſt " in my Opinion hinder them from " having that Authority and Majeſty, " which ſuch Matters do uſe to have. " I pray GOD give them Grace to " mend this. ——— He confeſſes, it was " not fit any Thing ſhould be done " without the Pope's Conſent: Yet " that ought to be managed with all " poſſible Secrecy, in order to prevent " the Lutherans, if they ſhould come " to know it, from reflecting on the " Liberty of the Council, and the " Freedom that the Prelates ought to " have; who might ſafely enjoy more, " without having any Thing paſs to the " Prejudice of his Holineſs.

IN another he writes, " As there " will not want thoſe that write of " this Council, ſo, for my own Part, " I pray GOD it may not do more " Harm than Good, and eſpecially to " the Germans that are here; who ſee- " ing how little Liberty it enjoys, and " how much it is under the Dominion " of the Legate, cannot poſſibly have " that Reſpect and Eſteem for it, as is " convenient.

THERE are ſome Letters from the Biſhop of Oren, written in the ſame Strain. In one he writes, " That for " what concerns a Reformation, the " Emperor muſt ſet himſelf about it in " Earneſt, both with the Pope, and " the Fathers: For if he does it not, " we ſhall have our Wounds only skin- " ned over, but ſhall have the rotten " Core left, to the corrupting of all " quickly again. ——— The Prelates " here are all very much troubled, to " ſee with how ill a Grace, People " that ſay any Thing of a Reformation, " are heard." In another he writes, " They diſcover here little or no In- " clination, to do any Thing that de- " ſerves the Name of a true Refor- " mation. Several Things might be " done, that would be of great Advan- " tage to the People, and would be no " Prejudice to his Holineſs, or to his " Court. May GOD remedy Things! " under whom, unleſs his Majeſty and " your Lordſhip labour very hard, " there will be no Remedy left for the " Church. In a Poſtſcript, he tells " the ſame Story that Vargas had told, " of the Legate's treating the Biſhop of " Verdun ſo ill, for his calling the " Reformation offered, a pretended Re- " formation: And he commanded him " to be ſilent, when he was about to " ſay ſomewhat in his own Juſtifica- " tion. The Biſhop anſwered, that at " this Rate there was no Liberty, and " having obtained Leave of the Em- " peror, by whom he was ſent thither, " he would be gone. The Legate told " him, he ſhould not go, but ſhould do " what he commanded him. ——— He " writes, that it was a great Reproach " to the Biſhops, from whom the " World expected Canons of Reforma- " tion; that in Truth they could give " them nothing, but what the Legate " pleaſes. ——— It were juſt with the " People, if we do not treat about their " Intereſt more in earneſt than we have " done hitherto, for to ſtone us, when " we return home.

BISHOP Burnet ſays, he has ſet all this out ſo copiouſly, that it may appear, from what thoſe, who were far from being in any Sort Favourers of the Reformation, who were at Trent, and were let into the Secret of Affairs,

wrote of the Council to the Emperor's Chief Miniſter, how little not only of Liberty, but even of common Decency, there appeared in the whole Conduct of that Council.

THIS Diſgreſſion our Author thinks will be an acceptable Entertainment to the Reader; and it muſt entirely free every conſidering Perſon, from a vulgar but weak Prejudice, infuſed into many by practiſing Miſſionaries, which was objected to himſelf by a great Prince, That no Nation ought to have reformed itſelf, in a Separation from the reſt of the Churches: But that there ought to have been a general Acquieſcing in ſuch Things as were commonly received, 'till by a joint Concurrence of other Churches, the Reformation might have been agreed and ſettled in a General Council. Theſe Letters do ſo effectually diſcover the Vanity of this Conceit, that at firſt Sight it evidently appears, that even thoſe Abuſes and Corruptions, that could not be juſtified, yet could not be effectually reformed at Trent; and that every Thing was carried there, partly by the Artifices of the Legates, and partly by the many poor Italian Prelates, who were all Penſioners of the Court of Rome: So that no Abuſe, how groſs, or crying ſoever, could be amended, but as the Popes for their own Ends thought fit to give it up.

THE Biſhop now turns to the Affairs of England. The Earl of Hertford, advanced to be Duke of Somerſet, depended much on Paget's Advices. He told him on the Day that King Henry died, that he deſired his Friendſhip; and promiſed to him, that he would have a great Regard to his Advice. But tho' Paget put him often in Mind of this, he forgot it too ſoon. His great Succeſs in his firſt Expedition to Scotland, was a particular Happineſs to him, and might have eſtabliſhed him; but his quarrelling ſo ſoon with his Brother, was fatal to them both.

Thirleby, was ſtill Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court: He ſtudied to make his Court to the Protector, and wrote him a very hearty Congratulation upon his Exaltation; and added, that the Biſhop of Arras, ſeemed likewiſe to rejoice at it. At the ſame Time, he warned him of the Deſigns of the French againſt England. He gave him a long Account of the Interim, in which he writes, that Malvenda had ſecretly a great Hand: He himſelf ſeems to approve it; and ſays, that it was as high an Act of Supremacy, as any in all King Henry's Reign; for by it, not only many of the Doctrines of Popery had mollifying Senſes put on them, different from what was commonly received; but the Sacrament was allowed to be given in both Kinds, and the married Prieſts were ſuffered to officiate. It is true, all was ſoftned by this, that it was only a prudent Connivance in the Interim, 'till the Council ſhould be reaſſembled to bring all Matters to a final Settlement.

THE Protector either miſtruſted Thirleby, or he called him home to aſſiſt Cranmer in carrying on the Reformation. He ſent Sir Philip Hobby, in his Stead. He was a Man marked in King Henry's Time, as a Favourer of the Preachers of the New Learning, as they were then called. There was one Parſon, a Clerk, known to have evil Opinions, (ſo it is entered in Part of the Council-Book, for the Year 1543,) touching the Sacrament of the Altar; who were maintained by Weldon, one of the Maſters of the Houſhold, and by Hobby, then a Gentleman-Uſher: For which they were both ſent to the Fleet; but they were ſoon after diſcharged.

Hobby, was therefore ſent over Ambaſſador, as a Perſon on whoſe Advices the Government here might depend, with Relation to the Affairs of Germany. His firſt Diſpatch mentioned a particular Diſpute between the Emperor and his Confeſſor. The Confeſſor refuſed to give him Abſolution, unleſs he would recal the Decree of the Interim, and, inſtead of favouring Hereſy, would with the Sword extirpate Hereticks. The Emperor ſaid, he was ſatisfied with what he had done in the Matter of the Interim, and that he would do no more againſt the Lutherans: If the Fryar would not give him Abſolution, others would be found, who would do it. So the Fryar left him.

AT that Time a Propoſition of a Marriage for the Lady Mary, was made by the Emperor, with the Brother of the King of Portugal, which the Council did not think fit to entertain. And in the ſame Letter, Mention is made of Geofrey Pool, who deſired a Pardon: The Council wrote, that he was included in the laſt Act of Pardon; yet ſince he deſired it, they offer him a ſpecial Pardon.

THE

THE next Diſpatch to him, has a particular Account of two Perſons, whom the King of France had corrupted to betray one of their Forts to him. The King of France had ſaid to their Ambaſſador, Par la Foy de Gentilhomme, [By the Faith of a Gentleman] he would make no War, without giveing Warning firſt. This he promiſed on the 20th of July; yet hearing of the Commotions that were in England, he began Hoſtilities againſt Bologne within three or four Days after. This is ſigned E. Somerſet, T. Cant. R. Ryche Can. W. St. John's, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton. So long ago did it appear, that the Bona Fide of that Court, was not a Thing to be much relied on.

As for the Progreſs in the Reformation at Home, Cranmer was delivered from too deep a Subjection, in which he had lived to King Henry. The Load of great Obligations, is a Weight on a generous Mind: The Hope he had of gaining on the King, to carry him to a further Reformation, did, no Doubt, carry him too far in his Compliances to him. He did perhaps, ſatisfy himſelf, that he did not in his Mind, or with his Thoughts, go along in thoſe Devotions, that he could not but think unlawful.

THE Compliances that we find in the Apoſtles, particularly in St. Paul himſelf, the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, in Order to the gaining the Jews, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his Submiſſion to King Henry. This can neither be denied, nor juſtified; but the Cenſures paſſed on it, may be much ſoftened, when all theſe Things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that Servitude, ſo he reſolved to ſet about a farther Reformation, with much Zeal, tho' perhaps ſtill with too great Caution. He ſtudied if it was poſſible to gain upon Gardiner; he had Reaſon to believe from his Forwardneſs in complying with King Henry, that he had no great Scrupuloſity in his own Thoughts, ſo he tried to draw him to aſſiſt, at leaſt not to oppoſe the Steps that were to be made; and judging that it was neceſſary to give the People due Inſtruction, to carry them to a further Meaſure of Knowledge, he ſet about the preparing a Book of Homilies to be read in Churches; and to give ſome more Light into the Meaning of the New Teſtament, he choſe Eraſmus's Paraphraſe as the moſt unexceptionable Book that could be thought on; ſince he had been ſo much favoured in England; and as he had written againſt Luther, ſo he lived and died in the Roman Communion.

Cranmer communicated his Deſigns with the Draught of the Homilies to Gardiner; but he was reſolved to ſet himſelf at the Head of the Popiſh Party: He had no Doubt great Reſentments, becauſe he was left out of the Council, which he imputed to the Seymours: Cranmer tried if the Offer of bringing him to ſit at the Board, could overcome theſe, yet all was in vain. He inſiſted at firſt on this, that during the King's Minority, it was fit to keep all Things quiet, and not to endanger the publick Peace, by venturing on new Changes: He preſſed the Archbiſhop with the only Thing that he could not well anſwer; which was, That he had concurred in ſetting forth the late King's Book of a neceſſary Doctrine: Gardiner wrote that he was confident Cranmer was a better Man than to do any ſuch Thing againſt his Conſcience, upon any King's Account; and if his Conſcience agreed to that Book, which he himſelf had ſo recommended, he wiſhed Things might be left to reſt there. Cranmer preſſed him again and again in this Matter, but he was intractable. In particular he excepted to the Homily of Juſtification, which was thought to be of Cranmer's own Compoſing; becauſe Juſtification was aſcribed to Faith only, in which he thought Charity had likewiſe its Influence, and that without it Faith was dead, and a dead Thing could not be the Cauſe of Juſtification; but the Archbiſhop ſhewed him his Deſign in that, was only to ſet forth the Freedom of GOD's Mercy, which we relying on, had by that, the Application of it to ourſelves; not meaning that juſtifying Faith was ever without Charity; for even Faith did not juſtify as a meritorious Condition, but only as it was an Inſtrument applying GOD's Mercy to Sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of Subtilty on both Sides. As for Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, Gardiner excepted to it as being in many Things contrary to the Homilies: So he thought ſince they agreed ſo little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the

ſame

ſame Injunctions: To this it was ſaid that the Paraphraſe was a good and uſeful Book, tho' in ſome Particulars, the Homilies differed from it.

BUT as they had the Perverſneſs of the Popiſh Party to deal with, ſo it was not eaſy to reſtrain their own Side. Thoſe whoſe Heat could not be well managed, were apt to break out into great Diſorders; ſome inſulting the Prieſts as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the Sacrament; ſome defining the Manner of the Preſence, and others aſſerting the Impoſſibility of it, as it was explained. Theſe Diſorders gave Occaſion to two Proclamations this Year, the firſt was on the 12th of November, againſt Inſolence to Prieſts, ſuch as reviling them, toſſing them, and taking their Caps and Tippets violently from them. The other was againſt irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament, and againſt thoſe who in their Sermons went to define the Manner, the Nature and Faſhion, and the Poſſibility or Impoſſibility of the Preſence. The Viſitors went about with the Injunctions; but the Viſitation came not to Wincheſter 'till October. Whether the Slowneſs of the Viſitor's coming thither, was occaſioned by any ſecret Practice with Gardiner, and upon the Hopes of gaining him or not, is uncertain. He, it ſeems, before that had refuſed to receive or obey the Injunctions; for which he was put in the Fleet: And when he wrote this Letter to the Protector, complaining of the Proceedings againſt him, he had been then ſeven Weeks there.

Proceedings in Convocation.

WHEN the Convocation was opened on the 5th of November, the Archbiſhop told them, that it was with the King and the Lords Conſent, that the Prelates and Clergy, ſhould conſult together, about ſettling the Chriſtian Religion right, and delivering it to the People. He ſent them to chuſe their Prolocutor, and to preſent him the Friday following. It is ſet down in the Minutes, that the Lower Houſe conſulted, how they might be joined to the Lower Houſe of Parliament: And about the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. On the 9th of December, ſome were appointed to know if the Archbiſhop, had obtained Licence for them to treat of Matters of Religion. In the 5th Seſſion, on the laſt of November, the Prolocutor exhibited an Order, given him by the Archbiſhop, for receiving the Communion in both Kinds, to which in the next Seſſion they agreed, no Man ſpeaking againſt it; 64 agreed to this; Polydore Virgil, and Weſton, being two of them. And in the 8th Seſſion, on the 17th of December, a Propoſition was offered to them in theſe Words: "That all ſuch Canons, Laws, "Statutes, Decrees. Uſages and Cuſ-"toms, heretofore made or uſed, that "forbid any Perſon to contract Ma-"trimony, or condemn Matrimony "already contracted, by any Perſon, "for any Vow or Promiſe of Prieſt-"hood, Chaſtity or Widowhood, ſhall "from henceforth ceaſe, be utterly "void, and of none Effect." This Propoſition went to all Monaſtick Vows, as well as to the Marriage of Prieſts. It was ſubſcribed by 53, who were for the Affirmitive, only 22 were for the Negative: After which a Committee was named to draw the Form of an Act for the Marriage of Prieſts.

Strype adds to this a particular Remark out of the Defence of the Prieſts Marriage, that divers of thoſe who were for the Affirmative, did never marry: And that ſome of thoſe who were for the Negative, did afterwards marry. Cranmer went on gathering of Authorities out of Scripture, and the Fathers, againſt unwritten Traditions: He wrote a Book on this Subject in Latin; but in Queen Mary's Time it was tranſlated in Engliſh, and publiſhed by an Engliſh Exile beyond Sea. He took a ſpecial Care to furniſh Canterbury with good Preachers: But tho' their Labours were not quite without Succeſs, yet Superſtition had too deep a Root there to be eaſily ſubdued: And in the Univerſities, the old Doctrines were ſo obſtinately periſhed in that, when ſome in Cambridge offered to examine the Maſs by the Scriptures, and the Fathers, and to have a Diſputation upon it, the Vice-Chancellor did forbid it. The Archbiſhop had procured a Confirmation of their Priviledges, of Cambridge at leaſt; for Strype only mentions that: The Mildneſs he expreſſed towards all who oppoſed him, even with Inſolence, was remarkable: When one who thought he carried this too far, told him that if ever it came to the Turn of his Enemies, they would ſhew him no ſuch Favour; he anſwered, Well, if GOD ſo provide, we muſt abide it.

UPON ſome Information, that the Lady Mary's Servants were active in aſſiſting Commotions, the Protector and "Council

Council wrote to her on the 17th, that the Letter being delivered to her on the 20th of July 1549. She preſently wrote an Anſwer, wherein "ſhe "expreſſes her Diſlike of thoſe Re-"volts. A Chaplain of her's, in De-"vonſhire had been named, but ſhe "writes ſhe had not one Chaplain in "thoſe Parts. Another that was named, "lived conſtantly in her Houſe. She "juſtifies all her Servants that had "been named, and aſſured them, that "all of her Houſhold were true Sub-"jects to the King. The Council had "likewiſe charged her, that her Pro-"ceedings in Matters of Religion had "given the Rebels great Courage: "Which ſhe wrote, appeared to be un-"true, ſince the Rebels in her Neigh-"bourhood touched upon no Point of "Religion. She prayed GOD, that "their new Alterations and unlawful "Liberties, might not rather be the "Occaſion of ſuch Aſſemblies: As for "Devonſhire, ſhe had neither Lands "nor Acquaintance in thoſe Parts.

IN the ſuppreſſing theſe Tumults, the Protector did viſibly eſpouſe the Peoples Intereſt, and blamed the Lords for their Incloſures, and the other Oppreſſions that had, as he ſaid, occaſioned all thoſe Diſorders. By this he came to be univerſally beloved by the People; but truſting to that, he began to take too much upon him; and was ſo wedded to his own Thoughts, that he often oppoſed the whole Council. Upon which Paget wrote him a long Letter, in which, as a faithful Friend, he ſet before him his Errors, chiefly his Wilfulneſs, and his affecting Popularity too much. He deſired to be diſmiſſed the Council; for while he was there, he was reſolved to deliver his Opinion, according to Reaſon, and not ſeek to pleaſe another: He had offered him faithful Advices, and warned him of the Cloud that he ſaw gathering againſt him. This he wrote on the 6th of July, ſome Months before it broke out: It ſeems the Protector took this Freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the laſt. His Brother, the Lord Seymour's Fall, lay heavy on him: Tho' that Lord had almoſt compaſſed another Deſign, of marrying the Lady Elizabeth.

As for the other Matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining ſome German Troops: Among Hobby's Letters are found a great many Orders and Letters ſigned by the whole Council, as well as by the Protector, which ſhew that they all concurred in this Matter. The true Secret of it on both Sides was this: The Bulk of the People of England was ſtill poſſeſſed with the old Superſtition to ſuch a Degree, that it was viſible they could not be depended on in any Matter that related to the Alterations that were made, or were deſigned to be made; whereas the Germans were full of Zeal on the other Side, ſo that they might well be truſted to; and the Princes of Germany, who were then kept under by the Emperor, ſo that they neither durſt nor could keep their Troops at home, but hoped they might at ſome better Time have an Occaſion to uſe them, were willing to put them in the Hands of the preſent Government of England. Howſoever, this had an odious Name put on it, and was called a ruling by Strangers: So that it very much ſhook the Duke of Somerſet's Popularity; for though it could not be denied that all the Council had concurred with him in it, yet the Load and Blame of all was laid on him.

THE Popiſh Party was very active in procuring the Change of Meaſures that follow. The Council wrote over to the Emperor, to let him know that the Neceſſity of their Affairs was like to force them to treat for the delivering up of Bologn to the French, tho' this was a Secret not yet communicated to the whole Privy-Council.

Bonner's being removed was not much reſented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal Man, few either loved or eſteemed him; and Ridley, who came to ſucceed him, was the moſt generally eſteemed Man of all the Reformers. One Thing that made it more acceptable to thoſe who favoured the Reformation, was the ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of Weſtminſter, and the removing Thirleby to Norwich, where it was thought he could do leſs Miſchief than where he was: For though he complied as ſoon as any Change was made, yet he ſecretly oppoſed every Thing while it was ſafe to do it. He had a ſoft and an inſinuating Way with him, which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on Cranmer himſelf. But Gardiner was a dextrous Man, and much more eſteemed, though as little beloved as Bonner was: So the falling on him gave a greater Alarm to the whole Party. He who was ſo well known

both in the Emperor's Court, and in the French Court, ſent over tragical Accounts of the Uſage he met with; which made ſome of the Council give him a ſevere Character in a Letter ſent over to France.

SOON after the Protector's Fall, when it appeared that the Papiſts were not like to be more favourably dealt with, than they were under the Duke of Somerſet, the Biſhop of Arras did expoſtulate upon it with Hobby. He ſaid, they had been aſſiſting to the pulling down of the Duke of Somerſet, and that Hopes of better Uſage had been given them; yet Things went worſe with them than before. Upon that he fell to rail at Bucer, and ſaid, he believed he inflamed Matters in England, as much as he had done in the Empire. For at this Time many were forced to come to England for Shelter, the Chief of whom were Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardin Ochinus; all thoſe were entertained by Cranmer, till he got good Proviſions to be made for them, in the Univerſities; which were now moſt violently ſet againſt every Step that was made towards a Reformation. Hobby came over to England, and tried what Service he could do to his Friend the Duke of Somerſet: But the Faction was grown too ſtrong to be withſtood. Upon his Submiſſion, the Matter went for ſome Time very high againſt him and his Friends. On the 13th of October, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, and Edward Wolfe, called Adherents to the Duke of Somerſet, and the Principal Inſtruments of his ill Government, were ſent to the Tower; and on the 14th he himſelf was ſent thither. No more Mention is made of them till the 6th of February that the Duke of Somerſet was ſet at Liberty, but bound in a Recognizance of 10,000 l. not to go above four Miles from Shene or Sion, nor to come into the King's Preſence, unleſs he was called for by the King and his Council. And when he knew that the King was to come within four Miles of theſe Houſes, he was to withdraw from them. Yet, it ſeems, his Enemies were ſtill in ſome Apprehenſion of him; and, probably, ſome Meſſages went between him and his Friends in the Tower; for, on the 18th of February they were all made cloſe Priſoners, and their Servants were not ſuffered to attend upon them. But it ſeems, upon Examination, this was found not to be of a Criminal Nature; ſo, on the 22d, they were diſmiſſed upon their Recognizances. And upon the 10th of April, the Duke of Somerſet was again brought to the Council-Board, being that Day ſworn of the Privy-Council.

ON the 20th of April, Hobby being ſent back to the Emperor's Court, had Orders to try if the Propoſition for a Marriage of the Lady Mary to the Prince of Portugal might be again ſet on Foot: And in Excuſe of its being rejected before, he had Orders to ſay, that few of the Council had been made acquainted with it: He was deſired therefore to enquire what that Prince's Eſtate was. Whether this flowed from the Earl of Warwick's ambitious Deſigns which might make him wiſh to have her ſent away far out of England; or if it flowed from the Uneaſineſs the Council was in, by Reaſon of her perſiſting in the old Way of Religion, is very uncertain. Hobby had alſo Orders to repreſent to the Emperor, that they had hitherto connived at her Maſs, in hopes that ſhe would by that Connivance be moved to conform herſelf to the Laws: Diverſity of Rites in Matters of Religion ought not to be ſuffered. The Laws were ſo ſtrict that no Licence could be granted in Oppoſition to them: Yet they were reſolved to connive a little longer, tho' ſhe abuſed the King's Favour; for ſhe kept as it were an open Church, not only for her Servants, but for all her Neighbours: They therefore wiſhed that the Emperor would give her good Advice in this Matter. The Letter was ſigned by Cranmer, by the Earls of Wiltſhire and Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, the Lords Wentworth, and Paget, Petre, Herbert, Darcy and Maſon. To all this, it ſeems, the Emperor had little Regard: For, not long after that the Ambaſſador wrote over, that by the Emperor's Command an Order was ſerved on him, not to have the Engliſh Service in his Houſe. The Council looked on this as contrary to the Privileges of Ambaſſadors, by the Law of Nations. So they deſired that the Emperor's Ambaſſador ſhould not have Maſs in his Houſe, and gave him Notice of it. When the Emperor knew this, he complained of it as a high Violation of the Dignity of that Character: But the Council-Books ſhew that they ſtood firm, and would not

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recall their Order, 'till the Emperor recalled his Order againſt the new Service in the Engliſh Ambaſſador's Houſe. What further Proceedings were of either Side in this Matter, does not appear.

Gardiner had been long a Priſoner; and his being detained in the Tower, without being proceeded againſt, occaſioned a great Outcry: So, on the 8th of June 1550, it was reſolved to ſend ſome to him, to ſee if he repented of his former Obſtinacy, and would apply himſelf to advance the King's Proceedings. In an old imperfect Minute Book of the Council, that Biſhop Burnet ſaith he had by him, it is ſet down, that Gardiner did at laſt ſubſcribe ſix Articles. The two firſt appeared not. The third is, "That the Book of Common "Prayer was a godly and chriſtian "Book, to be allowed and obſerved "by all the King's true Subjects. 4th, "That the King, in his young and "tender Age, was a full and entire "King: And that the Subjects were "bound to obey the Statutes, Procla-"mations, and Commands ſet forth in "this Age, as well as if he were "thirty or forty Years old. 5th, "That the Statute of the ſix Articles "was, for juſt Cauſes, repealed by "the Authority of Parliament. 6th, "That the King, and his Succeſſors, "had full Authority in the Churches "of England and Ireland, to reform "and correct Errors and Abuſes, and "to alter Rites and Ceremonies Eccle-"ſiaſtical, as ſhall ſeem moſt conve-"nient for the Edification of his Peo-"ple; ſo that the Alteration is not "contrary to the Scriptures, and the "Laws of GOD." To all this he ſubſcribed his Name: But no Date is added in thoſe Minutes; but it is entred, that he did it in the Preſence of the Council, who alſo ſubſcribed as Witneſſes to it. Their Names are, E. Somerſet, W. Wiltſhire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clinton, G. Cobham, W. Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, E. North. It was reſolved to carry his Submiſſions further; ſo twenty new Articles were drawn up: In which, "The Obligation to Celi-"bacy, and all the Vows made by "the Monks, all Images, Relicks, and "Pilgrimages are condemned. It is "affirmed, that the Scriptures ought to "be read by all: That the Maſs was "full of Abuſe and Superſtition, and "was juſtly taken away: That the "Euchariſt ought to be received in "both Kinds: That private Maſſes "were not agreeable to Scripture: "That the Sacrament ought not to be "adored: That the Book of Homilies "was godly and wholeſome: That the "Book of ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts and "Deacons, ought to be received and "and approved by all; and that the "leſſer Orders were not neceſſary. "That the Scriptures contained all "Things neceſſary to Salvation: And "that Eraſmus's Paraphraſe was, upon "good and godly Conſiderations, ordered "by the King to be put in all Churches.

BUT to this a Preface was added, ſetting forth, "That whereas he had "been ſuſpected as Favouring the Bi-"ſhip of Rome's Authority, and that "he did not approve of the King's "Proceedings, in altering ſome Rites "of Religion: Upon which, he had "been brought before the Council, "and admoniſhed; and was ordered "to preach, declaring himſelf in thoſe "Things. But tho' he promiſed to "do it, he had not done this, as he "ought to have done: By which he "had not only incurred the King's "Diſpleaſure, but divers of the King's "Subjects were encouraged by his Ex-"ample, (as the King's Council was "certainly informed) to repine at his "Majeſty's Proceedings: For which "he was very Sorry and confeſſed, "that he had been condignly puniſhed. "And he thanked the King for his "Clemency, treating him not with "Rigour, but Mercy. And, that it "might appear how little he did re-"pine at his Highneſs Doings, which "in Religion were moſt Godly, and "to the Commonweath moſt Prudent: "He did therefore of his own Will, "and without any Compulſion, ſub-"ſcribe the following Articles." But on the Margin of the Minutes, the Biſhip's Anſwer to this is thus ſet down. "I cannot in my Conſcience confeſs "the Preface: Knowing myſelf to be "of that Sort, I am indeed, and ever "have been." ——— The reſt is torn out. On the 15th of July, it is entered, that Report was made by thoſe who were ſent to him, that he ſaid, he had never offended the King: So he prayed, that he might be brought to his Trial, in which he asked no Mercy, but only Juſtice. When he had paſſed his Trial and was releaſed, it ſhould then appear what he would do with Relation

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to the Articles: But it was not reaſonable that he ſhould ſubſcribe them, while he was yet in Priſon.

SOME of the Privy Councellors were ſent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer; ſo they took with them Ridley, Biſhop of London, and Mr. Goodrick: His Anſwer was to the ſame Purpoſe, and was next Council Day reported. Upon which he was brought before the Council, and required to ſubſcribe the Paper; but he ſtill refuſing to do it, the Sentence of Sequeſtration was read, with a Denunciation of Deprivation, if he did not conform within three Months: Nevertheleſs (it is added in the Council-Book) upon divers good Conſiderations, and eſpecially upon Hope, that within that Time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the ſaid Biſhop's Houſe and Servants ſhould be maintained, in their preſent Eſtate, until the Time that this Intimation ſhould expire: And the Matter in the mean Time, was to be kept private. Theſe are all the additional Paſſages taken from the Council-Book, relating to Gardiner.

THOSE Steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but ſlowly, occaſioned great Diſtractions over moſt Parts of the Kingdom: While thoſe who adhered to the old Practices and Doctrines preached ſeverely againſt all Innovations, and others as ſeverely againſt all Corruptions and Abuſes. The ill Effects of theſe contradictory Sermons, had given Occaſion to a Proclamation on the 24th of April, 1550, prohibiting all Preaching, except by Perſons licenced by the King, or the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And the Diſorders occaſioned by Mens divorcing their Wives, or marrying more Wives than one, were likewiſe ordered to be proceeded againſt by the ſame Proclamation. There was an order made in Council, that ſome Biſhops, and other learned Men, ſhould deviſe an Order for the Creation of Biſhops and Prieſts. Twelve were appointed; Heath, Biſhop of Worceſter, was one of them. It ſeems, there was a digeſted Form already prepared, probably by Cranmer, for that Service; it was ſigned by Eleven, but Heath, refuſing to do the ſame, and perſiſting in it, was ſent to the Fleet, and about ſix Month afterwards called again before the Council, and required to ſubſcribe the Book. He ſaid he could never be of another Mind, adding, that there were other Things to which he would not Conſent, as to take down Altars, and ſet up Tables inſtead of them. The Matter ended with a Charge given him, to ſubſcribe under the Pain of Deprivation.

ALL Endeavours were too weak to overcome the Averſion, that the People had to the Steps, that were made towards a Reformation. Dr. Cox, the King's Almoner, and Preceptor was ſent to Suſſex, to preach and inſtruct the People there, who were much diſturbed, (as the Council-Book has it) by the Seditious Preaching of Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and others. Day, denied this: So an Order was made in Council, that he ſhould bring in Writing, that which he had preached. The Duke of Somerſet reported to the Council, that Day had been with him, and owned, that he had received the Order, that the Council had made for the taken down of Altars, and ſetting up Tables in their Stead: But anſwered, that he could not in Conſcience obey it. This ſeemed indeed unaccountable: But he inſiſted, that he could not in Conſcience obey it, and prayed to be excuſed: Upon that, he was ſummoned to appear before the Council, and there, he ſaid, he could not conform himſelf to their Order: For he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the Doctors, and Fathers of the Church: And that he did not perceive any Strength in the ſix Reaſons, given by the Biſhop of London, to juſtifie the Change. He quoted a Paſſage in Iſaiah, which the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhop of London, and the reſt of the Council thought not at all to the Purpoſe. So he was ordered to confer with the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of Ely and London, and to appear before them on the 4th of December. When he was again before the Council, he entred into a Diſpute with the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Ely. They preſſed him to give his Reaſons for being ſo poſitive; he inſiſted on thoſe Words in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, We have an Altar: And though they thought it was clear, that by the Altar CHRIST himſelf was meant, yet that did not ſatisfy him: They alſo ſhewed him from Origen, that the Chriſtians in thoſe Days had no Altars: He might call the Table an Altar if he pleaſed: So the antient Writers did; but all this had no Effect on him. A few more Days were given him

him to conſider of the Matter: He poſitively anſwered, he could not obey their Order with a good Conſcience: And rather than do it, he was reſolved to ſuffer the Loſs of all he had. Two Days more were given him: But he was ſtill firm. So on tht 11th of December 1550, he was ſent to the Fleet. Further Proceedings againſt him were ſtopt for many Months: In which Time it is ſaid, that the King himſelf wrote to him: But all was in vain. So in September 1551, a Commiſſion was given to judge him; and on the 14th of October, it ſeems both Heath and he were deprived: For then an Order paſſed in Council for ſeizing the Temporalities of both their Biſhopricks. Letters were written in June 1552, concerning them to the Biſhops of Ely and London; the former was to receive Day, and the latter Heath, and to uſe them as in Chriſtian Charity ſhould be moſt ſeemly. It ſeems, that both Heath and Day, ſaw the Change of Doctrine that was preparing, with Relation to the Sacrament: So they were willing to lay hold on the firſt Colour, to break off from any further Compliances; for the Points they ſtood upon did not ſeem of ſuch Importance, as to ſuffer Deprivation, and Impriſonment for them.

THERE was at that time a very ſcandalous Venality of all Offices and Employments, which was ſo much talked of at the Court of France, that the Ambaſſador whom the King had there, wrote over an Account of it; and it was ſaid, that whereas King Henry had by his Endowments made ſome Reſtitution; yet for all the Wealth they had ſeized on in Chantries and Collegiate Churches, no Schools, nor Hoſpitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable Paſſage in Ridley's Life deſerves to be remembred: He wrote to Cheek, that he being to give Grindal a Prebend in St. Paul's, had received a Letter from the Council to ſtop Collation: For the King was to keep that Prebend for the Furniture of his Stable. "Alas, Sir, (he writes) this is a "heavy Hearing. Is this the Fruit of "the Goſpel? Speak, Mr. Cheek, ſpeak "for GOD's Sake, in GOD's Cauſe, "unto whomſoever you think you may "do any good withal: And if you "will not ſpeak, then I beſeech you "let this my Letter Speak." There was nothing that opened all Mens Mouths, more than a Complaint entred in the Council-Book, made by one Norman, againſt the Archbiſhop of York, that he took his Wife, and kept her from him. The Council gave ſuch Credit to this, that as a Letter was written to that Archbiſhop, not to come to Parliament, ſo they ordered a Letter to be written to Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Mr. Chaloner, to examine the Matter. What they did, or what report they made, does not appear. Holgate, during all the Time he was Archbiſhop of York, was more ſet on enriching himſelf than on any Thing elſe. He ſeemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a Reproach to it rather than a Promoter to it. This might have a Share in the Cenſure, that was reported, King Edward paſſed on the Biſhops in that Time, ſome for Sloth, ſome for Ignorance, ſome for Luxury, and ſome for Popery, are unfit for Diſcipline and Government. At this Time the Anabaptiſts were again enquired after, and a Commiſſion was granted to Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox, and Sir Thomas Smith, to enquire after them, and to judge them.

NOW Gardiner's Buſineſs was brought to a Concluſion. On the 23d of November, a Committee of the Council was appointed to conſider how to proceed further againſt him: On the 14th of December, an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to carry him to Lambeth on the 16th, and after that, as often as they required him. The Commiſſion to try him was directed to Cranmer, and others: He deſired Council, it was granted, and his Lawyers had free acceſs to him. On the 19th of January his Servants moved in Council, that ſome of that Board might be ſworn as their Witneſſes: They ſaid they would anſwer upon their Honour, but would not be ſworn: And on the 15th of February, the laſt Mention made of him in the Council-Book, is in theſe Words, "For as much as the "Biſhop had at all Times before the "Judges of his Cauſe, uſed himſelf "unreverently to the King's Majeſty, "and very ſlanderouſly towards his "Council; and eſpecially yeſterday "being the Day of the Judgment given "againſt him, he called the Judges "Hereticks and Sacramentaries; theſe "being there, as the King's Commiſ-"ſioners, and of his Highneſs's Coun-"cil, it was ordered, that he ſhould "be removed from his preſent Lodg-

" ing into a meaner one in the Tower, " and have but one Servant to wait " on him: That his Books and Papers " ſhould be taken from him, and that " from henceforth he ſhould have nei- " ther Pen, Ink, nor Paper given him, " but be ſequeſtred from all Confe- " rence, and from all Means that may " ſerve him to practice any Ways." Here was Severity upon Severity, which as it raiſed him to be depended on as the Head of the Popiſh Party, ſo it muſt have recommended him to the Compaſſions of all equitable People.

WHETHER theſe hard Orders were rigorouſly executed or not, does not appear. There is in a Letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, one Circumſtance relating to Gardiner. It is without Date. In it, as he tells him, that Crome did with Zeal oppoſe their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament; but commends him, as a Perſon of great Learning, and a Man of a moſt holy Life; he tells him alſo, that Gardiner had a Month before ſent him a Challenge to a publick Diſputation upon that Head; promiſing, that if he did not clearly carry away the Victory, he would ſubmit himſelf to the Laws, and would willingly ſuffer the cruelleſt Hardſhips. Hooper, accepted the Challenge, and a Day was ſet for them to Diſpute: But when the Day came near, Gardiner ſaid, he muſt be firſt ſet at Liberty: So all this ſhew of a Readineſs to maintain the old Doctrine, vaniſhed to nothing. Concerning the King, Hooper writes in that ſame Letter, that theſe thouſand Years, there had not been any Perſon of his Age, who had ſuch a Mixture of Piety and Learning, with ſo true a Judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on ſuitable to theſe Beginnings, he would be the Wonder and Terror of the World. He took Notes of all the Sermons he heard; and after Dinner, he asked the young Perſons, that were bred up with him, an Account of what they remembered of the Sermon; and went over the whole Matter with them. He wrote further in this Letter, that then they were every Day expecting, that the Duke of Somerſet ſhould be again called, to ſet in the Council.

Poinet, Biſhop of Rocheſter, was tranſlated to Wincheſter, being nominated to it the 8th of March: And on the 5th of April, he took his Oath of Homage. While he was Biſhop of Rocheſter, he had no Houſe to live in, ſo he kept his Benefice in London, But it is entred in the Council-Book, that no Biſhop after him, was to have any Benefice, beſides his Biſhoprick.

A new Scene of Contention was at this Time very unhappily opened. Hooper, a Zealous, a Pious, and a Learned Man, had gone out of England in the latter Years of King Henry's Reign; and had lived at Zurick, at a Time, when all Germany was in a Flame, on the Account of the Interim. Upon that, a great Queſtion aroſe among the Germans, concerning the Uſe of Things in themſelves indifferent. For, a great Part of the Interim was, to keep up the exterior Face of Things, as it had been in Popery, with the Softnings of ſome other Senſes put on them. It was ſaid, " If Things were indifferent " in themſelves, it was lawful, and " that it became the Subjects Duty to " obey them when commanded." Many thought, that Melanchthon himſelf, went in that Matter too far. It was viſible, the Deſign in it, was, to make the People think the Difference was not great between that and Popery: So the Rites were ordered to be kept up, on Purpoſe to make it eaſy to draw the People over to Popery. Out of this another Queſtion aroſe; Whether it was lawful to obey in indifferent Things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill Deſign? Some ſaid, the Deſign of Legiſlators were not to be enquired into, nor judged: And whatever they were, the Subjects were ſtill bound to obey. This created a vaſt Diſtraction in Germany, while ſome obeyed the Interim, but many more were firm to their Principles, and were turned out of all for their Diſobedience. Thoſe who ſubmitted were for the moſt Part Lutherans, and carried the Name of Adiaphoriſts, from the Greek Word that ſignifies Things indifferent. The Reformed were generally firmer. Thoſe of Switzerland, particularly at Zurick, had at that Time great Apprehenſions of a Deſign of introducing Popery, by keeping up an Exterior, that reſembled it.

UPON Hooper's coming to England, he applied himſelf much to preaching, and to the explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all Churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epiſtle to Titus, and ten Chapters of the Goſpel of St. John: His Fame came to Court. Poinet, and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at Court;

Hooper

Hooper on Wedneſdays, and Poinet on Fridays: He was alſo ſent to preach both in Kent and in Eſſex. At this Time Bullinger wrote to the King, and ſent with it a Book that he dedicated to him, which was preſented to the King by the Marquis of Northampton; for an Order was made, that none but Privy Counſellors might bring Books or Papers to the King. The King ſaid to Hooper, that he had read the Letter, and would read Bullinger's Book, and ſpoke to the Marquis of a Preſent to be ſent him; but Hooper told him he never took any: Beſides, that it was forbidden by the Laws of Zurick. Hooper, in his Letters to Bullinger on the 8th of February, 1550, ſays, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Rocheſter, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln and Bath, were ſincerely ſet on advancing the Purity of Doctrine, agreeing in all Things with the Helvetick Churches. He commends particularly the Marquis of Dorcheſter, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, who at that Time put on ſuch a Shew of Zeal, that Hooper calls him a moſt holy Inſtrument, and the beſt affected to the Word of GOD. He writes of Cranmer, that he wiſhes he were not too feeble. He was at London when the Council divided from the Duke of Somerſet, but had not meddled in that Matter: And he ſays not a Word of it, but that he bleſſes GOD the Duke of Somerſet was to be ſet at Liberty. In June he was named to be Biſhop of Gloceſter; for he gives an Account of it in a Letter to Bullinger, on the 29th of June. He declined it, as he writes, both for the Oath, which he ſays was foul and impious, and by Reaſon of the Aaronical Habits. The King asked what his Reaſons were? He told them very freely to him. He ſays of him, that the World never ſaw ſuch a Prince as he was, for his Age. He likewiſe ſays, the Lady Elizabeth, his Siſter, was wonderfully zealous, and very knowing: She read both Greek and Latin, and few could maintain an Argument againſt her, particularly in Matters of Religion.

Hooper being named to be Biſhop of Gloceſter, was recommended by Dudley to Cranmer, that he would not charge him with an Oath that was (as is expreſſed) burdenous to his Conſcience. This was the Oath of Supremacy. He next deſired to be excuſed from accepting the Biſhoprick, or from the Ceremonies uſed in the Conſecration; upon which the King writ to Cranmer in Auguſt, freeing him from all Dangers and Penalties that he might incur by omitting thoſe Rites, but left the Matter to the Archbiſhop's Diſcretion, without any Perſuaſion or Command to omit them. The Archbiſhop did not think fit upon that Letter to act againſt the Laws: There were ſeveral Conferences between Ridley and Hooper, not without Heat: Hooper maintaining that if it was not unlawful, yet it was highly inexpedient to uſe thoſe Ceremonies. The Council apprehending the ill Effects of Controverſies between Men of the ſame Profeſſion, ſent for Hooper, and wiſh'd him to let this Oppoſition of his fall. He deſired Leave to put his Reaſons in Writing, that was granted him; and when he offered his Reaſons they were communicated to Ridley. It is mentioned in the former Part of this Hiſtory how modeſtly and honeſtly Bucer and Peter Martyr behaved themſelves on this Occaſion. Peter Martyr mentions Hooper's unſeaſonable and bitter Sermons, which, it ſeems, his Heat carried him to; and probably that was the Reaſon that moved the Church to command him to keep his Houſe, unleſs it were to go to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or to the Biſhop of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, and not to preach or read 'till he had further Licence. But he did not obey this Order. He writ a Book on the Subject, and printed it. This gave more Diſtaſte. He alſo went about and complained of the Council, for which being called before the Board, he was committed to the Archbiſhop's Cuſtody to be reformed by him, or to be further puniſhed. The Archbiſhop repreſented that he could in no Sort work upon him, but that he declared himſelf for another Way of Ordination: Upon that he was on the 27th of January committed to the Fleet.

Micronius, a Miniſter of the German Church at London, in a Letter to Bullinger on the 28th of Auguſt 1550, tells him, that the Exception that Hooper had to the Oath of Supremacy was, becauſe the Form was by GOD, by the Saints, and by the Holy Goſpels. This he thought impious, and when he was before the Council, the

King

King being preſent, he argued that GOD ought to be appealed to in an Oath, for he only knew the Thoughts of Men. The King was ſo fully convinced by this, that with his own Pen he ſtruck theſe Words out of the Oath, ſaying, that no Creature was to be appealed to in an Oath. This being cleared, no Scruple remained but with Relation to the Habits. The King and Council were inclined to order him to be diſpenſed with as to theſe. But Ridley prevailed with the King not to diſpence in that Matter. The Thing was indifferent, and therefore the Law ought to be obey'd. This had ſuch an Effect, that all Hooper's Exceptions were, after that, heard with great Prejudice. ——— Micronius was on Hooper's Side, as well as Alaſco. Ridley had oppoſed the ſettling the German Church in a different Way from the Rites of the Church of England: But Alaſco had prevailed to obtain an entire Liberty for them to continue in the ſame Forms of Worſhip and Government, in which they had been conſtituted beyond Sea, in which he had been aſſiſted by Cranmer. It is added in that Letter, that it was believed that the Emperor had ſent one over to carry away the Lady Mary ſecretly, but that the Deſign was diſcovered and defeated. Hooper's Matter hung in ſuſpence nine whole Months; in which Time he ſeemed poſitively reſolved not to yield, not without ſevere and indecent Reflections on thoſe who uſed the Habits. Cranmer expreſſed a Willingneſs to have yielded to him; but Ridley and Goodrick ſtood firm to the Law, while many reflected on them, as inſiſting too much on a Thing practiſed by themſelves, as if Vain-glory and Self-love had been their chief Motives: They ſaid they wiſhed that Diſtinction of Habits was aboliſhed, but they thought the breaking through Laws was ſo bad a Precedent, and might have ſuch ill Conſequences, that they could not conſent to it. Bucer and Peter Martyr expreſſed their Diſlike of the Habits, but thought the Thing was of itſelf indifferent; ſo they blamed him for inſiſting ſo much on it. Alaſco on the other Hand encouraged him to continue in his Refuſal to ſubmit to the Laws in that Matter: In Concluſion, he was prevailed on to ſubmit, and was conſecrated. This was written to Bullinger by one of the Miniſters of the German Church. His ſtanding out ſo long, and yielding in the End, loſt him much of the Popularity, that, to ſpeak freely, he ſeemed to be too fond of; yet his great Labours in his Dioceſe, and his Patience and Conſtancy during his Impriſonment, and in his laſt moſt extreme Sufferings, made all good People willing to forget what was amiſs, and to return to a juſt Eſteem of what was ſo truly valuable in him.

IN Concluſion, he ſubmitted, and was conſecrated according to the eſtabliſhed Form, and went into his Dioceſe, which he found over-run with Ignorance and Superſtition; he applied himſelf to his Duty, with great and indefatigable Induſtry, preaching often twice, ſometimes thrice in a Day, to inſtruct the People, and to reform the Clergy: He did earneſtly wiſh that the Articles of Religion, which he knew were under Conſideration, might be quickly publiſhed. He found the greateſt Oppoſition in his Dioceſe roſe from the Prebendaries of his Church. Of this he made great Complaints; as indeed all the Biſhops that were affected to the Reformation, found the greateſt Oppoſition in their Cathedrals, though none of them expreſſed it ſo ſeverely as Ferrar, Biſhop of St. David's, who write to a Lord, deſiring that he might have Leave to defend himſelf, againſt thoſe high-minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, who for private Revenge were ſet up againſt him: Yet on the other Hand, there were great Complaints made of his Behaviour in his Dioceſe, as both indiſcreet and contentious. A Petition was ſent up to the Council, in the Name of the Inhabitants of his Dioceſe againſt him, complaining of his inſatiable Covetouſneſs, and his daily vexing his poor Tenants and Clergy without Cauſe; and indeed his Firmneſs and Sufferings afterwards raiſed his Character more than his Conduct in his Dioceſe had done.

THE laſt and the moſt eminent of all the Popiſh Clergy that fell in Trouble during this Reign, was Tonſtall, Biſhop of Dureſme. He was a generous and well-temper'd Man, learned far above the Common Rate. He retained his old Opinion concerning the Preſence in the Sacrament, but he had hitherto ſubmitted and gone along in all that was done: He had no Heat,

not

nor a Spirit of Oppoſition in his Temper, yet his Opinion was known. The true Account of his Matter has been taken out of the Council-Book, which came to Light ſince Biſhop Burnet wrote the firſt Part of his Hiſtory. One Ninian Mainville charged him as conſenting to a Conſpiracy in the North, for raiſing a Rebellion there; to this the Biſhop anſwered, and Mainville made Replication: The Council-Book only refers to theſe, and gives an Account of the Biſhop's Anſwer. Mainville had a Letter of the Biſhop's, which was his main Evidence, upon which the Iſſue of the Trial depended: But that was then wanted, and, as appeared afterwards, the Letter was put in the Duke of Somerſet's Hands, and he ſtill kept it, but whether he did it out of Kindneſs to him, or to have this as a Check to over-awe Tonſtall, does not appear.

THIS Letter was found among the Duke of Somerſet's Papers, after his laſt Apprehenſion: Upon which Tonſtall was ſent for, and his Letter was produced againſt him. He could not deny it to be of his own Hand; and not being able to make any further Anſwer, he was on the 20th of December ſent to the Tower. Whitehead, Dean of Dureſme and Handmarſh, Tonſtall's Chancellor, were accuſed of the ſame Crime by Mainville. The Dean's Death put an End to his Trouble, but Tonſtall lay in the Tower 'till Queen Mary ſet him at Liberty: And there, in the 77th Year of his Age, he wrote his Book aſſerting the Corporal Preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament. It ſeems the Evidence againſt Tonſtall did not at all amount to a Conſent to a Conſpiracy; for he was only charged with Miſpriſion of Treaſon; whereas the conſenting to it would have been carried further, to High Treaſon itſelf: But even that muſt have been by a Stretch of his Words; ſince if his Letter had imported that, Cranmer could not have oppoſed, much leſs have proteſted againſt the Bill attainting him, a Commiſſion was iſſued out ſome Months after; and, on the 22d of September, 1552, a Letter was written to the Lord Chief Juſtice, ſignifying to him, that there was a Commiſſion addreſs'd to him, and to ſome others, for determining the Biſhop of Dureſme's Caſe, with eight Letters, and other Writings touching the ſame, which he is required to conſider and to hear, and to give Order in the Matter, as ſoon as the reſt of his Colleagues were brought together. He was brought before theſe Commiſſioners: He deſired Council, and Time convenient to make his Anſwer: Both were denied him, as is ſet forth in the Sentence that reverſed this. He was charged as a Conſpirator againſt the King and the Realm: The Commiſſion impowered them to proceed againſt him for all Offences, both according to the Eccleſiaſtical and the Temporal Laws: He made divers Proteſtations againſt the ſeveral Steps of their Proceedings: And at laſt he appealed from them to the King. The Commiſſioners on the 11th of October deprived him of his Biſhoprick, but did not attaint him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon; for the Judgment in that Caſe muſt have been the Forfeiture of his Goods, and Impriſonment for Life: But he was, by Order of Council on the 31ſt of October to receive Money for his Neceſſities, remaining Priſoner in the Tower, till further Order ſhould be given, touching the Money and Goods lately appertaining to him.

THIS was one of the violent Effects of the D. of Northumberland's Ambition, who was all this while a concealed Papiſt, as himſelf declared at his Execution. There was an Information brought to the Council, of ſome at Bocking, who were irregular in the Worſhip of God, who thought that to ſtand or to kneel at Prayer, or to be covered, or bareheaded, was not material, and that the Heart only was neceſſary: When they were brought before the Council they confeſſed that they met together, ſometimes to confer about the Scriptures, and that they had refuſed to receive the Communion above two Years, as was judged upon very ſuperſtitious and erroneous Principles; (ſo it is entered in the Council Book) with divers other evil Opinions, worthy of great Puniſhment: Five of them were ſent to Priſon, and ſeven gave Bonds to appear when called for: They were required to reſort to their Ordinaries, if they had any Doubt in Religion for Reſolution from them. Theſe were probably ſome of the Anabaptiſts, though it is not objected to them.

THE Great Point, that was then moſt canvaſſed in the Univerſities, was the Preſence in the Sacrament. Concerning which, Peter Martyr, in a Letter to his Friend Bullinger, dated

from Oxford the 1ſt of June 1550, " Excuſes himſelf for his ſlowneſs " in anſwering his Letter, by Reaſon " of the conſtant Labours he was en- " gaged in. For, beſides his daily Ex- " poſition of St. Paul, which might " claim his whole Time, there was a " new Load brought on him: He was " commanded, by an Order from the " King, to be preſent at the publick " Diſputations upon Theological Mat- " ters; which were held once a Fort- " night. And in the College, in " which he was placed, there was a " Diſputation, where he was appointed " to be preſent, and to moderate. He " was in a perpetual Struggle with moſt " obſtinate Adverſaries. The Buſineſs " of Religion did not go on with the " Zeal and Succeſs to be wiſhed for: " Yet it made a better Progreſs, than " he had expected four Months before. " The Number of their Adverſaries " were great: They had few Preachers " on their Side; and many of thoſe " who profeſſed the Goſpel, were " Guilty of groſs Vices. Some, by a " human Policy, were for purging " Religion, but for altering outward " Things as little as might be. They " being ſecular Men, apprehended, that " upon a more viſible Change, ſuch " Diſorders would follow, as might " prove Fatal: Whereas it was evident, " that the innumerable Corruptions, " Abuſes and Superſtitions, that had " over-run the Church, were ſuch, " that it was impoſſible to reform it, " without bringing Matters back to " thoſe pure Fountains, and to the firſt " found Principles of Religion. The " Devil ſtudied to undermine thoſe " good Deſigns, by keeping up ſtill " many Relicks of Popery, that by " theſe, the Memory of the old Abuſes " might be preſerved, and the Return " to them render'd eaſier. On the " other Hand, they had this great " Comfort, that they had a holy King " full of frevent Zeal for true Reli- " gion. He writes, that he ſpeaks in all " this tender Age, with that Learning, " that Prudence, and that Gravity, that it " amazes all People who hear it. There- " fore, they were all bound, to pray " GOD earneſtly, to preſerve him long " for the Good of the Church. There " were ſeveral of the Nobility well " inclined, and ſome Biſhops not of the " worſt Sort, among whom the Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury was the Stan- " dard Bearer. Hooper was lately " made a Biſhop, to the Joy of all " good Men; who was to paſs thro' " Oxford, in his Way to his Dioceſe. " He believed, that he himſelf had " given Bullinger an Account of his " being made a Biſhop, otherwiſe he " would have wrote it. He alſo com- " mends Coverdale's Labours in De- " vonſhire: And adds, that if they " could find many ſuch Men, it were " a great Happineſs. Alaſco, being " forced to leave Friſeland, by Rea- " ſon of the Interim, was then about " the ſettling his Congregation in Lon- " don. He was at that Time in the " Archbiſhop's Houſe. The Peace with " France gave them ſome Hopes. All " were under great Apprehenſions, " from the Pope's Deſign of bringing " his Council again together: But they " muſt ſtill truſt in GOD. And after " ſomewhat of their private Concerns, " he deſires his Prayers, for the Pro- " greſs of GOD's Word in this Kingdom.

" He alſo, in a Letter written on " the 6th of Auguſt 1551, laments the " Death of the Young Duke of Suf- " folk, looking on him as the moſt " promiſing of all the Youth in the Na- " tion, next to the King himſelf." After ſome more on that Subject, he adds this ſad Word, " There is no End put " to our Sins, nor any Meaſure in " Sinning. He commends Hooper's " Labours in his Dioceſe mightily, and " Wiſhes, that there were many more " ſuch Biſhops as he was.

UPON the Death of the two young Dukes of Suffolk, Gray, Marquis of Dorcheſter was made Duke of Suffolk. He had married their Siſter, but had no Sons by her. He had three Daughters, of whom the Eldeſt, Lady Jane, was eſteemed the Wonder of the Age. She had a Sweetneſs in her Temper, as well as a Strength of Mind, that charmed all who ſaw her. She had a great Aptneſs to learn Languages, and an earneſt Deſire to acquire Knowledge. Her Father found out a very extraordinary Perſon, to give her the firſt Impreſſions: Ailmer, who was afterwards, in Queen Elizabeth's Time, advanced to be Biſhop of London. Under his Care, ſhe made an amazing Progreſs. He found it ſeems, ſome Difficulty in bringing her to throw off the Vanities of Dreſs, and to uſe a greater Simplicity in it. So, on the 23d of December 1552, he wrote to Bullinger, " That the Lady " Elizabeth was a Pattern to all, in

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" the Modeſty of her Dreſs; and yet " No-body was prevailed on by ſuch " an Illuſtrious Example to follow it; " and, in all this Light of the Goſpel, " to abſtain from wearing Gold, or " Gems, or Platting of Hair." He was particularly charged with the Education of Lady Jane Gray, whom he calls his Scholar: But, it ſeems, he could not prevail in this Particular; ſo he deſires Bullinger, to write his Thoughts to her on that Head.

THERE was nothing done for almoſt two whole Years, purſuant to the Act paſſed in November 1549, for making a new Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws: Concerning which, it is not eaſy to gueſs what was the Clauſe in it, that gave the Biſhops ſo much Offence, that the greateſt Part of the Bench proteſted againſt it. For both the Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of Ely, Dureſme, Worceſter, Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Lincoln, Rocheſter, and St. David's, joined in the Proteſtation. There were only two Clauſes that can be ſuppoſed to have given them this Diſguſt. One is, That only four Biſhops, and four Common Lawyers, were made neceſſary to be of the Number of the thirty-two Perſons. The other might be, the Limitation of the Time to three Years: Tho' that ſeems deſigned, to make the Act have its Effect in a little Time. Two Years were almoſt ended, before any Steps were made towards the Execution of it. On the 6th of October 1551, the Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to make out a Commiſſion for thirty-two Perſons, to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, Theſe were, the Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely, Exeter, Gloceſter, Bath and Rocheſter. The eight Divines were, Taylor, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Peter Martyr, Cheek, John Alaſco. The eight Civilians were, Petre, Cecyl, Smith, Taylor of Hadley, May, Trahern, Lyell, Skinner. The eight Common Lawers were, Hales, Bromley, Goodrick, Goſnald, Stamford, Caryl, Lucas, Brook.

THIS, it ſeems, brought Peter Martyr from Oxford to London, in March 1552. And on the 8th of that Month, he wrote to Bullinger from Lambeth, being lodged with the Archbiſhop. He tells him, " That the King did ear- " neſtly preſs the Biſhops, that ſince " the Papal Authority was caſt out of " this Church, the Eccleſiaſtical Laws " might be reformed, that none of the " Papal Decrees might continue to be " of any Authority in the Biſhop's " Courts; and that another Body of " Laws ought to be compiled for them. " He had therefore appointed two and " thirty Perſons, to ſet about it of " which Number he himſelf was one. " He ſays, the greater Number of them, " were Perſons both eminently learned, " and truly Pious: In this, he deſires " both their Advices, and their Prayers. " This Work muſt be ſo prepared, as " to receive a Confirmation in Parlia- " ment; in which he foreſaw ſome dif- " ficulties." It ſeems, that this Number was thought too great, to bring any Thing to a good Concluſion, or theſe Perſons had all the ſame Views: For ſoon after, on the 9th of November after this, a new Commiſſion was ordered to be made out to eight Perſons, for preparing the ſame Work. Theſe were the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of Ely, Doctor Cox, Peter Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, Goodrick. Strype tells us, he ſaw the Digeſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, written out by the Archbiſhop's Secretary. The Title being prefixed to each Chapter, with an Index of the Chapters in the Archbiſhop's own Hand. In many Places there are Corrections and Additions in his Hand, and ſome Lines are ſcored out: Some of them were alſo reviſed by Peter Martyr: The 7th Chapter in the Title de Preſcriptionibus is all written by Peter Martyr. Several Chapters are added to the firſt Draught, which is probably that which was prepared in King Henry's Time. There was a latter, and more perfect Draught of this Work, prepared for King Edward, which coming into Fox's Hands, he printed it in the Year 1571: The Differences between the two Draughts, as Mr. Strype aſſures us, are not very Material. But all this was brought to no Concluſion.

THERE is ſomewhat to be added, concerning the Duke of Somerſet's Tragical Death, which is in a Letter that one John ab Ulmis, a Switzer, then in England, wrote from Oxford the 4th of December 1552, to Bullinger; that the Duke of Somerſet was cenſured, as having been too gentle to the Lady Mary, in conniving at her Maſs: But when he propoſed the doing that in Council, the Earl of Warwick anſwered, " The Maſs is either of GOD, " or the Devil: If it is of GOD, we " ought all to go to it: If it is of the " Devil,

" Devil, why ſhould it be connived at in " any Perſon"? Yet ſtill the Gentleneſs of the Duke of Somerſet made him ſuffer it to go on. But now he adds, ſince the Earl of Warwick had the greateſt Share in the Government, he had put her Prieſts in Priſon, and had given ſtrict Orders to ſuffer no Maſs to be ſaid in her Houſe.

He tells one remarkable Particular in the Duke of Somerſet's Trial: " That " after he was found guilty of the Con- " ſpiracy againſt the Earl of Warwick, " (upon which the People expreſſed " a great Concern) the Earl of War- " wick addreſſed himſelf to the Duke, " and told him, That now, ſince by the " Law he was adjudged to die, he, as he " had ſaved him formerly, ſo he would " not now be wanting to ſerve him, " how little ſoever he expected it from " him. He deſired him, therefore, to " fly to the King's Mercy, in which " he promiſed he would faithfully ſerve " him. Upon this the Duke did pe- " tition the King; and it was hoped, " that he would reconcile thoſe two " great Men, and that by this Means " the Duke of Somerſet ſhould be pre- " ſerved.

It ſeems there was ſome Treaty about his Pardon: For tho' he was condemned on the 1ſt of December, he was not executed 'till the 22d of January. What made it to be reſpited ſo long, and yet executed at laſt, does not appear. It is probable, it was from a Management of the Duke of Northumberland's, who, by the Delay, did ſeem to act in his Favour, that ſo he might be covered from the popular Odium, which he ſaw his Death was like to bring upon him; and, at the ſame Time, by the Means of ſome who had Credit with the King, he poſſeſſed him with ſo bad an Opinion of the Duke of Somerſet, that he, looking on him as an implacable Man, capable of black Deſigns, reſolved to let the Sentence be executed upon him.

In the ſame Letter he gives an Inſtance of Hooper's impartial Zeal in the Diſcharge of his Function in his Dioceſe: That while he was cenſuring ſome inferior People, for their ſcandalous Life, one ſaid to him, " We poor " People muſt do Penance for theſe " Things, while great and rich Men, " as guilty as we, are overlooked. Up- " on that, he ſaid, name any Perſon, " how great ſoever, that was guilty " of Adultery, ſo that it could be " proved againſt him, and he would " leave himſelf in their Hands, to be " uſed by them as they pleaſed, if he " did not proceed equally againſt all. " So, in a few Days, Sir Anthony " Kingſton, a great Man in thoſe Parts, " being accuſed of Adultery, he cited " him into his Court. He, for ſome " Time, refuſed to appear. At laſt " he came; and when the Biſhop was " charging his Sin ſeverely upon him, " he gave him very foul Language, " and at laſt fell to beat him. This " was preſently followed ſo ſeverely, " that he was fined in 500 l. and " forced to ſubmit to do Penance.

This raiſed the Biſhop's Character, as it contributed not a little to eſtabliſh his Authority in his Dioceſe. He ſet himſelf to do his Duty there with ſo much Zeal, that his Wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her Husband, to take a little more Care of himſelf; for he preached commonly twice, ſometimes four Times in one Day. The Crowds of thoſe who came conſtantly to hear him, made him look on them as Perſons that were hungring for the Word of Life: So ſhe apprehending, that his Zeal made him labour beyond his Strength, ſtudied to get others to put ſome Stop to that, which, it ſeems, ſhe could not prevail with him ſo far as to reſtrain.

About this Time, the Biſhops and Divines were employed in the Review of the Common-Prayer, but there is nothing new to be met with in Relation to that Matter, ſave that on the 6th of May 1551, there was an Order of Council, for preſerving Peace, ſent to all the Cathedrals, at leaſt to that of Exeter, for it is in that Regiſter. And on the 18th of January there was a Commiſſion iſſued out for the repreſſing of Hereſy, and for obſerving the Common-Prayer. And on the 27th of October, 1552, the Council-Book mentions alſo a Letter, written to the Lord Chancellor, to add in the Edition of the new Common-Prayer-Book, a Declaration touching kneeling at the receiving the Communion.

It now remains to give an Account of the Articles of Religion. It ſeemed to be a great Want that this was ſo long delayed, ſince the old Doctrine had ſtill the legal Authority of its Side. One Reaſon of delaying the publiſhing them probably was, that the King, in whoſe Name, and by whoſe Autho-

rity

rity they were to be publiſhed, might be ſo far advanced in Years, and out of the Time of Pupilage, that they might have the more Credit, and be of the more Weight: For though it was a Point ſettled in Law, that the King's Authority was at all Ages the ſame, yet the World would ſtill make a Difference in their Regard to Things paſſed while he was a Child, and thoſe Things authorized by him when he was in the 16th Year of his Age.

THE firſt Impreſſion of theſe Articles appeared with a Title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the Convocation. It runs thus in Engliſh, Articles which were agreed to in the Synod of London in the Year 1552, by the Biſhops and other godly and learned Men, to root out the Diſcord of Opinions, and eſtabliſh the Agreement of true Religion. But there is Reaſon to believe, that no ſuch Articles were offered to the Convocation. Weſton objected afterwards to Cranmer, that he had ſet forth a Catechiſm in the Name of the Synod in London, and yet, ſaid he, there be fifty which witneſſing that they were of the Number of the Convocation, never heard one Word of this Catechiſm: And in a long and much laboured Sermon of Brooks, preached at St. Paul's Croſs in November, 1553, there is an Intimation that makes it indeed probable that the Articles were brought into the Upper Houſe of Convocation: For when he complains, that they were ſet forth as allowed by the Clergy, he adds, whereas the Covocation without all doubt for the Lower Houſe at leaſt, was never made privy thereto: That Reſerve ſeems to make it probable that they were brought into the Upper Houſe. In the firſt Impreſſion of the Articles, the Catechiſm is printed firſt before the Articles; ſo this is to be underſtood of that whole Book, which is, indeed, a very ſmall one.

WHEN this was objected to Cranmer, he anſwered, I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that Title, and, as ſoon as I had Knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was anſwered by them, that the Book was ſo entitled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the Time of the Convocation. In the Interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his final Cenſure, the 7th Ends thus, That he did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad divers Books: The laſt Part of his Anſwer to that was, As for the Catechiſm, the Book of Articles, with the other Book againſt Wincheſter, he grants the ſame to be his Doings.

IT is true, in the firſt Convocation under Queen Mary, when the Prolocutor charged Philpot with this, that a Catechiſm was put forth without their Conſent. He anſwered on the ſudden, that the Houſe had granted an Authority to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws to certain Perſons to be appointed by the King's Majeſty: And what was ſet forth by them, might be well ſaid to be done in the Synod of London, altho the Houſe had no Notice thereof before the Promulgation. But Weſton alſo ſaid, That the Catechiſm beareth the Title of that laſt Synod before this, although many of them who were then preſent were never made privy thereof in ſetting it forth: So that both Weſton and Philpot agree that the Book was never brought before the Convocation. In this Matter, Philpot, as he could not deny the Fact, ſo he made uſe of the beſt Anſwer that then occurred to him, without conſidering that the Convocation had not agreed to any ſuch Deputation of thirty-two Perſons: For that was ſettled by an Act of Parliament, nor did the Deputation relate to Matters of Doctrine, but only to the Canons and Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts: For as it was a Revival of the Acts paſt in King Henry's Time, ſo it run in the ſame Strain with them. Theſe Evidences make it plain, that the Articles of Religion did not paſs in Convocation. We have Cranmer's own Word for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and ſincere, did not approve of that deceitful Title that was prefixed to them to impoſe upon the unwary Vulgar. He alſo owns, that they were his Doings. One Reaſon that may ſeem probable, for his not offering them to the Convocation, might be that he had obſerved that many made a Difference between obeying Orders already made, and the conſenting before-hand to the making of them: A greater Degree of Authority and Evidence ſeemed neceſſary for the one, than for the other: Beſides, that the offering Things to Debate, while it was free to argue on either Side of the Queſtion, might carry ſome to engage themſelves ſo far, that they could not

after that ſubmit with any Decency. This ſeems to be Cranmer's Reaſon for not offering the Articles to be debated and paſſed in Convocation.

BUT now that they were to be publiſhed with Authority, that was to be done in the King's Name: So a very few Days before the King's Death, he ſent a Mandate to Cranmer to publiſh the Articles, and cauſe them to be ſubſcribed: This was done purſuant to the Archbiſhops Motion to the King and Council; for he had deſired; "That "all Biſhops might have Authority "from him to cauſe all their Preachers, "Archdeacons, Deans, Prebendaries, "Parſons, Vicars, Curates, with all "their Clergy, to ſubſcribe the ſaid "Articles: And he truſted that ſuch "a Concord and Quietneſs in Religion "ſhould ſhortly follow thereon, as elſe "is not to be looked for in many "Years. GOD ſhall thereby be glori-"fied: His Truth ſhall be advanced, "and your Lordſhips (for he writes it "to the Privy Council) ſhall be re-"warded of him, as the Setters for-"ward of his true Word and Goſpel." Dated from Ford the 24th of November. It ſeems they were prepared ſome Time before that, for on the 20th of October, in the Year 1552, the Council had written to the ſix Preaches, Harley, Bell, Horn, Grindall, Pern, and Knox, to conſider of ſome Articles then offered to be ſubſcribed by all Preachers, which can be no other than theſe Articles: But as this Matter was long delayed formerly, ſo when it was now ordered, it was ſent about with all the Diligence that ſo important a Work required. The King alſo directed his Orders to all the Archbiſhops Officers, enjoining them to cauſe all Rectors, Vicars, or thoſe in any Eccleſiaſtical Employments to appear before the Archbiſhop, to obey, and do the King's Part, as ſhall be ſignified to them.

THE Mandate that upon this was ſent out by the Archbiſhop's Officers, though it is in the King's Name, yet was iſſued out by Cranmer himſelf, in Execution of the Mandate; it is mentioned in it that it was ſent to him by the King. It was thus put in the King's Name: But its being teſted by the Archbiſhop, ſhews it was the Act of his Court. For though there is an Exception in that Act for the Archbiſhops, yet that only related to what they ſhould Act in their Provinces as Metropolitans, but not to their Proceedings in their particular Dioceſes; in which it ſeems, they are put on the ſame Foot with the other Biſhops. The King's Mandate to himſelf was not in any Record that Biſhop Burnet was able to find out. After the Mandate, the Execution of it by his Officers was certified to him on the 22d of June, which is in his Regiſter. But probably the Time given them run further than the King's Life: For nothing farther appears to have been done upon it. The Clergy of the City of London (probably only his Peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to ſubſcribe the Articles: No mention is made of any one's refuſing to do it; but he compelled none to ſubſcribe, which he affirmed in his Anſwer to an Interrogatory put to him by Queen Mary's Commiſſioners; for he ſaid that he compelled none, but exhorted ſuch to ſubſcribe as were willing to do it, before they did it. It came to Norwich were Thirlby was Biſhop, who complied readily with every Thing that he was required to do, though by his ſudden Turn, and his Employments in the next Reign, it appears, that he acted, at leaſt, againſt his Heart, if not againſt his Conſcience.

THE Mandate for Norwich, bears Date the 9th of June, in the 7th Year of this Reign: And it is not to be doubted, but that the like Mandates were directed to all the Biſhops, though they do not appear upon Record. "It "ſets forth, that whereas after a long "Time of Darkneſs, the Light was "now revealed to the ineſtimable Bene-"fit of the Nation: The King thought "it his Duty to have a Uniform, Pro-"feſſion, Doctrine, and Preaching for "the evading dangerous, Opinions "and Errors: And therefore he ſent "him certain Articles, gathered with "great Judgment of the greateſt Part "of the Learned Biſhops of the King-"dom, and ſundry others of the Cler-"gy: Which he required and exhor-"ted him to Sign, and in his Preach-"ing to obſerve, and to cauſe them "to be ſubſcribed by all others, who "do, or ſhall preach, or read within "his Dioceſe: And if any ſhall not "only refuſe to ſubſcribe, but ſhall "preach contrary to them, he is re-"quired to give Notice of it to the "King and his Council, that further "Order may be given in the Matter. "And for ſuch Perſons as came to be "admitted to any Benefice, or Cure,

he

" he was to confer with them on theſe " Articles, and to cauſe them to ſub- " ſcribe them, otherwiſe not to ad- " mit them to any ſuch Benefice, to " which they were preſented. But if " the Perſon was ignorant, and did " not underſtand them, Pains was to " be taken on him to inſtruct him; " and ſix Weeks Time might be given " him to examine them by the Scrip- " tures: But at the End of ſix Weeks, " if he did not ſubſcribe them, he " was to be rejected. Then follows " an Order for him to receive the " Catechiſm, and to give it to all Maſ- " ters of Schools, that it may be " taught in them all, and he is re- " required to make Report to the " Archbiſhop of the Province, of the " Obedience given to theſe Orders". This Order was ſo readily executed that about 50 of the Clergy ſubſcribed it.

BUT beſides the Evidenee that appears from the Regiſters of Canterbury and Norwich, there is a further Proof that the Articles of Religion were only promulgated by the King's Authority in an Injunction ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, ſigned by the Biſhop of Ely, Sir Jo. Cheek, Mayo, and Wendy, who were the Viſitors of the Univerſity, bearing Date the 1ſt of June, 1553, directed to all the Regents and Non-Regents; ſetting forth that great and long Pains had been taken by the King's Authority, and the Judgment of good and learned Men, concerning ſome Articles deſcribed according to the Title with which they were printed; theſe being promulgated by the King's Authority, and delivered to all the Biſhops, for the better Government of their Dioceſes, they did commend them to them, and by their Viſitorial Authority they do enjoin, that all Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, and all Doctors of Arts ſhould publickly before their Creation ſwear to them, and ſubſcribe them; and ſuch as refuſe to do it are to be denied their Degree. To this is added the Form of the Oath to be taken.

THUS it appears by a Variety of Evidences, that theſe Articles were not paſſed in Convocation, nor ſo much as offered to it. And as far as can be judged from Cranmer's Proceedings, he intended to put the Government of the Church in another Method, different from the common Way of Convocation; and to ſet up Provincial Synods of Biſhops, to be called as the Archbiſhops ſaw Cauſe, he having firſt obtained the King's Licence for it. This appears by the 18th Chapter of the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws prepared by him, in which it is plain, that theſe Provincial Synods were to be compoſed only of the Biſhops of the Province. The Convocations now in Uſe by a long Preſcription, in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals have an Intereſt far ſuperior in Number to thoſe elected to repreſent the Clergy, can in no Sort pretend to be more than a Part of our Civil Conſtitution: And have no Foundation, either in any Warrant from Scripture, or from the firſt Ages of the Church: But did ariſe out of the ſecond Model of the Church, ſet out by Charles the Great, and formed according to the Feudal Law, by which a Right of giving Subſidies was veſted in all who were poſſeſſed of ſuch Tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the ſupporting of the State.

As for the Catechiſm, it was printed with a Preface prefixed to it with the King's Name, bearing Date the 24th of May, about ſeven Weeks before his Death: In which he ſets forth, that it was drawn by a pious and learned Man, (ſuppoſed to be Biſhop Poinet,) and was given to be reviſed by ſome Biſhops, and other learned Men; he therefore commands all School-Maſters to teach it.

THE Biſhop comes next to ſet forth the diſmal overturning of all that had been done now in a Courſe of 20 Years, King Edward was for ſome Months under a viſible Decay. His Thoughts were very much poſſeſſed with the Apprehenſions of the Danger Religion muſt be in if his Siſter Mary ſhould ſucceed him. This ſet him on contriving a Deſign to hinder that. He ſeemed to be againſt all Females Succeſſion to the Crown. Biſhop Burnet had a Paper which he copied from a Manuſcript of the late Mr. Petyt's, all written in that King's own Hand, with this Title, My Device for the Succeſſion. " By it the " Crown was to go to the Iſſue Male " of his own Body; or, if he had " only Female Iſſue, to the Iſſue Male " coming of the Iſſue Female: Next " to the Iſſue Male of the Lady " Frances, then in Succeſſion to her " three Daughters, and to their Iſſue " Male: And if they had only Fe-

" male

" male-Iſſue, to the firſt Iſſue-Male of " any of her Daughters. The Heir-" Male after Eighteen was to enter upon " the Government: But his Mother " was to govern 'till he was of that " Age, with the Advice of ſix of that " Council of twenty Perſons, which " he would name by his Laſt Will: " But if the Mother of the Iſſue-Male " ſhould not be Eighteen, then the " Realm was to be governed by the " Council, provided that after the Iſſue-" Male was of the Age of Fourteen, " all Matters of Importance ſhould be " opened to him. If at his Death there " were no Iſſue-Male, the Lady Frances " was to be Governeſs Regent; and " after her Life, her three Daughters " were to be Governeſſes in Succeſſion, " 'till an Heir-Male was born: And " then the Mother of that Male-Heir " was to be Governeſs; if four of the " Council ſhould die, the Governeſs " was ordered, within a Month, to " ſummon the whole Council, to chuſe " four in their Stead, in which the " Governeſs was to have three Voices, " But after the Death of the Gover-" neſs, the Council was to chuſe the " new Councellors, 'till the King was " Fourteen, and then he was to chuſe " them, but by their Advice.

IT may ſeem by this, that the King deſigned this ſome Time before his Death; while he thought that he himſelf might have Iſſue: But he was prevailed on, to change a great Part of his Scheme; eſpecially thoſe Clauſes, that kept the Crown as in an Abeyance, 'till an Iſſue-Male ſhould be born; which would have totally changed the Government: So he departed from theſe Clauſes.

THIS was afterwards put in another Form by the Judges; and that Scheme which they prepared, was in ſix ſeveral Places ſuperſcriped by the King's Hand. Probably it conſiſted of ſo many Pages. There was a Paper ſubſcribed by 24 Councellors and Judges: In which they ſet forth, " That they had often " heard the King's earneſt Deſire touch-" ing the Limitation of the Succeſſion " of the Crown, and had ſeen his De-" vice written in his own Hand: And " after that was copied out, and deli-" vered to Judges, and other Learned " Men, they did Sign with their Hands, " Seal with their Seals, and Promiſe " by their Oaths and Honours, to ob-" ſerve every Article in that Writing, " and all ſuch other Matters, as the " King ſhould by his Laſt Will de-" clare, touching the Limitation of the " Crown: And never to vary from it, " but to defend and maintain it to the " utmoſt of their Power. And they " alſo promiſed, that they would pro-" ſecute any of their Number, or any " other, that ſhould depart from it, " and do their utmoſt to ſee them ſe-" verly puniſhed.

Mr. Strype, has diſcovered more particulars concerning the Oppoſition that Cranmer made to this: He tells us, " That he argued with the King him-" ſelf once about it in the Hearing of " the Marquis of Northampton, and " the Lord Darcy. He deſired Leave " to ſpeak to the King about it, that " ſo he might be more free with him: " But that was not allowed him. He " hoped, if he had obtained that Li-" berty, he ſhould have diverted the " King from it. He argued againſt it " in Council; and pleaded that the " Lady Mary was Legitimate: But " ſome Lawyers were prevailed on to " ſay, That the King being in Poſſeſ-" ſion of the Crown, might diſpoſe of " it as he pleaſed. He ſtood firm, and " ſaid, that he could not ſubſcribe it " without Perjury; having ſworn to " the Obſervation of King Henry's " Will. Some Councellors ſaid, they " had ſworn to that Will, as well as " he; and that they had Conſcience as " well as he. He ſaid, every Man was " to anſwer to GOD for his own Deeds, " and not for other Mens: He would not " take upon him to judge any Man's " Conſcience, but his own. He ſpake " with the Judges about the Matter; " and they agreed, that the King " might ſettle the Succeſſion, notwith-" ſtanding King Henry's Will: Yet " he remained ſtill unſatisfied; 'till " the King himſelf required him to ſet " his Hand to his Will; ſaying, he " hoped he alone would not ſtand out, " and be more repugnant to his Will, " than all the reſt of the Council were. " This made a great Impreſſion on him; " it grieved him much; but ſuch was " the Love he bore to the King, that " in Concluſion he yielded, and ſign-" ed it.

A little before the King's Death, a very extraordinary Thing happened in Ireland. Goodacre the Primate of Armagh being invited to a Popiſh Lord's Houſe, a Monk there drank to him in a poiſoned Liquor, on Purpoſe to Poiſon him, of which they both died.

THERE

THERE are no Particulars to be added, concerning the Death or Character of that good Prince King Edward, whoſe untimely End was looked on by all People as a juſt Judgment of GOD, upon thoſe who pretended to love and promote a Reformation, but whoſe impious and flagitious Lives were a Reproach to it. The open Lewdneſs in which many lived, without Shame or Remorſe, gave great Occaſion to their Adverſaries to ſay, they were in the right to aſſert Juſtification by Faith without Works; ſince they were, as to every good Work, reprobate. Their groſs and inſatiable ſcrambling after the Goods and Wealth that had been dedicated with good Deſigns, though to ſuperſtitious Uſes, without applying any Part of it to the promoting the Goſpel, the inſtructing the Youth, and relieving the Poor, made all People conclude, that it was for Robbery, and not for Reformation, that their Zeal made them ſo active.

THE Biſhop gives an eminent Inſtance of fraudulent Proceedings in the Beginning of this Reign; the Prior of Norwich, when inducted into that Dignity, took an Oath not to alienate any of their Lands; which was confirmed by Injunctions, exhibited to the Convent in the Royal Viſitation. But the King, upon certain Reaſons ſuggeſted by the Prior and Convent, and approved by him, did diſpence with that Oath; ſo that notwitſtanding the Oath, they were left at Liberty to alienate ſome Lands, ſet forth in the Inſtrument dated the 1ſt of April, 1538, counter-ſigned by Cromwell. A Month after that, on the 2d of May, that Year, the Church was converted from a Prior and Convent to a Dean and Chapter; and the laſt Prior was made the firſt Dean of the Church.

BUT on the 26th of May, 1547, in the Beginning of King Edward's Reign a Letter was ſent to that Church, ſigned by the Duke of Somerſet, Rich, the Lord Chancellor, and ſix other Privy-Counſellors; pretending, that they deſigned the Advancement of GOD's Glory, and the trueſt Intent of the late King's Determination. By which, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Roger Townſend, and Sir William Paſton, were authorized to receive a full Surrender of the whole Chapter; aſſuring both the Dean, and every one of the Prebendaries, that there ſhould be no Alteration made in their yearly Profits: And that there ſhould be a juſt Contentation given to the Reſidue of the Miniſters there. A Commiſſion was granted on the 27th, to theſe Perſons, to take the Surrender, with Articles and Inſtructions annexed to it: But for all Appearance of fair Dealing, it being pretended that this was only deſigned that the King ſhould be the Founder, and that the Church ſhould loſe nothing by the Surrender; yet when they had made the Surrender, in the Hope of new Letters Patents, they could not obtain them. And Lands, to the Value of 200 l. a Year, were taken from them. Upon which that Corporation tried, in Queen Mary's Time, to get a Bill to paſs, to reſtore them to the State they were in before they were prevailed on to make the Surrender; but the Bill did not paſs. Perhaps it might be ſuggeſted, that it would alarm the Nation too much, if any Alienation of Church-Lands, how fraudulently ſoever obtained, were meddled with.

THE irregular and immoral Lives of many of the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, gave their Enemies great Advantages to ſay they ran away from Confeſſion, Penance, Faſting and Prayers, only that they might be under no Reſtraint, but indulge themſelves in a licentious and diſſolute Courſe of Life. By theſe Things, that were but too viſible in ſome of the more eminent among them, the People were much alienated from them: And as much as they were formerly prejudiced againſt Popery, they grew to have kinder Thoughts of it, and to look on all the Changes that had been made as Deſigns to enrich ſome vicious Courtiers, and to let in an Inundation of Vice and Wickedneſs upon the Nation. Some of the Clergy that promoted the Reformation, were not without very viſible Blemiſhes: Some Indiſcretions, both in their Marriages, and in their Behaviour, contributed not a little to raiſe a general Averſion to them.

IT is true, there were great and ſhining Lights among them, whoſe exemplary Deportment, continual Labours, fervent Charity, and conſtant Zeal, both during their Lives, and at their Deaths, kept up the Credit of that Work, as much as it was diſgraced by others; but they were few, in Compariſon of the many bad, and thoſe of the Clergy, in whom the old Leaven had ſtill a deep Root, tho' they complied

plied in every Thing that was impoſed on them: Seeing that they had loſt thoſe Perquiſites of Maſſes, and other Practices, which brought them their chief Gains, and ſaw nothing in Lieu of them, for their Subſiſtance; they, who in their Hearts hated all that were forced to profeſs outwardly, did ſecretly poſſeſs ſuch as were influenced by them, with an Abhorrence of all that was done: And they diſpoſed the Nation to be ready to throw it all off.

THIS which was above all, was, that GOD was highly diſhonoured, by Men who pretended Zeal for his Glory, but with their Works diſhonoured him. They talked of the Purity of the Goſpel, while they were wallowing in all Senſuality and Uncleanneſs: Pretending to put all their Confidence in the Merits and Sufferings of CHRIST, while they were crucifying him a freſh, and putting him to open Shame. In ſuch Lamentations as theſe, the good Men of that Time did often vent their Sorrows, in their Letters to one another, and break out into ſeveral Reflections on them. Some did it afterwards Abroad in their Exile, and others at Home in their Sufferings. Their only human Hope was in the King himſelf; in whom there appeared ſuch a Progreſs, both in Knowledge and Zeal, that they expected to ſee him compleat the Reformation, and redreſs thoſe crying Abuſes, in which the Men in Power found their Account too evidently, to expect a Remedy from them. They were Men in whoſe Hands Things grew every Day worſe and worſe, and whoſe Arrogance, and other Diſorders, our Chief Reformers were forced in ſome Meaſure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a Work, that could in no wiſe be carried on without their Continuance and Authority; tho' they ſaw the Prejudice it brought upon them, to be oblig'd to apply to, and to make uſe of ſuch Tools, with which the righteous Souls of our beſt Reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with Men, that were ready to pull down, eſpecially when any Thing was to be got by it; but were as backward in building up, as they were forward in plucking down. So that they ſeemed to deſign to leave all in a great Ruin. Theſe were great Hindrances to the Progreſs of the Reformotion, as they were both the Burden and Shame of our Reformers.

BISHOP Burnet concludes this Book with one Reflection, that may make us hope, that the Reformation was under a particular and watchful Care of Providence: When the Light ſeem'd almoſt extinguiſhed in one Place, it broke out in another: By which as it ſtill kept ſhining ſomewhere, ſo there was a Sanctuary opened, to which thoſe who were forced to fly from one Place, might in their flight find a Covert in another from the Storm. In the Beginning of this Reign, by the breaking of the Smalcaldick League, by the taking of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, and by the Interim, the Reformation ſeemed to be near extinguiſhed in Germany. In this Church it was at that Time advanced; and we kindly then received thoſe who were forced to fly hither for ſhelter. And now in the Year, before the Death of this good King, there was not only a Revival, but a laſting Settlement procured in Germany to the Reformation there. So that thoſe who fled from hence, found a ſafe and kind Harbour in all the Places of the Empire, to which they were driven by the Storms and Tempeſt that aroſe here.

Of what happened during Queen MARY's Reign, from the Year 1552, to the Year 1558.

AS ſoon as the Queen came to the Tower of London, ſhe ſent for the Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City, and told them, "That tho' "her own Conſcience was ſtayed in "Matters of Religion, yet ſhe meaned "graciouſly not to compel or ſtrain "other Peoples Conſciences, otherwiſe "than GOD ſhall, as ſhe truſteth, put "into their Hearts a Perſuaſion of the "Truth." Theſe ſoft Words were not long remembered: Of the Progreſs of the Severities in her Reign, there is an authentick Account in a Council Book, which begins with Orders for Letters to be written to Coverdale and Hooper for their undelayed Repair to the Court: And a Complaint being made of a Sermon preached by Fiſher, Parſon of Amerſham, he was ordered to appear the next Day, and to bring the

the Notes of his Sermon with him. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in November: On the 14th of Auguſt the Writ for the Convocation was directed to Cranmer. A Letter was ſoon after written by the Queen and Council to the Biſhop of Norwich, to ſuffer none to preach without a ſpecial Licence; the ſame Order was intimated to the Lord Mayor of London; and the ſame was, no doubt, univerſally both ordered and executed.

ON the 20th of Auguſt there was an Order for Guards to defend the Preacher at St. Paul's Croſs, occaſion'd by what had happen'd to Bourn: It ſeems few came to hear the Sermons, for the Lord Mayor was ordered "to "make the Antients of the Companies "reſort to the Sermons, leſt the "Preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by "a ſmall Audience". On the 23d of Auguſt, Gardiner was declared Lord Chancellor: The Appointments of the Lord Chancellor, as they were ſettled at that Time, were as follow: There was a Privy Seal given for Wages and Diets, and for the Maſters in Chancery, for 542 l. 15 s. yearly: 50 l. was ordered for attending on the Star-Chamber every Term: And beſides that, a Salary was given of 300 l. and 64 l. for 12 Ton of Wine, and 16 l. for Wax. All theſe were granted the 21ſt of September, but were to commence from the 23d of Auguſt. On the 24th of Auguſt there was an Order ſent to the Keeper of Newgate to receive and keep John Melvil, a Scot, and a very ſeditious Preacher; ſo he was called in the Warrant. On the ſame Day a Letter was written to the Mayor of Canterbury, to ſet Panton, Vicar of St. Dunſtan's, and one Burden, on the Pillory for ſeditious Words againſt the Queen; and to take Bonds at their Diſcretion for their good Abearing. On the 26th of Auguſt, a Letter was writ to the Mayor of Coventry to apprehend Symonds, a Vicar there, and to ſend him up with ſuch Matter as can be procured to charge him with: "And to puniſh, at their Diſcretion, "ſuch ſlanderous Talkers, as by his "lewd Preaching have had diſſolute "and ſeditious Talk."

HERE is a great Deal of Heat in ten Days Time. Cranmer was called before the Council in the Beginning of Auguſt, probably on the Account of his ſigning King Edward's Will, and acting upon it: But ſince ſo many of thoſe who had ſigned it were then at the Council-Board, they were, perhaps, aſhamed to proceed further againſt him who had oppoſed it ſo much. He had, for that Time, only a ſevere Reprimand, and was commanded to keep his Houſe. He was brought again before ſome of the Queen's Commiſſioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the Inventory of his Goods with him. He brought it, but no further Proceedings againſt him are mentioned at that Time. On the 29th of Auguſt, Hooper appeared before the Council: On the 1ſt of September he was ſent to the Fleet, no Regard being had to the active Zeal that he had expreſſed in aſſerting the Queen's Right, and againſt the Lady Jane; ſo ſincerely did he follow the Dictates of his Conſcience, when he could not but ſee what Conſequences it was like to have. On the 2d, Order was given that his Servant might attend on him. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, Coverdale appeared before them, and in Reſpect that he was a Foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further Order. On the 2d of September, Sanders, Vicar in Coventry, appeared before the Council, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of Leiceſter to bring up their Vicar: On the 4th of September, Latimer was ſummoned to appear, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of Coventry to ſet Symonds at Liberty, upon his Repentance, for a Wiſh he had uttered, wiſhing they were hanged that ſaid Maſs; if he refuſed to do that, the Mayor was to give Notice of it.

ON the 5th of September a Letter was written to Sir John Sidenham to let the Strangers depart, and to give them a Paſſport. This related to the Congregation of the Foreigners that had ſettled, in order to ſet up a Manufacture at Glaſſenbury. On the 10th of September, a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Gentlemen of Cornwall, for their honeſt Proceeding in electing Knights for the Parliament: It ſeems there was ſome Debate about it with the Sheriff: For a Letter was written to him to accept of the Election; and not to Trouble the County for any Alteration: On the 13th of September it is enter'd, that Latimer, for his ſeditious Demeanour ſhould be cloſe Priſoner in the Tower, with a Servant to attend him. On the ſame Day

Cranmer

Cranmer was ordered to appear the next Day at the Star-Chamber. On the 14th in the Star-Chamber, Cranmer, as well for his Treaſon againſt the Queen, as for ſpreading ſeditious Bills moving Tumults, to the Diſquieting the preſent State, was ſent to the Tower and referred to Juſtice. There are ſeveral Orders made for reſtoring all Chalices to Churches, together with all other Goods belonging to them, though they had been ſent into the Great Wardrobe. On the 4th of October the Archbiſhop of York was committed to the Tower, for divers Offences; and Horn the Dean of Dureſme was ſummoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond Sea. Nothing gave more Offence than the promoting Petitions for reſtraining the Doctrine and Service ſettled in King Edward's Time. Thoſe of Maidſtone were charged with it; and this is on ſeveral Occaſions mentioned in the Council-Book: But as the Government was thus ſet to overthrow all that had been done in King Edward's Time; So the Fierceneſs of the Popiſh Party made them on many Occaſions out-run the Government: Some of the Clergy continued to perform the daily Worſhip, and to celebrate the Sacrament: More they durſt not do in Publick all Preaching being forbidden. The People that favoured the Reformation frequented the Service with great Devotion and Zeal, for all ſaw what was coming on them; and ſo they ſtudied to prepare themſelves for it. Some of the ruder Multitudes came into their Churches and diſturbed them while they were at their Devotions: They inſulted the Miniſters, and laughed at their Worſhip; and there were every where Informers with falſe Stories to charge the more Zealous Preachers: In many Places the People broke violently into Churches, and ſet up Altars, and the Maſs in them, before the Parliament met to change the Laws.

THE Duke of Northumberland ſhewed that Abjectneſs of Mind, that might have been expected from ſo inſolent a Man, loaded with as much guilt: He begged his Life with all paſſible Meanneſs, that he might do Penance all the Days of his Life, if it were in a Mouſe-Hole. He went to Maſs in the Tower, and received the Sacrament in the Popiſh Manner. He ſent for Gardiner, and asked him if there were no Hopes for him, to live, and do Penance for his Sins. The Biſhop ſaid, his Offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worſt; eſpecially to ſee that he ſtood well with GOD in Matters of Conſcience and Religion. For to ſpeak plainly, he ſaid, he thought he muſt die. The Duke deſired he might have a Learned Prieſt ſent him, for his Confeſſion and Spiritual Comfort. "For "Religion he ſaid, he could be of no "other but his: He never was of any "other indeed: He complied in King "Edward's only out of Ambition, for "which he prayed GOD to forgive "him; and he promiſed, that he "would declare that at his Death." The Biſhop ſhed many Tears, and ſeemed to be troubled for him: And as he reported himſelf, he preſſed the Queen ſo much, that he had almoſt gained her Conſent for his Life. But the Emperor, who was then deſigning the Marriage, that took Effect afterwards, ſaw what a Struggle there might be againſt that, and what Miſchief ſuch a Man might aftewards do: So he wrote his Advice for his Death poſitively to the Queen: And he was executed, and died as he had lived.

Gates and Palmer, who ſuffered with him, had tried how far the going to Maſs, and receiving the Sacrament in the Popiſh Way, could ſave them: But when they were brought to ſuffer, Gates confeſſed, "That he had lived "as viciouſly as any in the World. He "was a great Reader of the Scriptures; "but no Man followed them leſs: "He read them only to Diſpute. He "exhorted People to conſider how "they read GOD's Holy Word, other-"wiſe it would be but Poiſon to them. "Palmer thanked GOD for his Affliction, and ſaid, He had learned more "in one dark Corner of the Tower, "then he had ever learned formerly: "He had there come to ſee GOD in "his Works, and in his Mercies; and "ſeen himſelf a Maſs of Sin, and of "all Vileneſs the Vileſt." He ſeemed not daunted with the Fear of Death tho' he ſaw two die before him, and the bloody Axe coming to finiſh the Buſineſs on himſelf.

THERE was at this Time an infamous Slander ſet about, of the Queen's being with Child by Gardiner. The Queen's whole Life being ſo innocent as to all ſuch Things, that it might have made them to deſpiſe ſuch a Report,

rather

rather than to trace it up: Beſides, Gardiner's great Age made that none could believe it, but the Earl of Suſſex, in his officious Zeal, purſued it thro' eight or ten Hands: And one at laſt was indicted for having reported it; tho' ſuch an abſurd Lie had, perhaps, been better neglected, than ſo minutely enquired into. In the ſame Letter that mentions this, the Earl of Suſſex gives an Account of Examinations, touching a Deſign for an Inſurrection upon the Arrival of the Prince of Spain.

THE Emperor had, on the 21ſt of December, ſigned a Commiſſion, empowering the Count of Egmond, and others, to treat a Marriage between his Son and the Queen. Upon their coming to England the Queen gave a Commiſſion, on the 1ſt of January, to the Lord Chancellor, and others, to treat with them. And Prince Philip of Spain, did, on the 28th of April, ſend from Vallidolid, full Powers to the ſame Effect. That which quicken'd the Treaty, was, an Account of a vaſt Treaſure that was come with the Fleet from the Weſt-Indies to Seville, reckoned to have brought over five Millions, whether Pounds or Crowns, he wiſhes the half were true. It was neceſſary to have a great Treaſure in View. For tho' there is no Hint of the corrupting of Parliament Men before this Time, yet there was now an extraordinary Occaſion for it; and they ſaw where only the Treaſure to furniſh it could be had. A Concurrence of many Circumſtances ſeemed to determine all Things for this Marriage. Every Thing was agreed to: The Conditions ſeemed to be of great Advantage to the Nation. In this Treaty of Marriage, if Cæſar Campana (who wrote Philip's Life very copiouſly) was well informed, Philip himſelf was extremely diſguſted at it; for he deſired to be married to a Wife, more ſuited to his own Age. He adds another Particular, "That the Nation "ſhewed ſuch an Averſion to it, that "the Count of Egmond, with the "others ſent over to treat about it, "ſaw themſelves in ſuch Danger, that "they were forced to fly away, that "they might avoid it: And a Parliament was to be called, to approve of the Conditions of the Treaty.

SIR Thomas Wyat was a Man that had been oft employed in Embaſſies, particularly in Spain, where he had made ſuch Obſervations upon the Subtilty and Cruelty of the Spaniards, and of the Treatment that ſuch Kingdoms and Provinces met with, that came under their Yoke, that he could not look on the Miſery that his Country was like to fall under, without a juſt Concern about it. He was the Duke of Northumberland's Kinſman, yet he would not join in Lady Jane's Buſineſs; and before he knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the Queen at Maidſtone: But he did not, upon that, run to her for Thanks, as others did: Yet the Queen was ſo ſenſible of his Loyalty and Zeal for her, that ſhe ſent her Thanks to him by the Earl of Arundel; to whom he appealed, as to this Particular, when he was under Examination in the Tower. He had obtained a Paſs to go beyond Sea; but his Lady being with Child, he ſtaid to ſee the End of that. Nothing ſet him on to raiſe the Country as he did, but his Love and Zeal for the Publick. He never pretended that Religion was his Motive: Many Papiſts joined with him. When he paſſed by Charing-Croſs, he might have turned to Whitehall, which was but ill defended, for many of the Earl of Pembroke's Men came over to him. This ſhewed that he meant no Harm to the Queen's Perſon. His marching into London, was on Deſign to engage the City, to come and join with him in a Petition to the Queen, againſt the Spaniſh Match. The Queen herſelf was ſo ſatisfied, as to his good Intentions, that ſhe intended to have pardoned him, had not a Meſſage from the Prince of Spain, determined her to order his Head to be cut off. It is likely there may be a Miſtake here; and that it was the Emperor, then in Flanders, and not the Prince of Spain, who was yet in Spain, that ſent this Advice. He never accuſed the Lady Elizabeth: But being intangled by Queſtions in one Examination, he had ſaid ſomewhat reflecting on the Earl of Devonſhire; for this he begg'd his Pardon. And when he was on the Scaffold, he not only cleared the Lady Elizabeth, but referred himſelf with Relation to her Innocence, and that ſhe was not privy to their Matters, to the Declaration he had made to the Council. It ſeems, the Prieſts at this Time, underſtood the Intereſts of their Cauſe, better than another did above an Age after. For they moved the Queen, to ſhew a ſignal Act of Mercy,

and to pardon all that had been engaged in this Riſing.

ONLY it gave a Colour to the Severity againſt the Lady Jane Gray, and her Husband. She was the Wonder, and Delight of all that knew her. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he had two of her Letters in Latin, writ to Bullinger, copied from the Originals, all in her own Hand, written in a pure and unaffected Stile. She was then entring on the Study of the Hebrew, in the Method that Bullinger adviſed her. She expreſſes in her Letters, a wonderful Reſpect and Submiſſion to him, with a great Strain of Modeſty, and a very ſingular Zeal for Religion.

AND now the Government finding all Things under their Feet, did begin to ſhew to the whole Nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation, were ſure to be excluded from all Favours: Commiſſions were ſent over the whole Kingdom, to proceed, as upon other Points, ſo particularly againſt the married Clergy. Theſe came to York, directed to the Guardian of the Spiritualties in that Place: And the Dean and Chapter were authorized by the Queen, to act purſuant to their Inſtructions. And they acted as in a Vacancy: Though the Commiſſion to proceed againſt the Archbiſhop, bears Date the 16th of March; yet on the 9th of March, they ſent out a General Citation of the Clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of March. They did not begin to deprive any before the 27th of April: And from that Day to the 20th of December, they deprived, one and fifty, of whom ſeveral were Prebendaries.

AFTER all Matters relating to the Queen's Marriage were ſettled, the Emperor ſent a Fleet for the Prince of Spain: And upon that Occaſion, the Queen was prevailed on to break thro' all Forms, and to write the firſt Love-Letter to him; in which ſhe tells him, "That ſhe underſtanding that the Emperor's Ambaſſador was ſending the Bearer to him, though he had not written ſince their Alliance had been a treating; yet ſhe, thinking herſelf obliged by the ſincere Affection that he had for her, confirmed by good Effects, and by the Letters that he had written to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, could not reſtrain herſelf from letting him know the Duty, in which ſhe intended to correſpond always with him: And ſhe thanked him for all his good Offices. She acquainted him, that her Parliament had, without any Oppoſition, agreed to the Articles of their Marriage, and thought them Honourable, Advantageous, and more than Reaſonable. This gave her entire Confidence, that his coming to England ſhould be ſafe, and agreeable to him. She ends recommending herſelf moſt affectionately and humbly to his Highneſs, as being his entirely aſſured, and moſt obliged Ally.

THE Matter of the Marriage being ſettled, and afterwards executed, the Author now looks again into the Proceedings of the Council. On the 16th of January, one Wotton, called an Eſquire, was committed cloſe Priſoner in the Fleet, for his obſtinate ſtanding againſt Matters of Religion. On the 14th of February, Letters were writen to the Lord Rich, and to Sir John Wentworth, to puniſh ſome in Colcheſter, Coxall, and other Places; who diſſuaded People from frequenting ſuch Divine Service, as was then appointed by Law to be obſerved. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under Recognizances to appear. On the 8th of March, an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to Sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford, on the 26th of March, an Order was given to ſend up Taylor, Parſon of Hadley; and Askew of Weſt-Hilleſly. Barlow, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was carried beyond Sea, by one Williams a Mariner of Briſtol; who returning to Pembrokeſhire, ſome Gentlemen there ſeized on him, and ſent him to London; ſo he was ſent to the Marſhalſea, and a Letter of Thanks was written to thoſe who had ſeized on him; ſo careful were they to encourage every Officious ſhew of Zeal.

BUT now came on the ſecond Convocation in this Reign, in which all that was done, was, that the Prolocutor Weſton, with ſome deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to Oxford, to diſpute with the three Biſhops. On the 27th of April, Weſton returned and reported the Conference, or Examination of Cranmer, and the two other Biſhops, atteſted under the Seal of the Univerſity: And ſoon after that they were diſmiſſed, for the Parliament

Parliament met on the 2d of April, and was diſmiſſed on the 5th of May.

ON the 3d of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being judged obſtinate Hereticks; the Judges were asked what the Queen might do, ſince Cranmer was attainted. He was a Man dead in Law, and not capable of any other Cenſure: And this ſeems to be the true Reaſon that moved the Queen to pardon the Treaſon, upon which he was already condemned: For tho' he was very earneſt to obtain a Pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any Regard had to him in granting it; but on the contrary, it ſeems it was reſolved, that he ſhould be burnt as a Heretick: And ſince that could not be done while he ſtood condemned of Treaſon, this ſeems to be the only Motive of that Mercy, which, in this Caſe, was certainly done out of Cruelty. On the 20th of May, a Servant of the Lady Elizabeth's was brought before the Council: But there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were Suſpicions of her being concerned in Wyat's Rebellion, as appeared in the Account given of Wyat himſelf. It is alledged, that Gardiner ſtudied to ſuborn falſe Witneſſes to charge her with that; and that this went ſo far, that a Warrant was brought to Bridges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, for her Execution; but that he would not obey it, 'till he knew the Queen's Pleaſure. Some Credit ſeems due to this, ſince it was publiſhed in her Reign, and not contradicted; but it ſeems to be denied in a Declaration ſet forth many Years after by herſelf when ſhe was Queen, which ſhall be mentioned in its proper Place. On the 25th of May, ſome in Stepney were ordered to be ſet in the Pillory for ſpreading News; the Ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the Pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of May, Sir Henry Bedingfield was ſent with Inſtructions ſigned by the Queen, for the ordering the Lady Elizabeth.

ON the 1ſt of June, an Order was ſent to the Biſhop of London, to ſend diſcreet and learned Preachers into Eſſex, to reduce the People there. Bonner ſeemed to think no Way of reducing any but by Severity and Force, ſo that the Council found it neceſſary to put him in mind of his Paſtoral Care. Orders were then given for the Reception of the Prince of Spain. Some were ordered to be ſet on the Pillory, and their Ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The Dutcheſs of Northumberland deſired that her Sons might hear Maſs in the Tower: This was granted, but Orders were given that none might ſpeak with them. On the 11th of June Orders were given to receive the Duke of Savoy at Dover. And on the 5th of July Order was given to puniſh thoſe who were concerned in the Impoſture, called the Spirit in the Wall. On the 6th of July ſome of the Lady Elizabeth's Servants were committed for lewd Words of the State of the Kingdom: On the 24th of July two Treaties for the Queen's Marriage, made by the Lord Fitzwater, who had been Ambaſſador in Spain, were given to the Treaſurer.

Now the Marriage was made, and the Jollities on ſuch Occaſions, put ſome Stop to Severities: But it was a ſhort one, for on the 15th of Auguſt Letters were ſent to the Juſtices of Peace in Suſſex, to puniſh thoſe who railed at the Myſteries of CHRIST's Religion. On the 19th of Auguſt Letters of Thanks are ordered to Tirrel, and others, for their Care, ordering them to impriſon all ſuch as came not to Divine Service; and to keep them in Priſon 'till they had the Comfort of their Amendment. Several Men and Women were impriſoned in Huntingtonſhire. The 20th of Auguſt mention is made of ſome in Priſon for Words. On the 21ſt of Auguſt an Order was ſent to examine into a Conſpiracy in Suffolk, by certain lewd Perſons. On the 16th of September a Letter was ordered to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, to puniſh the Spreaders of falſe Rumours.

BUT now come on the great Affair of the reconciling the Nation to the See of Rome. The two former Parliaments could not be brought up to that; ſo the Court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to; but when they ſaw at what they ſtuck, they were ſent home: And ſome were ſo weak as to think that by yielding in ſome Things, they would give the Court ſuch Content as to have the reſt. They were willing to return back to that State of Religion in which King Henry left it; and did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the Queen an entire Content, but a total Reconciliation with the

the Pope: Whereas thoſe who could not come up to this, ought to have ſtood firm at firſt, and not by given Ground, have encouraged the Court to compaſs their whole Deſign. The Queen was more than ordinary ſollicitous to get a Parliament to her mind. She wrote a Letter to the Earl of Suſſex, and probably ſhe wrote to all thoſe in which ſhe confided, in the ſame Strain. "She had now ſummoned a Parliament to the 12th of "November, in which ſhe expected to "be aſſiſted by him; and that he "would admoniſh her good Subjects "who had a Right to elect the Mem-"bers, to chuſe Men of the Wiſe, "Grave, and Catholick Sort; ſuch as "indeed meant the true Honour of "GOD, and the Proſperity of the "Commonwealth; which ſhe and the "King her Husband did intend, with-"out the Alteration of any particular "Man's Poſſeſſion, which among other "falſe Rumours, the Hinderers of "her good Purpoſes, and the Favourers "of Hereticks, did moſt untruly re-"port. She deſired him to come up "againſt the Feaſt of All-Saints, at "the fartheſt, that ſhe might confer "with him about thoſe Matters, that "were to be treated of in Parlia-"ment." This is dated the 6th of October, and ſo careful was that Lord to merit the Continuance of the Queen's Confidence, that on the 14th of October, he wrote to the Gentlemen of the County, to reſerve their Voices for the Perſon whom he ſhould Name: He alſo wrote to the Town of Yarmouth for a Burgeſs. But now to open more particularly the great Matter that was to be tranſacted in this Parliament.

WHEN the News of the Change of Government in England, and of the Queen's Intentions, were brought to Rome, it was not poſſible to deliberate long, who was the propereſt Perſon to be ſent Legate. Pole had ſo many meritorious Characters on him, that beſides the Signification of the Queen's Deſire, no other Perſon could be thought on. A Harmer has given the Bull, upon which he was ſent from Rome. It is dated the 5th of Auguſt, 1553, though the Queen came not to London 'till the 3d of Auguſt, and Comendone, who carried her Meſſage to the Pope, was in London on the 23d: For he ſaw the Duke of Northumberland's Execution. It ſeems, that at Rome, upon King Edward's Death, took it for granted, both that her Right would take Place, and that ſhe would reconcile her Kingdom again to that See: And therefore the Bull was prepared. Pole had at that Time retired 300 Miles from Rome, to an Abbey upon the Lake, now called De Garda: In his Abſence he was declared Legate: Upon which he wrote a Letter to the Queen on the 13th of Auguſt.

"HE begins, expreſſing his Joy at "her Exaltation, more particularly at "the Manner of it; in which, as in-"deed the Subject ſeemed to allow it, "he enlarges very copiouſly. And "ſince ſhe carried the Name of the "Bleſſed Virgin, he calls on her to "ſay the Magnificat, applying it to "the late Providences of GOD towards "herſelf. He deſires her to conſider "what was the Beginning of all the "Miſeries that England had felt; it "was the King her Father's departing "from the Apoſtolick See, and the "Catholick Church. He was a Wit-"neſs to all the Steps made in that "Matter: He had upon all Occaſions "aſſerted both her Mother's Mar-"riage, and her own Right; and had "done and ſuffered much on that Ac-"count. He was therefore now moſt "particularly concerned to know what "her Mind was, with Relation to Re-"ligion; and tho' he was then 300 "Miles from Rome, he was named "Legate, to be ſent to her, to the "Emperor, and to the French King; "therefore he ſent one to her to know "her Mind. He did not doubt of it, "for no Perſon owed more to the "Apoſtolick See than ſhe did, ſince it "was upon her Account that ſo much "Outrage had been done to it." So before he would proceed in his Legatine Function, he deſired to know her Pleaſure more particularly.

UPON this ſhe wrote an Anſwer on the 10th of October. "She thanked "him for his kind Expreſſions in his "Letter, and in particular for the "good Advice he gave her. She was "full of Reverence and Obedience to "the Holy See; but it was a great "Trouble to her, that ſhe could not "yet declare her Mind openly in that "Matter. As ſoon as it was ſafe for "her to do it, ſhe would let him "know it. His Meſſenger would tell "him all Particulars; ſhe was then "crowned. She hoped the Parliament "would repeal all the bad Laws;

"and

" and that ſhe would obtain the Pope's " Pardon for all her own Faults. She " ſends by him her moſt humble " Thanks to the Pope for his Cle- " mency to her, and for his Readineſs " to forget all that is paſt:" With this ſhe ſent back Ormanet to him. The Bull that the Pope ſent to Pool, is all a Rhetorical Panegyrick upon the Queen's coming to the Crown, and on our pious Intentions; but Bulls being often in a common Form, it is not in it, but in the Breves, that we are to ſeek the Powers or Inſtructions given to Pool.

THE Breve that was firſt ſent Pool, of the Pope's own Motion, bears Date the 8th of March, 1554, by which, " He is empowered to receive all Here- " ticks of both Sexes, and of all " Ranks, even Biſhops and Archbi- " ſhops, Communities as well as ſin- " gle Perſons, of what Hereſy ſoever " guilty, tho' relapſed in them, upon " their true and unfeigned Repentance, " and to abſolve them from all Pains " and Cenſures, how long ſoever they " continued in their Errors, and tho' " their Sins were reſerved immediately " to the Holy See; and he was em- " powered to pardon all Irregularities " run into by them, and all the Biga- " mies of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons; they " firſt relinquiſhing their Wives; not- " withſtanding which, they might be " capable of all Eccleſiaſtical Promo- " tions: All Infamy being pardoned, " provided they, with a contrite Heart, " ſhould ſacramentally confeſs their " Sins to any Catholick Prieſt, at " their Choice, and ſubmit to ſuch " Penance as he ſhould enjoin: Ex- " cuſing them from all publick Confeſ- " ſion, Abjuration, or open Penance, " abſolving all Communties from any " unlawful Factions, in Favour of " others, tho' confirmed by Oaths. " Empowering him to receive all Regu- " lars, and to abſolve them from the " Cenſures of Apoſtacy; allowing them " to poſſeſs Benefices, as Seculars, diſ- " penſing with the ſtrict Obſervation " of Lent, as to Milk, Meats, and " Eggs; and even Fleſh, upon the Al- " lowance of either the Confeſſor, or " the Phyſician. Giving him Autho- " rity, to ſuffer ſuch of the Clergy, " under the Degree of a Biſhop who " were married, upon their true Con- " verſion, to live in that State, ſo that " no Scandals were given by it: On- " ly they were not to miniſter at the " Altar, nor to do any Eccleſiaſtical " Function, but they might lawfully " continue in the married State, the " Iſſue being declared lawful. To this " is added a Power of uniting of Bene- " fices.

NEXT comes the Cauſe concerning the Poſſeſſors of Eccleſiaſtical Goods. " He is empowered to agree, tranſact, " and diſcharge them: For all the Pro- " fits they had wickedly received, and " for the moveable Goods they had " conſumed; the immoveable Goods " that have been by them unduly de- " tained, being firſt reſtored, if that " ſhould ſeem to be convenient to him, " and whatever ſhould ariſe out of any " ſuch Agreement, was to be applied " to the Church, to which ſuch Goods " had belonged, or for the Advance- " ment of Studies, and to Schools. " There is likewiſe a Power granted, " to delegate others under him, for " the Care and Performances of all " theſe Particulars: But becauſe he " was to go firſt to Flanders, and ſtay " in theſe Parts for ſome Time; the " Pope gave him Authority to execute " theſe Powers, even while he was " without the Kingdom, to all Per- " ſons belonging to it, that ſhould " apply to him, particularly, with " Relation to all Orders unduly re- " ceived; and to confirm Biſhops, or " Archbiſhops, who had been pro- " moted by a ſecular Nomination, " during the Schiſm, and had aſſiſted " the former Kings, though they had " fallen into Hereſy, upon their Re- " turn to the Unity of the Church; " and provide to Metropolitical or Ca- " thedral Churches, ſuch Perſons as " ſhould be recommended to him by " the Queen, according to the Cuſtoms " of the Kingdom, upon any Vacan- " cy: And to abſolve, and reabilitate " all Clergymen, of all Ranks, not- " withſtanding their paſt Errors. All " theſe Powers are confirmed with a " full Non Obſtante to all Conſtitu- " tions whatſoever.

HERE was a great Fullneſs of Favour, with Relation to all Perſonal Things. When Pool came to Flanders, he was ſtopp'd by the Emperor's Orders 'till his Powers were ſeen, and ſent to Eng- land. When they were ſeen, they were conſidered as far ſhort of what was expected, and of what ſeemed Ne- ceſſary, for the carrying on the Recon- ciliation quietly through the Nation: So Pool, ſent Ormanet to Rome, for

fuller Powers, and retir'd to Diligam-Abbey, near Bruſſels. While he was there, he heard the News of Philip's Arrival in England, and of the Queen's being married to him: Upon which, he wrote a Letter of Congratulation to the Biſhop of Arras, and on the ſame Day, he wrote this acceptable Piece of News to the Cardinal de Monte. In the Poſtſcript to the Biſhop of Arras, he tells him, that Ormanet was returned with fuller Powers. He brought with him two Breves.

THE next Letter is from Cardinal Morone, by which it appears, that Pool had gone to France, upon his Legatine Commiſſion: And after the uſual Roman Civilities, "He tells him, he "had laid his Letter before the Pope, "who was beginning to deſpair of the "Affairs of England: And tho' the "Pope had not the Patience to read, "or hear his Letter, which was his "ordinary Cuſtom, yet he told him "the Sum of it; with which he was "ſatisfied; and ſaid, He had given no "Cauſe neither to the Emperor, nor "to any other, to uſe ſuch extrava-"gant Words to him. It ſeems, Pool "had deſired to be recalled; but the "Pope ſaid, that could not be done. "It would be a great Diſgrace both "to the Pope and the Apoſtolick See, "to the Emperor himſelf, and to Car-"dinal Pool; and a great Prejudice to "England. But he would not write "to the Emperor upon it: Nor was "he reſolved about the Goods of the "Church, concerning which, he ſpoke "often very variouſly. He reſolved "to write, both to the Queen, and "to the Prince of Spain; which Let-"ters, he adds, will be ſent by Or-"manet, who is diſpatched with every "Thing neceſſary for the Buſineſs, "conform to his Deſire." The reſt is all Compliment, dated the 13th of July. Then follows a Breve, merely in Point of Form, extending the former Powers, that were addreſſed only to the Queen, to Philip her Husband; dated the 10th of July.

UPON this, the Emperor being then at Valenciennes, the Cardinal ſent Ormanet thither, who gave an Account of his Audience to Priuli, the Legate's great and generous Friend. The Biſhop of Arras told him, how much the Emperor had the Matters of Religion at Heart; and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when Ormanet preſſed him for a preſent Diſpatch, he ſaid, they had no News from England ſince the Marriage: And that before any other Step was made, it would be neceſſary to know what Ply the Affairs of that Kingdom were like to take. It was fit to conſider, whether the Powers of ſecuring the Goods of the Church, ſhould come from the Legate, or from the King and Queen. Then he deſired to ſee the Copy of the Cardinals Faculties. As to the Point of Time, Ormanet ſaid, it was not fit to loſe a Moment, ſince ſo many Souls were endangered by the Delay; And the firſt Coming of the Prince of Spain ought not to be let ſlip, by which the Honour of the Work would be chiefly due to him. As for his Faculties, all Things neceſſary were committed to the Cadinal in the ampleſt Manner; and more particular Reſolutions could not be taken, but upon the Place. Somewhat further paſſed between them, which Ormanet reſerved 'till he ſaw the Cardinal. The Biſhop of Arras promiſed to lay all before the Emperor, and to do all good Offices. The Emperor was at that Time ſo well, that he was often on Horſeback, to view his Army; which had then marched to St. Amand, and the two Armies were very near one another. This is dated the laſt of July.

ON the 3d of Auguſt, the Biſhop of Arras wrote to the Cardinal, "That "the Emperor received his Congratu-"lations on the Marriage very kindly; "but did not think it was yet proper "for him to go to England, 'till they "had a perfect Account of the preſent "State of Affairs there. To know "that, he had that Day ſent an Ex-"preſs thither: Upon his Return, he "ſhould be able to give him a moſt "poſitive Anſwer. He knew, the "Zeal of the King and Queen was "ſuch, that they would loſe no Time; "but yet they muſt proceed with ſuch "Moderation, that the Way to a true "Remedy might not be cut off, by "too much haſte." The Cardinal had a Letter from Barthelomew de Miranda, a Friar, who was King Philip's Confeſſor, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Toledo, from Wincheſter, July 28. It is only a Letter of Reſpect, deſiring his Commands. The Cardinal wrote to the Biſhop of Arras on the 5th of Auguſt: He ſent him the Copy of his Faculties, and expreſſed a great Earneſtneſs in his Deſign of going ſpeedily into England, as ſoon as the Courier, ſent by the Emperor,

Emperor, ſhould return. He ſhewed himſelf as Impatient of the Delays, as in good Manners he could do well.

KING Philip ſtayed at Wincheſter ſome Days after Marriage: For, on the 4th of Auguſt, he ſent the Count of Horn over to the Emperor from thence; and by him he wrote a Letter, partly of Reſpect, partly of Credit to the Cardinal. To this the Cardinal wrote an Anſwer, wherein, beſides ſuch high Compliments as are uſually given to Princes, there is nothing particular; only he ſtill inſiſts earneſtly for Leave to come over. On the 11th of Auguſt the Biſhop of Arras wrote to him, "That he had ſeen the Copy "of his Faculties, and he joins with "him in his Wiſhes, to ſee that King-"dom reſtored to its antient Obedi-"ence, he aſſures him, the Emperor "was preſſing the Diſpatch of the "Matter, and he did not doubt but "that it would be ſpeedily accompliſh-"ed." Pool wrote on the 2d of September to Soto the Emperor's Confeſſor, "Thanking him for thoſe preſ-"ſing Letters that he had written both "to the Emperor and to Duke Alon-"ſo d'Aquilara; with which the Le-"gate was ſo delighted, that he writes "as one in a Rapture upon it; and he "animates him to perſiſt in that Zeal "for promoting this great Work.

HE was ſtill put off with new Delays, of which the beſt Account ſeems to be that this being the deciſive Stroke, there was a cloſe canvaſſing over England for the Elections to this Parliament, ſince nothing can effectually ruin this Nation but a bad Choice; therefore, as it is the conſtant Character of a good Miniſtry, who deſign nothing but the Welfare and Happineſs of the Nation, to leave all Men to a due Freedom of their Elections, ſo it is a conſtant Diſtinction of a bad Miniſtry that have wicked Deſigns to try all the Methods of Practice and Corruption poſſible to carry ſuch an Election, that the Nation being ill repreſented by a bad Choice, it may be eaſy to impoſe any Thing on a Body of vicious, ignorant and ill-principled Men, who may find their own mercenary Account in ſelling and betraying their Country. It appeared in the two former Parliaments who they were that could not bear the returning to their old Servitude to the Papacy. It was, no doubt, ſpread over England, that they ſaw the Legate was kept in Flanders, and not ſuffered yet to come over: This ſeems the true Cauſe why his coming was ſo long put off. It might be likewiſe an Artifice of Gardiner's to make the Difficulties appear the greater, and by that to enhance his own Merit the more. It is plain, that 'till the Election was over, and 'till the Pulſes of the Majority were firſt tried, it was reſolved not to ſuffer the Legate to come over. This ſeems to be that which he inſinuates in his Letter to the Confeſſor, when he ſays, that the Wiſdom of the Wiſe has kept the Gate ſo long ſhut againſt him.

ON the 13th of October, Pool wrote the Pope an Account of what paſſed between him and the Biſhop of Arras, and the Emperor himſelf. The Biſhop of Arras, as he writes, came to him, and aſſured him, that the Emperor was in the beſt Diſpoſition poſſible; but it was neceſſary to come to Particulars, to examine all the Impediments, and the beſt Methods to put them out of the Way. The Legate ſaid he had full Powers, and deſired to know from England what Impediments were ſuggeſted. He added, that this was not a Negotiation like that in making a Peace, where both Sides did conceal their own Deſigns all they could, 'till they diſcovered thoſe of the contrary Side: Here all had but one Deſign, and he was ready to enter into Particulars when they pleaſed. He had an Audience of the Emperor, none but the Nuntio and the Biſhop of Arras being preſent. In it, after uſual Compliments, the Impediments propoſed were two; the firſt relating to the Doctrine, in which there is no Abatement to be made, nor Indulgence to be ſhewed. The other was concerning the Lands, for the Uſurpers of them knowing of the Severity of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, were afraid to return to the Obedience of the Church: To this the Legate anſwered, that the Pope was reſolved to extend his Indulgence in this Caſe: Firſt, as to all the mean Profits already received, and the Cenſures incurred by that, which was a great Point; the Pope was willing freely to diſcharge that intirely: Nor did he intend to apply any Part of thoſe to himſelf, or to the Apoſtolick See, as many feared he would: Though that might ſeem reaſonable, as a Compenſation for Damages ſuſtained, but he would convert all to the Service of GOD, and to the Benefit of the Kingdom:

dom: And he had ſuch regard to the Piety of thoſe Princes, that he had empowered him to grant ſuch Favours as they ſhould intercede for, and to ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to aſſiſt him in the Matter of Religion. The Emperor underſtanding all this, thanked the Pope very heartily for his Favour in that Matter: He ſaid, he granted enough; he excuſed himſelf that being wholly taken up with the preſent War, he had no ſooner applied himſelf to conſider the Matter: Now he knew it well; he had already written to England, and he expected a ſpeedy Anſwer from thence, by which he would know the State of Affairs there. He knew by his own Experience in Germany, that this of Church Lands was the Point that moſt ſtood on: As to Matters of Doctrine, he did not believe that they ſtood much upon that, they neither believe the one nor the other: Yet thoſe Lands (or Goods) being dedicated to GOD, he thought it was not fit to yield all up to thoſe who poſſeſſed them; he added, that though the Legate had told him the whole Extent of his Powers, yet he would do well to open them to others. He then deſired to ſee his Faculties. The Legate upon that apprehending this would give a Handle to a new Delay, ſaid he had already ſhewed them to the Biſhop of Arras, and he told the Emperor what a Scandal it would give to the whole World, if the Reconciliation ſhould not be ſettled by this Parliament. The Queen did not think fit to preſs it formally, 'till ſhe had received that mighty Aſſiſtance which was now come to her by her Marriage; yet if this, which ought to have been the Beginning and the Foundation of all the reſt, were delayed any longer, it muſt give great Offence both to GOD and Man. The Emperor ſaid, Regard was to be had to the ill Diſpoſition of the People concerned, who had formed in themſelves and others an Averſion to the Name of Obedience, and to a Red Cap, and a religious Habit. He ſaid ſome Fryars, whom his Son had brought with him out of Spain, were adviſed to Change their Habits. They had not, indeed, done it, nor was it convenient that they ſhould do it. He alſo touched on the ill Offices that would be done them by their Enemies abroad, in order to the raiſing of Tumults: (meaning the French.) The Legate anſwered, if he muſt ſtay 'till all Impediments were removed, that would be endleſs. The Audience ended with this, that he muſt have a little Patience, 'till the Secretary whom he ſent into England, ſhould return.

Maſon was then the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court: He in a Letter on the 5th of October, writ towards the End of it (the reſt being a long Account of the War between the Emperor and the French King,) concerning the Cardinal, that he was ſent by the Pope on two Deſigns; the one to mediate a Peace between thoſe two Powers; the other to mediate a ſpiritual Peace, as he called it, in the Kingdom of England: But ſeeing no Hope of ſucceeding, either in the one or the other, he began to deſpair: And if he did not quickly ſee ſome Appearance of Succeſs in the laſt, he would go back to Rome a ſorrowful Man; and here Maſon runs out, either to make his Court to the Queen or to the Legate, or that he was really poſſeſſed with a very high Opinion of him, which ſeems the more probable, as well as the more honeſt Motive. He ſays, "All the World adores him for "his Wiſdom, Learning, Vertue and "Godlineſs. GOD ſeems to dwell in "him; his Converſation, with his o-"ther godly Qualities, was above the "ordinary Sort of Men. It would be "a ſtrong Heart that he would not "ſoften in half an Hour's Talk.

AT this Time the Cardinal wrote a long Letter to King Philip in Latin. He tells him he had been now for a Year knocking at the Gates of the Palace, and no Body opened to him; though he is the Perſon that was driven from his Country into an Exile of above 20 Years Continuance, becauſe he was againſt ſhutting the Queen out of that Palace, in which he now lived with her; but he comes with a higher Authority, in the Name of the Vicar of the great King and Shepherd, St. Peter's Succeſſor, or rather St. Peter himſelf, who was ſo long driven out of England: Upon this he runs out into a long Allegory taken from St. Peter's being delivered out of Priſon from Herod's cruel Purpoſe, and coming to the Gate of Mary, where, though his Voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the Door, Mary not being ſure that it was he himſelf. He dreſſes this out with much Pomp, and in many Words, as a Man that had practiſed

Eloquence

Eloquence much, and had allowed himſelf in Flights of forced Rhetorick; liker indeed to the Declamation of a Student in Rhetorick, than the ſolemn Letter of ſo great a Man on ſuch an Occaſion. It is true, that this Way of Writing had been early practiſed, and had been ſo long uſed, even by Popes themſelves, that theſe Precedents might warrant him to Copy after ſuch Originals.

AT laſt the Queen ſent the Lord Paget and Lord Haſtings to bring him over: Their Letter upon their coming to the Emperor's Court, is dated from Bruſſels the 13th of November. In it they give an Account of their Waiting upon the Emperor with the King and Queen's Complements. The Emperor had that Day received the Sacrament, yet they were admitted to Audience in the Afternoon: He expreſſed great Joy when he heard them give an Account how Matters were in England, and rouſed himſelf up in a chearful Manner, and ſaid, that among many great Benefits, he was bound to thank GOD for this as a main one, that he now ſaw England brought back to a good State. He had ſeen what the Kingdom had once been, and into what Calamities it fell afterwards; and now he thanked GOD for the Miracles ſhewed to the Queen, to make her the Miniſter to bring it again to its antient Dignity, Wealth, and Renown. He alſo rejoiced, that GOD had given her ſo ſoon ſuch a certain Hope of Succeſſion: Theſe Tidings of the State of her Perſon, with the Report of the Conſent of the Noblemen and others touching the Cardinal, and their Obedience and Union with the Catholick Church, were ſo pleaſant to him, that if he had been half Dead, they would have revived him: He promiſed them all Aſſiſtance, as they ſhould come to need it.

FROM the Emperor they went to the Cardinal, who welcomed them with great Joy, and with Expreſſions full of Duty and Thankfulneſs to the Queen. Here they enlarge on his Praiſes: "They call him the Man of GOD, "full of Godlineſs and Virtue; and ſo "eminently humble, that he was con-"tented to come into England in ſuch "ſort as the Queen had commanded; "not as a Legate, but as a Cardinal, "and an Ambaſſador ſent to the Queen: "And they aſſured the Queen, that "touching the Matter of Poſſeſſions "all Things ſhould paſs on the Pope's "behalf ſo, that every Man there ſhall "have cauſe to be contented." Pool took Leave of the Emperor on the 12th; he was to ſet out in ſlow Journies, his Body being then too weak for great ones; in ſix Days he was to be at Calais, where they had ordered every Thing to be ready for his Tranſportation.

IT ſeems by this, that the Queen reckoned on it, as ſure, that ſhe was with Child: Tho' in that, after the Hopes of it were publiſhed with too much Precipitation, ſhe found herſelf miſtaken, that it was believed the Grief and Shame of it, both together, had an ill Effect on her Health and Life.

ABOUT this Time there was a very abuſive Libel, printed in the Form of a Letter, as writ by Bradford to the Queen; in which it was ſaid, "That "it was believed the Queen intended "to give the Crown to the King, hop-"ing, that then he would keep Com-"pany with her more, and live more "Chaſte, contrary to his Nature; for "peradventure after he was crowned, "he would be content with one "Whore; whereas he had then three "or four in a Night: And theſe not "Ladies, but common Proſtitutes." One John Capſtoke a Printer was diſcovered; he was condemned to be impriſoned, and to have his Ears nailed to the Pillory and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The Conſideration is not mentioned; it may be eaſily imagined it was no ſmall one, probably enough it was upon the Diſcovery of ſome of thoſe whom they were ſeeking out for the Slaughter.

ON the 12th of December, Maſon wrote from Bruſſels; and after he had given in his Letter an Account of what paſſed in the Diet, upon a Letter written to it by the French King: He alſo writes, "That one of the Emperor's "Council had told him, that his Maſ-"ter was diſpleaſed to hear that a "Preacher was beating the Pulpit "Jollily (to uſe his own Words) "for the Reſtitution of the Abbey-"Lands: Upon this he writes, That "if it be ſo meant by the Prince, and "the Thing be thought convenient, "he did his Duty: But if it was not "ſo, it was a ſtrange Thing, that in "a well-ordered Commonwealth, a "Subject ſhould be ſo hardy as to cry "thus to the People, to raiſe Storms "next Summer, againſt what they "were then doing in Winter; and if

" the Thing was to be talked of, it " ought to be to the Prince and Coun- " cil, and not to the People: He re- " flects on the unbridled Sermons in " the former Times, that they were " much misliked: So he hoped, that " in a good Government that should " have been amended. He thought the " Person that preached this might be " well put to silence; for he being a " Monk, and having vowed Poverty, " possessed a Deanary, and three or " four Benefices. He tells them, that " he had heard by the Report of other " Ambassadors, that England was now " returned to the Unity of the Chris- " tian Church. He should have been " glad, that he might have been able " to confirm this by some certain " Knowledge of it; but it was ordi- " nary for the Ambassadors of England " to know the least of all others, of " the Matters of their own Kingdom,

ON the 25th of December he wrote, that according to his Orders, he had let the Emperor know the Apprehensions the Queen had of the Progress of her Big-belly: And that all was quiet, and every Thing went on happily in England. Upon this the Emperor fell into a free Discourse with him of the Difference between governing with Rigour and Severity; and the governing in such Sort that Prince and People might 'Sentre entendre & 'Sentre aimer, mutually understand and mutually love on another. This, as it is at all Times, a noble Measure of Government, so it it was more necessary to offer such an Advice, at a Time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful Rigour, against those whom they called Hereticks. The Queen seemed to be so sure, that she was quick with Child, that the Privy-Council wrote upon it a Letter to Bonner, and ordered him to cause Te Deum to be sung upon it. With such a Precipitation was this desired Piece of News published.

SOME small Favour was, at King Philip's Desire, shewed to some. The Archbishop of York was released, upon Bond of 20000 Marks for his good Behaviour. How far he recanted, or complied, does not appear: One Thing may be reasonably concluded: That since no more Mention is made of the Complaint put in against him, for keeping another Man's Wife from him, there was no Reason to think there was any Truth in it. For there being so particular a Zeal on Foot, to disgrace the Marriage of the Clergy, so flagrant an Instance as this, in a Man put in so eminent a Post, would not have been passed over, if there had been any Colour of Truth, or Proof for it. On the 27th of January, Hopkins, Sheriff of the City of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill Religion. On the 19th of February, some small Regard was had to Miles Coverdale, as being a Foreigner; for he was a Dane: He had a Passport to go to Danmark, with two Servants, without any unlawful Let or Search.

ON the 29th of January, Cardinal Pool gave deputed Powers to the Bishops, to reconcile all Persons to the Church, for the Quiet of their Consciences. All Canonical Irregularities were also taken off, all publick Abjurations, or Renunciations, were, at Discretion, to be either moderated or forgiven; with a Power to the Bishop, to depute such Rectors and Curates, as he shall thing fit, to absolve and reconcile all Lay-Persons to the Church. That sent to the Bishop of Norwich is still upon Record. The most remarkable Article in it is this. " That all " who were impowered to reconcile " Persons to the Church, were required " to enter into a Register, the Names " of all such as they should receive, that " it might appear upon Record, who " were, and who were not reconciled; " and to proceed against all such, as " were not reconciled: In particular, " they were to insert Thomas à Becket's " Name, and also the Pope's, in all their Offices.

Now came on the Burning of Hereticks. Many had been kept above a Year and an half in Prison, when yet there was no Law against them: And now a Law was made against them, which it could not be pretended, that they had transgressed. But Articles were objected against them, to which they were, by the Ecclesiastical Law, obliged to make Answers, and upon their Answers, they were condemned. Sampson in a Letter to Calvin, wrote on the 23d of February, " That Gar- " diner had ordered Fourscore of the " Prisoners to be brought before him, " and had tried to prevail on them, " both by Promises and Threatnings, " to return, as he called it to the " Union of the Church:" But not one of them yielded, except Barlow, that had been Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Cardmaker, an Archdeacon there.

So

So this proved ineffectual. How far theſe yielded, does not appear.

IT was reſolved to begin with Hooper, againſt whom both Gardiner and Bonner had ſo peculiar an Ill-will, that he was ſingled out of all the Biſhops to be the firſt Sacrifice. On the 28th of January he was brought before Gardiner, in his Court in Southwark, and is called only John Hooper, Clark. Gardiner ſet forth, "That the Day "before he had been brought before "him and others of the Privy-Council, "and exhorted to confeſs his Errors "and Hereſies, and to return to the "Unity of the Church; a Pardon be-"ing offer'd him for all that was paſs'd, "but that his Heart was ſo hardened "that he would not accept of it; ſo "he was then brought to anſwer to "certain Articles, but he had again "the Offer made him to be received "into the Boſom of the Church, if he "deſired it. He rejected that, and as "the Acts of the Court have it, he "did impudently break out into ſome "Blaſphemies". The Articles that were objected to him were three: "I. That he, being a Prieſt, and of a "religious Order, married a Wife, and "lived with her; and did, both by "Preaching and Writing, juſtify and "defend that his Marriage. To which "he anſwered, acknowledging it was "true, and that he was ſtill ready to "defend it. II. That Perſons married "might, for the Cauſe of Fornication "or Adultery, according to the Word "of GOD be ſo divorced, that they "might lawfully marry again. To "this he likewiſe anſwered confeſſing "it, and ſaying, That he was ready to "defend it againſt all who ſhould op-"poſe it. III. That he had publickly "taught and maintained, That in the "Sacrament of the Altar the true and "natural Body and Blood of CHRIST "are not preſent under the Accidents "of Bread and Wine; ſo that there is "no material Bread and Wine in it". To which his Anſwer is ſet down in Engliſh Words: "That the very natu-"ral Body and Blood of CHRIST, is "not really and ſubſtantially in the "Sacrament of the Altar; ſaying al-"ſo, That the Maſs was of the Devil, "and was an Idol". Gardiner, upon this ordered him to come again into Court the next Day; and then he did again try, by many Perſwaſions to prevail on him: But he continued ſtill obſtinate, and ſaid further, "That Mar-"riage was none of the ſeven Sacra-"ments, and if it was a Sacrament, "he could prove there were ſeven-"ſcore Sacraments". After all this Gardiner delivered him over to the ſecular Arm. Upon which, the Sheriffs of London took him into their Hands as their Priſoner; but it was reſolved to ſend him to Gloceſter, there to receive his Crown of Martyrdom. And there was a particular Order ſent along with him to Gloceſter, in which he is deſigned "John Hooper, that was "called Biſhop of Worceſter and Glo-"ceſter who was judged to be a moſt "obſtinate, falſe, deteſtable Heretick, "and did ſtill perſiſt obſtinate, and re-"fuſed Mercy, tho' it was offered to "him. He was ſent to be burnt at "Gloceſter, to the Example and Terror "of thoſe whom he had ſeduced. Or-"der is alſo given to call ſome of Re-"putation in that Shire, to aſſiſt the "Mayor and the Sheriffs of that City. "And becauſe this Hooper is, as all "Hereticks are, a vain-glorious Per-"ſon; and if he have Liberty to ſpeak "he may perſuade ſuch as he has ſe-"duced, to perſiſt in the miſerable O-"pinions that he hath taught them; "therefore ſtrict Order is given, that "neither at his Execution, nor in go-"ing to the Place of it, he be ſuffered "to ſpeak at large; but that he be "led quietly, and in ſilence, for avoid-"ing further Infection. But tho' his Words could not be ſuffered to be heard, yet the Voice of his Sufferings, which were extreamly violent, had probably the beſt Effect on thoſe who ſaw both them, and his Conſtancy in them. He had been above a Year and a half in Priſon, under much hard Uſage. He ſent his Wife out of England, to deliver himſelf from that which might raiſe too great Tenderneſs in him, eſpecially if he had ſeen her ill uſed, which the Wives of the Clergy were in danger of daily. He wrote ſeveral Letters to Bullinger from the Priſon, but was ſo watched, that he durſt not enter into any Particulars: Moſt of his Letters were Recommendations of ſome who were then flying out of England: He, in them all, expreſſed much Conſtancy and Patience: And he was preparing himſelf for that, in which he reckoned his Impriſonment would ſoon end: He had no other Proſpect, but of ſealing the Truth with his Blood. He was very glad when he knew his Wife had got ſafe to Frankfort, where ſhe lived,

and

and wrote ſeveral Letters to Bullinger in a very clean and natural Stile of Latin: They do chiefly relate to her Husband's Condition.

AMONG ſeveral Letters that Hooper wrote, during his Impriſonment, to Bullinger, ſome it ſeems fell into ill Hands, and ſo came not to Zurick, as they were directed, as he found by Bullinger's laſt Letter, that ſome of his were alſo intercepted. "That laſt which "he had was directed to him, to be "communicated to all his Fellow-"Priſoners: He promiſed, that he "would take Care to ſend it round a-"mong them. The Wound that the "Papacy had received in England, was "then intirely healed: The Pope was "now declared the Head of that "Church. The Priſoners, who had "been ſhut up for a Year and a half, "were daily troubled by the Enemies "of the Goſpel: They were kept a-"ſunder from one another, and treat-"ed with all Manner of Indignities, "and they were daily threatened with "the laſt Extremities, which did not "terrify them.

"THEY were ſo inwardly fortified "that they deſpiſed both Fire and "Sword. They knew in whom they "believed, and were ſure they were "to ſuffer for Well-doing. He deſires "the Continuance of their Prayers, "let GOD do with them what ſeemed "good in his Eyes. He ſent over to "him two Books that he had written, "the one of true Religion, and the "other of falſe Religion, which he had "dedicated to the Parliament, as an "Apology for the Reformation. He "gives them Liberty to correct them "as they thought fit, and deſired that "they might be quickly printed; for "they were well approved by the "Pious and Learned about him". He deſires they may not be frighted from doing it, by the Apprehenſions of any Harm that might happen upon that Account: He committed himſelf to GOD, who was his Defence and his Guard, through JESUS CHRIST, to whom he had intirely dedicated himſelf. If GOD would prolong his Life; but if he would put an End to this ſhort and wicked Life, which of theſe ſo-ever it pleaſed GOD to order, his Will be done. This is dated from his Priſon, the 11th of December, 1554. It appears that Hooper's Wife was a German; ſo his ſending her in Time out of England, was a juſt Expreſſion of his Care of her.

ON the 18th of March ſome Sacrifices being to be made in Eſſex, "Letters "were written by the Council to the "Earl of Oxford and the Lord Rich, "to be preſent at the Burning of thoſe "obſtinate Hereticks that were ſent "to divers Parts of that Country". And on the 1ſt of April Informations being brought that there were Preachers at work in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, a general Order was ſent to all Sheriffs to ſeize on them. When that mad Man William Thomas, called otherwiſe Flower and Branch, was ſeized on, for wounding a Prieſt in the Church, they found a Cloth about his Neck, with theſe Words, Deum time, Idolum fuge; Fear GOD and fly from Idolatry. He was ſeized on by Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwall: They had Letters of Thanks from the Council for their Pains. They were ordered firſt to examine him, then to ſend him to the Biſhop of London, to proceed againſt him for his Hereſy; and to the Juſtices of Peace, to puniſh him for the ſhedding of Blood in the Church; and if he perſiſts in his Hereſy, Order is given that he be executed in the latter End of the Week, but that his Right Hand ſhould be cut off the Day before.

ON the 16th of May ſome Perſons were named, and their Appointments ordered who ſhould be in Readineſs to carry the News of the Queen's Delivery to foreign Princes. The Lord Admiral was appointed to go to the Emperor, and was allowed 4 l. a Day, and 200 l. for Equipage. The Lord Fitzwater was to go to the French Court, and was to have 200 Marks for Equipage. Sir Henry Sidney was to go to the King of the Romans, and to have 500 Marks; and Shelley was to carry the News to the King of Portugal, and to have 400 Marks. This was repeated on the 28th of May. The Money was ordered to be ready for the immediate Diſpatch of thoſe Envoys. And on the 29th of May Orders were given that the Perſons named ſhould be ready to go when warned. On the 1ſt of June a Letter was ordered to the Biſhop of London to proceed againſt ſome who were ſuſpected to be of evil Religion. On the 3d of June Letters were written to the Lord Rich to aſſiſt at the Execution of ſome Hereticks at Colcheſter,

Colcheſter, Harwich, and Meaintru; a Letter was alſo written to the Earl of Oxford, to ſend his Servants to attend on the Lord Rich at thoſe Executions. It is not eaſy to gueſs whether the many Letters written upon thoſe Occaſions, were to prevent Tumults, becauſe they apprehended the People might reſcue thoſe Victims out of the Sheriffs Hands if he had not been well guarded; or whether it was to celebrate thoſe Triumphs over Hereſy, with much Solemnity; which is commonly done in thoſe Countries, where the Inquiſition is received. At the ſame Time, Entries were made in the Council-Books of the Examinations of ſeveral Perſons for ſpreading falſe Rumours.

ON the 9th of June, Letters were written to the Lord North, and others, to put ſuch obſtinate Perſons as would not confeſs to the Torture, and there to order them at their Dicretion: And a Letter was written to the Lieutenant of the Tower to the ſame Effects. Whether this pretended obſtinancy was a Concealing of Hereticks, or of the Reporters of falſe News, does not appear: But whatever the Matter was, the putting People not yet Convict, by that which the Civil Law called a half Proof (Semiplena Probatio) to the Torture, becauſe they were thought Obſtinate, and would not Confeſs, and the leaving the Degree of the Torture to the Diſcretion of thoſe appointed for their Examinations, was a great Step towards the moſt rigorous Part of the Proceedings of Inquiſitors. On the 12th of June, Orders were given for making out Writs for the Burning of three Perſons condemned for Hereſy in Suſſex. On the 13th of June, Letters of Thanks were ordered to Sir Henry Tirrel, and Mr. Anthony Brown, for their aſſiſting at the Execution of Hereticks. And on the 15th of June, Letters of Thanks were ordered to the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, on the ſame Account. On the 17th of June, Letters of Thanks were written to thoſe in Cambridge, who had committed ſome Prieſts to Priſon: But they were ordered to releaſe them, if thoroughly Penitent. And on the 18th of June, a Letter was ſent to the Biſhop of London, informing him that four Pariſhes in Eſſex did ſtill uſe the Engliſh Service: He is required to examine into this, and to puniſh it, and to ſend ſome of his Chaplains to preach to them.

ON that Day a Letter was written from London to Peter Martyn, telling him that it was given out that the Queen had ſaid, ſhe could not be happily delivered 'till all the Hereticks then in Priſon were burned: For ſhe continued ſtill expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of June, an Order was given to have a Paſſport ready for Shelley, that was to carry the News to Portugal. On the 27th of June, Letters were written to the Lord Rich, to give the Queen's Thanks to ſome Gentlemen of Rochford in Eſſex, for coming ſo honeſty of themſelves to Colcheſter, and other Places, to aſſiſt the Sheriffs at Executions. At that time a Condition was put in all Paſſports, and Licences, to go beyond Sea, that they ſhould avoid all Hereticks, and all Places infeſted with Hereſy.

OUR Author here adds a Paſſage, recorded by Fox, of a Declaration that was made to himſelf before Witneſſes, in the Year 1568. A Woman told him, that ſhe lived near Alderſgate, and was delivered of a Boy on the 11th of June 1555; and after ſhe had born it, the Lord North, and another Lord came to her, and deſired to have her Child from her, with very fair Offers, as that her Child ſhould be very well provided for, ſo that ſhe ſhould take no Care for it, if ſhe would ſwear, that ſhe never knew, or had ſuch a Child: And after this ſome Women came to her, of whom one they ſaid was to be the Rocker, but ſhe would in no Caſe part with her Child. This being at the Time that the Queen ſeemed to be every Day looking for her Delivery, may give ſome Suſpicions, and puts us in mind of the Words of the Preacher, That which is, is that which has been. On the 30th of June, Letters were written to the Gentlemen of Kent, to aſſiſt the Sheriffs at the Execution of Hereticks in Rocheſter, Dartford and Tunbridge.

ON the 2d of July, upon an Information of a Commotion deſigned in Suſſex, the Opinion of the Judges was asked about it; and ſome Judges were ſent to proceed in it, according to Law. Great Occaſion was taken from fooliſh Diſcourſes to alarm the Nation with the Apprehenſions of Plots, and the Blame of all was to be caſt on the concealed Preachers, that were now hid in Corners, inſtructing the People at the Peril of their Lives: Twelve Perſons

were brought up out of Eſſex, as guilty of a Conſpiracy. Bird, that had been Biſhop of Cheſter, and was deprived for his Marriage, did think fit to Repent; and engaged ſo far, that Bonner made him his Suffragan. He was blind of an Eye, and being appointed to preach before the Biſhop, he choſe thoſe Words, Thou art Peter: But whether his Conſcience ſmote him, or his Memory failed him, he could go no further: So inſtead of a Matter of Triumph upon the Apoſtacy of ſuch a Man, the Shame of ſuch a dumb Action, turned the Triumph to the other Side.

On the 9th of July, a Letter was written to the Biſhop of London, directing him, that the three condemned Hereticks ſhould be burnt at Uxbridge, Strafford, and Walden; and he was ordered to proceed againſt the reſt. At this time Pool thought it became him to write to Cranmer, to try how far a Piece of highflown Rhetorick could work on him, though ſome think this Letter was written a very little while before Cranmer's Execution; the Original is yet extant. It does very little Honour to his Memory, being only a Declaration againſt Hereſy, and Schiſm, againſt a married Clergy, and Separation from the See of Rome, and the rejecting of Tranſubſtantiation. In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but ſuppoſes all his own Principles to be true and ſure: He inveighs againſt the poor Priſoner with ſome ſeeming Tenderneſs, but with a great Acramony of Stile, and in an inſulting Manner, like one that knew he might ſay what he pleaſed; and that there was no room for making Remarks and Anſwers to ſo poor an Epiſtle.

On the 14th of July, the Archbiſhop of York was ordered to appear, but no more is ſaid concerning him. There were Intimations given of Commotions deſigned at Fairs, and Orders were ſent to Sheriffs and Gentlemen to watch them: Informations were alſo brought of a Conſpiracy in Eſſex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorſetſhire. On the 6th of Auguſt, Thanks were written to the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, with the other Juſtices of Peace in Eſſex for their Diligence; deſiring them to proceed in their Examination of the late intended Conſpiracy, and bring the Offenders before them: If there Offence was found to be Treaſon, they were to ſuffer as Traytors: Or if their Guilt did not riſe up to that, they were to order them to be puniſhed according to the Statutes.

On the 20th of Auguſt, Notice was given to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace, that the King was going to Flanders. The Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome, did return about the Middle of September; and in Council, on the 16th of September, the Biſhop of Ely produced the Pope's Bull, erecting Ireland into a Kingdom; and beſtowing on the Crown of England, the Title of King of Ireland. This was given to the Biſhop of Dublin, with an Order to publiſh it in Ireland: For that inſolent Pope would not give them Audience upon their Powers from the King and Queen of England, and Ireland, pretending, that none had a Right to aſſume the Title of King, but as it was derived from him. So as a ſpecial Grace, he conferred that Regal Title on the Queen, and then admitted them to Audience, after he had made them ſtay a Month waiting for it at Rome. It ſeems they knew the Bigotry of the Engliſh Court too well to diſpute this Point. So they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they ſhould be diſowned, if they had made any Oppoſition to it. But the main Errand they came upon, was to obtain a Confirmation of the Settlement of the Church-Lands, made in Parliament by Cardinal Pool: That was not only flatly refuſed, but a Bull was publiſhed, that in Effect, repealed it all.

"It begins ſetting forth what Pope "Symmachus decreed againſt the alie- "nated of any Lands belonging to the "Church upon any Pretence whatſo- "ever, or farming out the Right of "the Church: He laid an Anathema "on all who ſhould be any way con- "cerned in ſuch Bargains; and gave "Authority to any Eccleſiaſtical Per- "ſon to recover all with the mean "Profits; and this was to take Place "in all Churches. Pope Paul the IId, "had likewiſe condemned all Aliena- "tions of Church Goods, and all "Farms of Leaſes beyond the Term of "three Years, and had annulled all "ſuch Agreement, Farms, or Leaſes. "Both the Parties, as well the Granter, "as the Receiver of ſuch Leaſes, were "put under Excommunication; and the "Goods ſo alienated, were to revert "to the Church. But the Prohibi- "tions notwithſtanding, of late Years "ſeveral Perſons both of the Laity, "and

" and of the Clergy, had poſſeſſed themſelves of Caſtles and Lands belonging both to the Church of Rome, and to other Cathedrals, and even to Metropolitan Churches; and to Monaſteries, Regular Houſes and Hoſpitals, under Pretence of Alienations, to the evident Damage of thoſe Churches and Monaſteries, without obſerving the Solemnities required by Law in ſuch Caſes; and they continue their Poſſeſſion, by which the Incumbents in thoſe Churches are great Sufferers; and the Popes themſelves, who were wont to ſupply the Poor who came to Rome, out of theſe Lands, are no more able to do that, and can ſcarce maintain themſelves and their Families, which turns to the Offence of GOD, the Reproach of the Clergy, and is Matter of Scandal to the Faithful; therefore the Pope, of his own Motion, upon certain Knowledge, and by Virtue of the Plenitude of the Apoſtolick Power does annul all the Alienations or Impropriations, either perpetual or Leaſes to the third, or to a ſingle Life, or beyond the Term of three Years; or Exchanges and Farms of Cities, or Lands, or Goods, or Rights belonging to the Roman Church; or to any Cathedral, Monaſtery, Regular Houſe, or to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, with or without Cure, to Seculars or Regulars, Hoſpitals, and other pious Foundations, by whomſoever made, though by Popes or by their Authority, or by the Prelates of Cathedrals, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals; or the Rectors of Churches, though Cardinals that had been made without the Solemnities required by Law, in what Form of Words ſoever they have been made, though confirmed by Oath, and eſtabliſhed by a long Preſcription: All thoſe are by the Apoſtolick Authority, reſcinded, annulled, and made void, and the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands are to be compelled by all Cenſures and pecuniary Pains, to make Satisfaction for all the mean Profits received, or to be received; and all Judges are required to give Judgment, conform to this Bull. Dated the 12th of July.

THUS the Pope inſtead of confirming what the Legate had done, did in the moſt formal Terms poſſible, reverſe and annul it all. Even Papal Alienations, or made by the Papal Authority, are made void. The pretended Conſent of the Convocation is declared null; and all Ratifications of what was at firſt illegally made are annulled. By this alſo not only the Poſſeſſors of Church Lands, but all the Tenants to any Eſtate belonging to the Church who hold for Lives, or Years, beyond the Term of three Years, may ſee in this Bull how that all that they now hold by thoſe Tenures, is made void. No doubt the Ambaſſadors of England did all that in them lay to have this Bull ſoftened, or to have an Exception made for England; but that Pope was not to be moved, and, perhaps, he thought ſhewed no ſmall Favour to England, on the Queen's Account, in not naming it in this Bull: And in not fulminating on the Account of the late Settlement. Thus the Matter of ſecuring the Abbey-Lands by that fraudulent Tranſaction, is now pretty apparent.

POPE Paul was in the right in one Thing to preſs the ſetting up Courts of Inquiſition every where, as the only ſure Method to extirpate Hereſy. And it is highly probable that the King, or his Spaniſh Miniſters, made the Court of England apprehend, that Torture and Inquiſition were the only ſure Courſes to root out Hereſy. It has appeared already what Orders were given about Torture, even to uſe it at Diſcretion, but another Step was made that carried this Matter much further.

Inſtructions had been given in March, 1555, to the Juſtices of Peace to have one or more honeſt Men in every Pariſh ſecretly inſtructed to give Information of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants amongſt or about them. One of theſe was directed to the Earl of Eſſex, who acted with a ſuperlative Meaſure of Zeal: He wrote on the 18th of April this Year to the Biſhop of Norwich, complaining, that at a Town near him, there had been no Sepulcher, nor creeping to the Croſs before Eaſter. The Day after he wrote that Letter it appears by another of his Letters, that Ket who led the Inſurrection in Norfolk, in King Edward's Reign, and whoſe Body was hanged in Chains, had fallen down from the Gallows; and that Prophecies were ſpread about the Country of what ſhould follow when that ſhould happen. He ordered the Body to be hanged up again, if it was not waſted, and he impriſoned thoſe that gave out theſe Prophecies. He went on to greater Matters, and drew up an Account of the Obedience that

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the Juſtices had paid to all the Inſtructions and Orders that had been ſent them.

ON the 12th of September, Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter, who was conſtituted Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, the Pope's Delegate, to try Cranmer, (it being, it ſeems, thought indecent that Pool, who was to ſucceed him, ſhould be his Judge) came to Oxford, with Martin and Story, who were the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, to demand Juſtice againſt Cranmer, exhibiting Articles againſt him. Cranmer made a long Apology for himſelf. Among other Things he ſaid, "The "Loſs of his Promotion grieved him "not: He thanked GOD as heartily "for that poor and afflicted State in "which he was then, as ever he did "in the Times of his Proſperity. But "that which ſtuck cloſeſt to him, and "created him the greateſt Sorrow, was, "to think that all that Pains and Trou"ble that had been taken by King "Henry and himſelf for ſo many "Years, to retrieve the antient Autho"rity of the Kings of England, and "to vindicate the Nation from a fo"reign Yoke, and from Baſeneſs and "infinite Inconveniencies of Crouch"ing to the Biſhops of Rome, ſhould "now thus eaſily be quite undone: "And that the King and Queen ſhould, "in their own Realm, become his Ac"cuſers, before a foreign Power. If "he had tranſgreſſed the Law, they "had ſufficient Authority to puniſh "him; and to that he would, at all "Times, ſubmit himſelf". They exhibited Interrogatories to him, and he gave his Anſwer to them. In Concluſion, they required him to go to Rome within fourſcore Days, to make his Anſwer in Perſon. He ſaid, he was moſt willing to go, if the King and Queen would ſend him.

ON the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer ſuffered Martyrdom; But Gardiner, who was with Impatience waiting for the News, was, ſoon after he heard it, ſtruck with an Illneſs, in which he languiſhed for ſome Time. Pilkington, Biſhop of Dureſme, in a Sermon that he preached, ſaid, He rotted above Ground, ſo that it was ſcarce poſſible to get any to come near him. He died on the 12th of November. On the 5th of November Orders were given to diſpoſe of many Priſoners.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought that upon his Attainder the See of Canterbury was vacant; and, indeed, the Chapter of Canterbury acted accordingly; but the Papal Authority being reſtored, he was ſtill, according to the Papal Law, Archbiſhop, 'till by a Commiſſion from Rome he was judged an obſtinate Heretick, and was thereupon deprived. When the 80 Days were out, a Mock Proceſs was made at Rome, in which it was falſly ſaid, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared Contumacious: And then a formal Sentence was given in the Pope's Name, as ſitting on the Throne of Juſtice, having before his Eyes GOD alone, who is the righteous LORD, and judgeth the World in Righteouſneſs. With ſuch ſpecious Words was that groſly unrighrighteous Judgment introduced. And upon that a Letter came from Rome on the 14th of December, mentioning his being condemned and deprived, and delivering him over to the ſecular Arm. The Deprivation muſt have paſſed ſome Days before; for on the 11th of December Pool's Bulls were granted; in which mention is made of the See's being vacant by the Deprivation of Cranmer. The Writ for burning him mentions his being judged an obſtinate Heretick by the Pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the Biſhops of London and Ely, by Commiſſion from the Pope: So on the 24th of February the Writ was ſealed.

ON the 13th of March the Privy-Council were concerned when they heard his Paper of Recantation was printed. Rydall and Copeland, two Printers, were required to deliver to Cawood, the Queen's Printer, the Books of Recantation to be burned by him. One Part of his Character may be added out of Pool's Letter to him. In one Place he ſays, he hears "it was "pretended that he forced no Man "in Points of Religion, but behaved "himſelf mildly towards all Perſons". And in another Place he writes, "That "it was ſaid his Life was unblameable". But though Pool throws that off, as of no Importance, yet upon his mentioning theſe good Characters, it may be depended on that they were true. Ridley, in that noble Letter that he wrote to Grindall, when they were every Day looking for their Crown, ſays

ſays of him, "That he then ſhewed "how well he deſerved the great Cha- "racter of the Chief Paſtor and Arch- "biſhop of this Church": To which he adds of Latimer, "That he was "the antient and true Apoſtle of "CHRIST to the Engliſh Nation". In a Word, if it had not been for Cranmer's too feeble Compliance in K. Henry's Time, and this laſt inexcuſable Slip, he might well be propoſed as one of the greateſt Patterns in Hiſtory. And if the Exceſſes to which ſome Opinions had formerly carried Men, did in ſome Particulars incline him to the oppoſite Extreams, this muſt be reckoned a very pardonable Inſtance of managing the Counterpoize without due Caution. He was a Pattern of Humility, Meekneſs and Charity. He had a true and generous Contempt of Wealth, and of thoſe Shews of Greatneſs that belong to a high Station. His Labours, in ſearching into all Eccleaſtical Authors, both antient and modern, are amazing to thoſe who have ſeen the vaſt Collections that he writ out on all Matters of Divinity, with his own Hand. But now, after a long Courſe of Vexation and Contradiction, and, in Concluſion, after a long and ſevere Impriſonment, he was put to a cruel Death, by Perſons whom he had ſerved faithfully and effectually. For he had both ſerved the Queen, and reconciled her to her Father; and he had ſhewed a moſt particular Favour to Thirleby, and others, who concurred to finiſh this Tragedy.

THERE was a Convocation ſat with the Parliament in October, and to the Middle of November 1555. Chriſtopherſon was choſen Prolocutor: And after Bonner had confirmed him, he deſired that the Lower Houſe would name eight or ten Perſons, to hear ſome ſecret Propoſitions that were to be made to them by the King and Queen, and by the Cardinal, concerning the publick Good of the Kingdom, and of the Church. They, upon that, did chuſe the Prolocutor, and ten more: And to theſe the Biſhop of Ely propoſed to offer the Queen a Subſidy, in Return for the great Favour ſhe had ſhewed the Clergy, in forgiving the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, and in reſtoring to the Church all the Impropriations of Benefices that were then by the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, veſted in the Crown: For all which, the Biſhop of Ely propoſed a Subſidy of 8 s. in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The laſt Seſſion of the Convocation was on the 15th of November: And a Memorandum was inſerted in theſe Words; "After this Convocation "was begun, there was a National "Synod, the Clergy of York being "joined with them". For which, the Cardinal thought it ſafe and fit to take out a Licence under the Great Seal. The firſt Seſſion was on the 4th of November; and in this the Cardinal ſet himſelf ſo zealouſly to remove many Abuſes, that Maſon wrote that many of the Clergy wiſhed he were in Rome again.

THE Earl of Devonſhire went out of England this Summer. As he paſſed through Flanders he waited on the Emperor; and, as Maſon wrote, he owned that he owed his Liberty to him. The Queen ſent, and offered her Mediation between the Emperor and the French King: The Emperor accepted it, but with very ſharp Reflections on the French King.

THERE was in April a Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of France ſet on Foot; in which the Queen was Mediator, and ſent over both Pool and Gardiner to Calais in order to it. The Conſtable, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, were ordered to come from the Court, but the Pope's Death made it be thought more neceſſary to ſend that Cardinal to Rome.

ON the 14th of January, a Letter of a very ſingular Nature was written to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "requiring them to give ſuch ſubſtantial "Order, that when any obſtinate Man "condemned by the Order of the "Laws, ſhall be delivered to be pu- "niſhed for Hereſy, that there be a "great Number of Officers, and other "Men appointed to be at the Execu- "tion; who may be charged to ſee "ſuch as ſhall miſuſe themſelves, ei- "ther by comforting, aiding or prai- "ſing the Offenders; or otherwiſe, "uſe themſelves to the ill Example "of others, to be apprehended and "committed to Ward: And beſides, "to give Commandment that no Houſe- "holder ſuffer any of his Apprentices, "or other Servants, to be abroad, "other than ſuch as their Maſter will "anſwer for. And that this Order "be always obſerved in like Caſes "hereafter". Philpot's Martyrdom had been about a Month before this,

he being a Man highly eſteemed, who went through all his Sufferings with Heroick Courage and Chriſtian Conſtancy, it is probable there was more than ordinary Concern expreſſed by the People at his Sufferings, which drew this inhuman Letter from the Council, for they had no Sacrifices at that Time ready to be offered.

WHILE theſe Things paſſed in England, the Scene abroad was conſiderably altered, by the Reſignation of Charles the Vth, who delivered over his Hereditary Dominions to his Son Philip. He began that with the Dominions derived from the Houſe of Burgundy, after that, he reſigned up to him the Crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it: Upon that Letters were written to the ſeveral States, and Cities of Spain, on the 17th of January. Theſe were all in one Form: So that which was addreſſed to the City of Toledo, was ſent over to the Queen, tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh.

IN it he tells them "that which he "always denied to the Germans, that "for Religion's Sake he had enter-"prized the War of Germany, upon "the Deſire he had to reduce thoſe "Countries to the Unity of the "Church; that ſo he might procure "an univerſal Peace to all Chriſtendom, "and to aſſemble and aſſiſt at a Ge-"neral Council, for the Reformation of "many Things, that ſo with the leſs "Difficulty he might bring home thoſe "who ſeparated themſelves, and de-"parted from the Faith. This he had "brought to a very good Point, when "the French King allured the Ger-"mans to a League with him againſt "their Oaths and Fidelity to the Em-"peror, and ſo they made War on him "both by Sea and Land; and then "the French King procured the coming "of the Turks Army into Hungary, "to the great Damage of Chriſten-"dom; upon which he was forced "to bring down an Army, to the "great Prejudice of his own Perſon, "by his being obliged to keep the "Field ſo long that it had brought "on him painful Infirmities: He was, "upon that, become ſo deſtitute of "Health, that he was not able in his "own Perſon to endure the Travel, "and to uſe that Diligence that was "requiſite; which proved a great "Hindrance to many Things, of which "he had deep Senſe: He wiſhed he "had taken the Reſolution he was "now taking ſooner; yet he could "not well do it, by Reaſon of his Son's "Abſence; for it was neceſſary to "communicate many Things to him: "So he took Order for his Marriage, "and to bring him over to him, and "ſoon after that he reſigned to him "all his States, Kingdoms, and the "Seigneuries of the Crown of Caſtile "and Leon, with all their Appurte-"nances, which are more amply con-"tained in Inſtruments which he had "ſigned of the ſame Date with this "Letter. Truſting that he, with his "great Wiſdom and Experience, of "which he had great Proof in all that "he had hitherto handled in his Fa-"ther's Name, would now order and "defend the ſame with Peace and Juſ-"tice. He therefore having had large "Experience of their Loyalty, Fide-"lity and Obedience, did not doubt "but that they would continue to "ſerve and obey him in the ſame "Manner and Sort, as if GOD had "taken him into his Mercy. Dated "at Bruſſels the 17th of January, "1556.

SOON after that, he retired to the Place he had deſigned to ſpend the reſt of his Days in; and, according to the Account given by Dr. Geddes, there is great Reaſon to believe that he applied himſelf to ſerious Reflections on Religion. No Prince knew better than he did, both the Corruptions and Practices of the Court of Rome; and the Artifices and Methods by which two Seſſions of the Council of Trent had been conducted. He muſt likewiſe have underſtood the Grounds upon which both the Lutherans and the Reformed in Germany built their Perſuaſions: He had heard them often ſet out: But the Hurry of Buſineſs, the Prepoſſeſſion of Education, and the Views of Intereſt, had prejudiced him ſo far againſt them, that he continued in a moſt violent Enmity to them: But now that he was at full Leiſure to bring all his Obſervations together, and that Paſſion and Intereſt had no more Power over him, there are great Preſumptions to believe that he died perſuaded of the Doctrines of the Reformed Religion. Auguſtin Caſal, a Canon of the Church of Salamanca, was his Preacher, and was eſteemed the moſt eloquent Preacher that Spain ever produced: He was taken up in the Year 1558, and with 13 more was publickly burned at Vallidolid, in the Year

1559,

1559. The Unfortunate Prince Charles, and his Aunt Donna Juana, then Governeſs, looking on that barbarous Execution. Conſtantine Pontius, a Canon of Seville, who was his Confeſſor, eſteemed a Man of great Piety and Learning, was likewiſe taken up by the Inquiſition for being a Proteſtant: He died in Priſon, probably enough by the Torture the Inquiſitors put him to: But his Bones, with his Effigies, were burnt at Seville: So were the Bones of the learned Egidius, whom the Emperor had named to the Biſhoprick of Tortoſa, one of the richeſt in Spain: And at the ſame Time 18 were burnt alive for being Proteſtants; of which the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition gives this Account, that had not the Holy Tribunal put a Stop to thoſe Reformers, the Proteſtant Religion had run through Spain like Wild-Fire. People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, being wonderfully diſpoſed at that Time to have embraced it: And the Writer of the Pontifical Hiſtory, who was preſent at ſome of thoſe Executions, ſays, that had thoſe learned Men been let alone but three Months longer, all Spain would have been put in a Flame by them.

THE moſt eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been Confeſſor to King Philip and to Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo. He had aſſiſted Charles in the laſt Minutes of his Life. He was, within a few Months after his Death, upon Suſpicion of his being a Proteſtant, firſt confined by the Inquiſition to his own Palace at Tordelaguna: And, after he had been, for ſeven Years, kept within that Confinement, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten Years a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. Angelo; and was at laſt condemned as one ſuſpected of Hereſy. That great Man had been ſent by Charles as one of his Divines to the Council of Trent, where he preached, and wrote a Treatiſe of the perſonal Reſidence of Biſhops. Theſe Things put together, make it highly probable that Charles himſelf was poſſeſſed with that Doctrine that was ſo much ſpread among thoſe who were then moſt about him. Mezeray tells us, "That at Philip's Arrival in Spain he "cauſed a great many to be burned "for Hereticks in his own Preſence, "both at Seville and Vallidolid, both "Seculars and Eccleſiaſticks, Men and "Women, and in particular the Effi-"gies of his Father's Confeſſor: And "if Reports may be believed, he in-"tended to have made his Father's "Proceſs, and to have had his Bones "burnt for Hereſy; being only hin-"dered from doing it by this Conſide-"ration, that if his Father was an "Heretick, he had forfeited all his "Dominions, and by Conſequence he "had no Right to reſign them to his "Son.

THERE were in Biſhop Burnet's Hands, he ſays, two Papers concerning the Method in which the Queen ordered her Council to proceed, one was wrote in Cardinal Pool's own Hand, the other ſeemed to be left by the King. Thus ſhe was to be taught what ſhe was to ſay to them: Upon which they who did not know how weak a Woman ſhe was, might imagine that ſhe underſtood her own Affairs well, and thought much of them: Whereas the poor bigotted Woman was only as a Machine, made to ſpeak and act as ſhe was prompted, by thoſe who had the Management of her: For, of herſelf, ſhe ſeemed capable to think of nothing but how to deſtroy the Hereticks, and to extirpate Hereſy.

ON the 19th of January a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord Willoughby, and others in Lincolnſhire. At firſt, upon the Condemnation of Hereticks, Notice was given to the Council, before the Execution, to ſee if a Pardon ſhould be offered them: But they found ſo few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expoſe the Queen's Pardon to any further Contempt: So thoſe Perſons are required to proceed thereafter, againſt all ſuch as ſhould be condemned before them, according to the Laws, and not to ſtay for any Order. On the 20th of January Letters were written to the Sheriffs of Warwickſhire, Bedfordſhire and Cambridgeſhire, ordering them, that though the Priſoners ſhould be acquitted by Order of Law, yet to detain them in ſafe Cuſtody 'till they ſhould hear from the Earl of Suſſex. On the 14th of February, the Council was alarmed by this, that a Stage-Play was to be acted in Shrove-Tide, and that many were run to it: So the Lord Rich was ordered to hinder the Acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of February,

bruary, there was an Order ſent to Sir Henry Bedingfield, Lieutenant of the Tower, to put two to the Torture, and to pain them at his Diſcretion. On the 19th of February a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord Rich, for ſtopping the Stage-play. He put the Actors in Priſon, but he gave a good Character of them, ſo he was ordered to ſet them at Liberty, but to have an Eye on all ſuch Meetings. Several Inquiries were made at this Time after ſeditious Books; many Examinations and Commitments were made on that Account.

ON the 20th of April one Harris, a Carpenter and Gunner at Deptford, was brought before the Council for having ſaid on Maunday Thurſday, "The Queen hath this Day given "great Alms, and has given that a-"way that ſhould have paid us our "Wages. She hath undone the Realm "too; for ſhe loveth another Realm "better than this". He confeſſed the Words, but asked Pardon, and was diſmiſſed. It ſeems, about that Time, they expected the King's Coming over: For, on the 1ſt of June, the Lord Admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21ſt of June an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to a Maſter of the Requeſts, to put one to the Torture, if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the Queen, by Wotton, her Ambaſſador in France, that ſeveral Hereticks had fled over to France, and were well received there. In particular, that Henry Dudley (perhaps a Son of the Duke of Northumberland's) and Chriſtopher Aſhton were plotting there againſt the Queen. Upon that a Letter was written to Wotton, to demand that they might be ſeized on, and ſent at her Charge to the Frontier, to be delivered to her Officers. When the Draught of this was brought to her to be ſigned by her, ſhe, with her own Hand, interlined theſe Words; conſidering that when the King my Husband and he were Enemies, I neither did nor would have done the like.

Wotton wrote over, that the Hereticks took great Advantage from the new War, that the Pope engaged the French King to make on the King, after a Truce for five Years had been agreed to, and ſworn by both Kings. But the Pope ſent a Legate to France, to perſuade that King to begin the War. And though the Conſciences of Princes are not apt to be very ſcrupulous in the obſerving or breaking their Treaties; yet a Treaty made and confirmed by an Oath ſo very lately, it ſeems, made ſuch an Impreſſion on that King, that ſo great an Authority was to be interpoſed, to give a Colour for the breaking it. Thoſe called Hereticks, took great Advantages from this to infuſe a Horror in People at the Papacy, ſince one who pretended to be the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, became thus an open and a perfidious Incendiary.

THIS of the Pope's diſpenſing with a Prince's Oath, gave a great Diſtaſte every where. Pool was now in his Synod, labouring to bring the Clergy to their Duty. On the 13th of December, The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, was divided in Parcels to be examined by them: And ſome were appointed to prepare a Book of Homilies. On the 16th of December a Tranſlation of the New Teſtament was ordered and parcelled out: The ſeven Sacraments were alſo treated of. On the 20th of December, the Cardinal ſent an Order to the Prolocutor, to intimate to all the Clergy, more particularly to all Deans, that they ſhould confirm no Leaſes that had been made of their Benefices: This ſeems to be done in Obedience to the Pope's Bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all Leaſes for a longer Term than three Years. There was offered to them a Schedule of ſome Terms that were to be carefully conſider in the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament. On the 8th of January that was again conſidered: Propoſitions were alſo made for having Schools in all Cathedral Churches. Thus Pool found it neceſſary to give ſome Inſtruction in the Matters of Religion to the Nation; for an earneſt Deſire of Knowledge in theſe Points, being once raiſed and encouraged, it was neither ſafe nor eaſy quite to extinguiſh that which is ſo natural to Man: And therefore, inſtead of diſcouraging all Knowledge, and bringing Men to the State of implicit Faith, without any Sort of Enquiry, he choſe to give them ſuch a Meaſure of Knowledge as might be governed and kept within its own Bounds. There was in this Synod a Queſtion moved, what ſhould be done with ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould refuſe to ſay or come to Maſs? But it is uncertain what was determined upon it.

Pool

Pool prorogued the Synod to the 12th of November, and from thence to the 10th of May. The Reaſon given is, becauſe the Biſhops were in their Viſitations, which could not be ſoon ended; ſince a large Space of Time ſeemed neceſſary for their taking an exact Account of the Quantity and Quality of all Eccleſiaſtical Goods. From the the 10th of May, Pool prorogued the Synod to the 10th of November. The Reaſon given is, for the great Want and Penury of Victuals, for the Dearth at this Time was very great; Wheat was at four Marks the Quarter, Malt at two Pound four Shillings, Peaſe at two Pound five Shillings; but the next Harveſt proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high; Wheat was at five Shillings, Malt at a Noble, and Rye at three Shillings and four Pence a Quarter.

ON the 28th of July, the Council hearing that ſome naughty Books were ſent over, and concealed in the Dutcheſs of Suffolk's Houſe, ordered the Biſhop of Lincoln to ſearch for them, and to ſend them up. On the 19th of July, the Council was alarmed with Reports of Conſpiracies in Suffolk and Eſſex: So they ſent Orders to enquire about them; and about a zealous Man, that went about carrying Letters and Books over the Country, from whence he was called Trudge-over; ſo he was ordered to be ſought for. On the 15th of Auguſt, a Letter was written to the Mayor, Jurats and Commons at Rye, to chuſe one of the Queen's Servants to be Mayor for the enſuing Year.

ON the 21ſt of Auguſt, a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Earl of Suſſex, for his Diligence in apprehending thoſe who ſpread about lewd and ſeditious Reports; and as for lewd Prieſts, who had been married, and ſtill repaired to their Women, they tell him, they had written to the Biſhop of Norwich, to cauſe them to be apprehended and puniſhed on the 23d of Auguſt, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord Darcy, for his apprehending ſome ill-diſpoſed Perſons.

ON the 4th of September the Earl of Suſſex had moved that Offenders ſhould be proceeded againſt by martial Law: His Zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, "That "theſe deſerved to be ſo uſed; but "that is not thought beſt: They are "to be puniſhed as the Laws order. "But when they have had their Pu-"niſhment, he ſhall cauſe them to be "kept in Priſon, and in Irons, 'till "they know themſelves and their Du-"ty". On the 15th of September, a Letter of Thanks was written to the Earl of Suſſex, and the Juſtices of Norfolk, for their Diligence in puniſhing one Thomas Long.

AT this Time they were called on to conſider of what Danger Calais might be in: So a State of the Fortifications, and of what was neceſſary to maintain the Place, was laid before the Council: But the giving Orders in that Matter was delay'd 'till the King ſhould come over, of which they were in daily Expectation: For on the 17th of September, they underſtood that the Emperor, with his two Siſters, had embarked on the Tueſday before; and that the King was to come to Calais, and from thence to England. Privy Seals were at this Time ſent about every where for a Loan of Money; but it came in very ſlowly. Some took the Privy-Seal, but did not pay in the Money. There was about 1000 Privy-Seals given out at 100 l. a-piece. On the 6th of October, a Letter was ſent to Calais, to ſearch for ſome who had fled from England thither: It is directed to the Earl of Suſſex, which makes it probable they were Hereticks: For in that Matter, his Heart was entirely as the Queen's Heart was. On the 7th of October, the Lady Throgmorton was before the Council, asking Leave to ſend ſome Supply to her Husband, Sir Nicholas, who was then in France: The Cardinal told her, in the Preſence of the Lord Chancellor, and others, that for this one Time the Queen allowed of it, ſo it did not exceed 40 Crowns. It ſeems the Way of Exchange was much beſet, when ſo ſmall a Supply, from ſo near a Relation, could not be conveyed without ſuch an Application. On the 17th of November, a Letter was ordered for the Biſhop of London, to receive a Companion of him, who was called Trudge-over, to be ordered by him according to Law; and they complain to him, that a Man and a Woman of Colcheſter, that had been ſent to him, charged with Hereſy, were returned back diſcharged by him, but were now worſe than they were before. In another Book that ſeems to be the Mi-

nutes of the Council, it is entred that 24 Perſons were diſcharged by him, who were ſtill Hereticks.

AT this Time the Council was much employed in the Matter of the Privy Seals. Our Fleet was then ſo inconſiderable, that 14000 l. being ordered to be apply'd to the Fleet, by the Lord Treaſurer, and the Lord Admiral, for repairing, finiſhing and victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10000 l. a Year afterwards would anſwer what was neceſſary. On the 19th of February, one Chriſtopher Howe, was ordered to be proceeded againſt for ſome deteſtable Words, not fit to be heard: So it was ordered, that only ſuch Parts of them ſhould be opened, as might ſerve for Evidence to the Jury. On the 21ſt, Complaints were brought of a Jailor who ſuffered Hereticks to go freely about: On the 24th the Queen hourly expected to hear of the King's Arrival; ſo the Lord Admiral, and others were ordered to attend him. An Ambaſſador came at this Time from Ruſſia; he landed in the North of Scotland, and was well received, and nobly treated by the Lord Wharton; for which, Thanks were written to him.

ON the 20th of March, the King came to England. Orders being ſent into Kent, that the Gentlemen ſhould attend upon him in their beſt Apparel: Thanks were afterwards written to them for their Readineſs in furniſhing him with Poſt-Horſes. On the 17th of April, Proceedings are ordered to be made upon a Book, that is called, Lewd and Seditious: And the Counteſs of Suſſex coming over at this Time, and bringing Letters which gave ſome Suſpicion, ſhe was ſent to the Fleet. She had been for ſome Years ſeparated from her Husband; ſhe was ordered to be examined ſtrictly; but upon this, and many other Occaſions, Particulars are not ſet forth, and only a general Mention is made of the Minutes put in the Cheſt.

ON the 14th of June, Complaint was made of ſome naughty Plays and lewd Books. The Council was often alarmed with theſe Plays; but it does not appear, whether there was any Thing in the Plays with Relation to Religion, or the Government; or whether it was, that they apprehended ſome Miſchief from the Concourſe of the People, that thoſe Repreſentations brought together.

Bonner, at this Time gave the City of London a moſt diſmal Spectacle, a little removed from the City, perhaps for fear of a Tumult, at Stratford, where 13 Perſons, 11 Men and two Women, were burnt in one Fire. He had condemned 16 to be thus ſacrificed: But Cardinal Pool, heard there was ſome hopes of working on three of them; ſo there came an Order to put them in his Hands: And he by the 26th of July, prevailed ſo far on two of them, that a Pardon was granted to thoſe two who had been condemned by the Biſhop of London, but were prevailed on by the Cardinal to abjure (a very extraordinary Thing, as it is mentioned in the Pardon) and had received them into the Communion of of the Church, "And had upon that "interceeded with the King and "Queen for their Pardon, which they "as true Sons of the Church, did wil-"lingly imitate, and embraced this "Occaſion of ſhewing their Zeal.

HERE Biſhop Burnet leſſens the Character, he had formerly given, of the Cardinal's Mildneſs towards Hereticks: For on the 28th of March this Year, he ſent Orders to proceed againſt the Hereticks in his Dioceſe; and on the 7th of July, he ſent a Significavit of ſome Hereticks, to be delivered to the ſecular Arm.

HE finds likewiſe, he ſays, by other Evidences, ſuggeſted to him by the laborious Mr. Strype, that Pool was not ſo mild as he had repreſented him. Parker in his Britiſh Antiquities, which Strype believes aſſuredly he can prove, that it was written by him; he calls him Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Carnifex & Flagellum; the Whip and the Executioner of the Church of England: And Calfhil, a Canon of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in a Letter he wrote to Grindall, Biſhop of London, mentions the Proceedings of the Viſitors ſent to Oxford by Pool; who were Brooks, Biſhop of Glouceſter; Cole, Dean of St. Paul's; and Ormanet; he ſent them thither, not only to reſtore the Pope's Authority, but diligently to enquire if there were any who neglected the Pope's Ceremonies; and if there were any found, that were under the leaſt Suſpicion (leviſſima Suſpicio) they were without any Delay to eject them: He writes there was nothing Eminent in Ormanet, but intolerable Inſolence; nothing could be imagined more arrogant than he was. They raged as he adds,

adds, againſt a great many in the Univerſity, and burned in the open Market-Place, and infinite Number of Bibles and other Books.

THE Nation began next to grow every where weary of the cruel Executions of ſo many Hereticks: The great Promoter of theſe barbarous Proceedings was the Earl of Suſſex. He died in March this Year: For his Son Thomas, who ſucceeded to him in his Honour, was then Deputy of Ireland; and on the 1ſt of April, Order was given for a new Patent to him, by the Title of the Earl of Suſſex.

AT one Time Complaints were brought of the Sheriffs of Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk and Staffordſhire, and of the Mayor of Rocheſter, and the Bailiff of Colcheſter; that when ſome Perſons being condemned for Hereſy, were delivered to them by their Ordinaries, they inſtead of proceeding to a preſent Execution, had delayed it: So Letters were ordered to them, requiring them to ſignify what it was that had moved them to ſtop the uſual Proceedings.

ON the 15th of Auguſt the News came of the great Defeat given the French at St. Quintins; ſo an Order was ſent to the Biſhop of London, to publiſh it at St. Paul's Croſs. On the 24th of Auguſt Letters were ordered to be written to the Mayor and Aldermen of Briſtol requiring them to conform themſelves, in frequenting Sermons, Proceſſion, and other Ceremonies, at the Cathedral. On the 6th of October News came that Peace was made between the Pope and the King; upon which the Council ordered High Maſs to be at St. Paul's, and the Lord Mayor was required to be there, and to have Bonfires over the City. The Council was, for ſome Time, wholly taken up with the Matter of the Loan, and the Privy-Seals: And tho' the Government had certain Notice of the Deſign of the French upon Calais, yet no Parliament was called, by which Money, and every Thing elſe that was neceſſary to the preſerving it, could have been furniſhed. But the Spirit of the Nation was now much turned; and Compaſſion began to riſe towards thoſe poor People that were thus ſacrificed to the Cruelty of the Prieſts, and the Bigotry of a weak peeviſh Woman, ſo that they would not venture at calling one, but tried other ineffectual Methods of raiſing Money.

Bonner was again quickened by another Letter, to proceed againſt Heeticks. There is an Entry, in the Minute Book, of a Letter of the 1ſt Day of Auguſt 1558, written on Benbridge's Account, who, when he was ready to be burnt, offered to recant; upon which, the Sheriff of Hampſhire ſtaid the Execution: For that he was chid, but a Letter was written to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to examine whether his Converſation was entire and ſincere.

THERE was a ſtrange Spirit of Cruelty that run through the Body of the Clergy: It was animated by the Government, and ſhewed itſelf in ſo many diſmal Inſtances, in all the Parts of the Nation, that it ſtruck People with Horror. This, joined with the intolerable Haughtineſs of the King, and the ſhameful Loſs of Calais, brought the Government under an univerſal Hatred and Contempt. In a Book corrected, if not written by the Lord Burleigh, in Queen Elizabeth's Time, entitled, the Executions for Treaſon, the Sum of thoſe who ſuffered in this wretched Reign, is thus reckoned: "400 Perſons ſuffered publickly in "Queen Mary's Days, beſides thoſe "who were ſecretly murdered in Pri-"ſon: Of theſe, 20 were Biſhops and "dignified Clergymen, 60 were Wo-"men, Children more than 40, ſome "Women big with Child, one bore a "Child in the Fire, and the Child was "burned.

IT does not appear that the Biſhops or Clergy ſhewed any great Inclination to entertain Pool's Project for the Reformation of Abuſes, or that they were at much Pains in the Way of Inſtruction to reduce the People. They had heard ſo much of the ſecond Commandment, that when Bonner ſet out an Inſtruction for his Dioceſe, in the Year 1555, he did not think fit to leave it quite out, as is done in moſt Catechiſms of the Church of Rome: But yet he durſt not venture on giving it honeſtly; therefore, inſtead of theſe Words, Nor worſhip them, he gave it thus, Nor adore them with GOD's Honour.

THE firſt publick Occaſion that the ill-natured Pope found to expreſs his Diſpleaſure at Pool was, upon the Death of Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter. The Pope would not ſuffer Chriſtopherſon, the new Biſhop, to be recognized in Pool's Name, but did it himſelf

ſelf, as Kairn wrote over on the 10th of April. Kairn, after that, on the 15th of June, wrote to the Queen, that the Pope had ordered Cardinal Morone to be impriſoned on the Account of Religion. Four Cardinals were ſent to examine him. Kairn adds, that he was in high Reputation at Rome, for his Sanctity; and he believed him a good Catholick and a holy Man.

THE Stile in which all the Biſhops Bulls, during this Reign, did run, was, That the Pope, by his Apoſtolical Authority, did provide the Perſon to the See, and ſet him over it. Upon which, the Biſhop ſo named did renounce every Clauſe in his Bull, that was in any Sort prejudicial to the Crown: And the Renunciation being ſo made, the Cuſtody of the Temporalties was given to the Biſhop elect. In the Bulls, no mention is made either of the Queen's Recommending, nor of the Chapter's Electing. Rymer has gathered the Bulls for Exeter, Bangor, St. Aſaph, Carliſle, Cheſter, Peterborough, and Lincoln, beſides thoſe for Canterbury and York; and they all run in the Stile of Papal Proviſions. Nor does he mention a Conge d'Elire, except for Cheſter, Wincheſter, Carliſle, Lincoln, Chicheſter, and Peterborough. There is ſomething Particular in the Reſtitution of the Temporalties of Carliſle to Oglethorpe: It is added, that he was to pay 400 Marks.

THERE was another Convocation in January 1557-8. Harpsfield was choſen Prolocutor. On the 28th of January, Bonner, as the Cardinal's Commiſſary, propoſed ſome Heads of Reformation; and the Lower-Houſe deſired leave to offer their Propoſitions. On the 4th of February, a Subſidy was agreed to of eight Shillings in the Pound to be paid in four Years; and on the 9th, he told the Biſhops, that the Lower-Houſe had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a Want of Prieſts, to ſerve the Cures: In order to remedy this, and to provide a Supply for the ſmaller Benefices, it was propoſed, 1. That no Prieſt ſhould be taken up to ſerve in the Wars. 2. That the Biſhops might have Authority to unite ſmall Benefices, which the Prieſt ſhould ſerve by Turns. 3. That the Pariſhioners of Chapels of Eaſe, might be obliged to come to the Pariſh Church, 'till Curates could be provided. 4. That Biſhops might be authorized by the Pope, to ordain extra Tempora. There was alſo ſome Conſiderations had, about the Furniſhing of Arms; and a Decree paſſed, for the Proviſion of them, after the ſame Rate that the Laity had agreed to. But then the Convocation was prorogued, firſt to the 11th of November, and then to the 17th; on which Day the Queen died.

BUT now to open the State of the Nation: Calais, and the Places about, were loſt; and the Nation was ſo exhauſted, that the Supporting the Government was no eaſy Thing. The Perſons moſt in Favour with the two Kings of France and Spain, were two Clergymen, the Cardinal of Lorain, and the Biſhop of Arras, ſoon after promoted to be a Cardinal. They ſaw, that the Continuance of the War made it reaſonable on both Sides, not to put a Stop to the Progreſs of Hereſy; tho' it had not that Effect in England: They therefore, at an interview, projected a Peace; that ſo both Kings might be at full Leiſure to extirpate Hereſy out of their Dominions.

IN order to this, France was willing to make great Reſtitutions: Only, from the firſt opening of the Treaty, they declared very poſitively, that they reſolved never to part with Calais. A Treaty was opened; and the Earl of Arundel, the Biſhop of Ely, and Dean Wotton, were ſent to Treat in the Queen's Name. The Ambaſſadors ſaw no Hopes of the Reſtoring of Calais; ſo they had moved the Council, to lay the Matter before the Parliament. "It "was not thought convenient, to "break it to the whole Houſe: It was "thought beſt to begin with the No-"bility, and ſome of the beſt and gra-"veſt Sort. But before they made "that Step, they thought it neceſſary "to ask the Queen's Mind: She "thought it was beſt to lay it firſt be-"fore the King. Upon which, they "ſent the Ambaſſadors with a Letter "to the King; and reſolved to ſtay "'till his Anſwer came. They write, "that the Queen was ſtill Sick, and "weak: They hoped for her Amend-"ment; but they were driven to fear, "and miſtruſt the Worſt. In a Poſt-"ſcript, they tell them, they had re-"ceived the Ambaſſadors Letters of "the 4th, by which they ſaw the "French were reſolved not to reſtore "Calais: And that the King told "them, that his Commiſſioners had "almoſt agreed with the French in all "other Matters; but he would agree "to nothing, unleſs the Queen was

"ſatisfied.

" ſatisfied. The Council ordered the " Ambaſſadors to lay before the King " the Importance of leaving Calais in " the Hands of the French; and how " much it would touch the Honour " of the King and Queen, that ſo ma- " ny Reſtitutions being to be made " on both Sides, this alone ſhould not " be reſtored. The Subjects of this " Realm would certainly be very un- " eaſy at this. This War was began " at the King's Requeſt, and for his " Sake. If to other of the King's " Allies, Places are to be reſtored, that " were taken from them ſome Years a- " go; what then can be judged, if a Peace " is concluded without this Reſtitu- " tion? Yet, on the other Hand, if " there is an Agreement in all other " Matters (which is like giving up " of the Point) much were to be en- " dured for the Wealth of Chriſten- " dom. In theſe Matters the Ambaſ- " ſadors were ordered to deal plainly " with the King, and to ſtudy to know " his Mind; ſince the French, keep- " ing theſe Places, might be as great " Prejudice to his Low-Countries as " to England. They deſire a plain " and ſpeedy Anſwer, that they might " know what to offer to the Nobility " and Parliament, with Relation to " this Matter.

THE Anſwer to this belongs to this Reign; tho' it was written on the Day after the Queen died, ſigned by the three Ambaſſadors. " They had writ- " ten formerly, that the French King " had ſaid, he would hazard his " Crown, rather than reſtore Calais: " Yet, for all thoſe high Words, they " did not quite deſpair. The Com- " miſſioners of both Kings had broke " up their Conferences, and returned " to their Maſters, to give an Account " of what they had done, and to re- " ceive their final Orders. The Am- " baſſadors believed, that if the King " inſiſted poſitively on the Reſtitution " of Calais, that this might induce " the French to agree to it: Where- " as, if the King and his Miniſters " ſpoke but faintly of the Matter, they " were ſure the French would ſtill re- " fuſe to do it. Therefore they did " not think fit to uſe any Words to " the King, to make him imagine that " the Queen or the Kingdom would " conſent to a Peace without the re- " ſtoring of Calais; becauſe their In- " ſtructions were expreſs in that Point. " The King continued to ſay, that " he would make no Peace, unleſs the " Queen ſhould be ſatisfied; ſo that " if ſhe and her Council continued to " inſiſt on that Point, they did believe " the French would reſtore it, rather " than loſe the View they had of " Peace. And whereas the Council " wrote to them, that if all other " Things were near agreed, much were " to be endured for the Peace of " Chriſtendom; yet that all others " ſhould have Reſtitution, and that " poor England ſhould only bear the " Loſs was hard, eſpecially ſo great a " Loſs: And they were ſo far from " thinking that the leaving Calais to " the French, would purchaſe a ſure " Peace, that they thought on the con- " trary, that nothing ſhewed more " evidently that the French did " not intend to continue the Peace " with England eſpecially than their " keeping of Calais. The French " could eaſily annoy England on the " Side of Scotland, the Dauphin be- " ing then married to the Queen of " Scots; and what the French pre- " tend to by that Marriage, was not " unknown to them. (This proba- " bly was to claim the Crown of " England upon the Queen's Death.) " Now if the French kept Calais, the " Engliſh could neither hurt their " Enemies, nor aſſiſt their Friends, or " be aſſiſted by them ſo eaſily, as when " that Place was in their Hands. Eng- " land would be ſhut out from the " reſt of Europe: The very Know- " ledge of the Tranſactions abroad " would come late to them, and that " Place would be a Scourge to Eng- " land, as it was before Edward the " IIId took it; which made him come " with his Son, and but with a ſmall " Army from Normandy into France, " and to March through Picardy to " beſiege it, the Enemy purſuing him " with a greater Army; but he fought " through them, 'till at laſt he fought " them at Creſſy, where, though the " French were three to one, yet he " totally defeated them, and continued " the Siege 'till he took it. So the " French having Scotland on the one " Hand, and Calais on the other, it " is eaſy to apprehend what might fol- " low on this. The French would " ſign any Terms with them to keep " that Place, Theſe would be only " Parchment and Wax. They knew " how many Parchments King Francis " ſealed to King Henry; and the pre- " ſent

" ſent King to King Edward. They " ſaw the Effects they had, and if a " War ſhould follow between Eng- " land and France, they were not ſure " that Spain would join with England: " Whereas now the King could not ho- " nourably make any Peace without " us: And he himſelf ſaid he would " not: So they did not think Chriſten- " dom ſhould have a good Peace, if " Calais were left to the French: And " it was certainly more the Intereſt of " England to continue the War in Con- " junction with the King, than to " make a Peace, letting it go, and then " be forced to begin a new War, and " to have all the Burden of it lie upon " England. All this they thought " themſelves bound to lay before the " Council. The Biſhop of Ely adds, " that he was with the Commiſſioners " by the King's Order, they had not " yet agreed concerning the Matters of " Corſica and Siena, the French have " likewiſe demanded the Reſtitution of " Navarre: So that ſome thought the " Treaty would be broken off without " concluding in a Peace. The Earl of " Arundel adds, that after they had " gone ſo far in their Letter, he re- " ceived a Letter from the Biſhop of " Arras, dated the 17th, in which he " writes thus: The Biſhop of Ely had " told you on what Terms we were " in this Purgatory, at his leaving us. " The French told us yeſterday, that " they would condeſcend to every " Thing rather than yield in the Mat- " ter of Calais; or let that Place go " out of their Hands. And we on our " Part told them, that without full " Satisfaction to the Kingdom of Eng- " land, we would not Treat with them " in any Sort. And we parted ſo, " that there is more Appearance of a " Rupture than of a Concluſion of the " Treaty." But after all, our Ambaſſadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the Account of Calais. If they were in doubt about it, while the Queen was yet alive, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that her Death put them out of all Doubt concerning it.

WE are now come to the Concluſion of this inglorious Reign. Campana gives a different Account of the immediate Occaſion of the Queen's Death, from what is to be found in other Authors. He tells us that King Philip, ſeeing no Hope of Iſſue by her, and that ſhe was in an ill State of Health, deſigned a Marriage betwen the Duke of Savoy, and the Lady Elizabeth: The Queen had a very bad Opinion of her Siſter, ſuſpecting ſhe had ill Principles in Religion. King Philip thought the Duke of Savoy would be a firm Friend to him, and a conſtant Enemy to France. But he could never bring the Queen to hearken to this: Yet now ſhe was declining very faſt, he ſent over the Duke of Feria to propoſe the Match to the Privy Council, without any Regard to the Queen; or to the Oppoſition ſhe might make to it. And he ordered him to uſe all poſſible Means to bring it to a Concluſion. The Queen reſented this highly; and when ſhe ſaw it was deſigned to force her to it, ſhe fell into an extream Melancholy. The Privy Council did not entertain the Motion; and the Queen dying in a few Days, an End was put to it: For tho' the Duke of Feria was in England, upon Queen Elizabeth's coming to the Crown, it does not appear, that he made any Propoſition of that Matter to her. What Truth ſoever may be in this, the Nation was now delivered from a ſevere and unhappy, tho' ſhort Reign: In which Superſtition and Cruelty had the Aſcendant to ſuch a Degree, that it does not appear, that there was any one Great, or Good Deſign ever ſet on Foot, either for the Wealth, or Glory of the Nation. The poor Queen delivered herſelf up to her peeviſh and fretful Humours, and to her Confeſſor: And ſeemed to have no other Thoughts, but about the Extirpation of Hereſy, and the Endowing of Monaſtries. Even the War that commonly ſlackens vigorous Proceedings, had not that Effect here. Her inexorable Hatred of all ſhe accounted Hereticks, was ſuch, that there is to be found but one ſingle Inſtance of a Pardon of any condemned of Hereſy: And that was upon the Cardinals Interceſſion. GOD ſhorten'd the Time of her Reign for his Elect Sake: And he ſeemed to have ſuffered Popery to ſhew itſelf in its true and natural Colours, all over both falſe and bloody; even in a Female Reign, from whence all Mildneſs and Gentleneſs might have been expected; to give this Nation ſuch an evident and demonſtrative Proof of the barbarous Cruelty of that Religion, as might raiſe laſting Abhorrence and Deteſtation of it.

IT was viſible that the Providence of GOD made a very remarkable Difference in all Reſpects, between this

poor ſhort and deſpiſed Reign, and the Glory, the Length, and the Proſperity of the ſucceeding Reign. So that, as far as we can Reaſon from the outward Character of Things, the one was all over mean and black, while the other ſhined with a ſuperior Brightneſs, to the Admiration of all the World. It wanted no Foil to ſet it off, being all over Luſtre and Glory. But if that was wanting, the baſe and contemptible Reign that went before it, could not but add to its Brightneſs.

ONE amazing Character of Providence in her Death, and in the great Succeſſor that came after her, was, that at the Time that the two Miniſters, being both Eccleſiaſticks, of the Kings of France and Spain, were deſigning a Peace, with the View of deſtroying Hereſy upon the Concluſion of it, their Project was entirely blaſted in ſo critical a Minute: Firſt, by the Death of Queen Mary, and the Succeſſion of Queen Elizabeth; and next by the unlooked-for Death of the King of France in July after: So that not that only the Deſign totally miſcarried, but France fell under the Confuſions of a Minority; under which, that they call'd Hereſy gathered great Strength: And the Cruelty of the Spaniſh Government occaſioned the Revolt of the Netherlands; while the glorious Queen of England protected and aſſiſted both ſo effectually, that King Henry the IVth owned his being ſupported by her in his loweſt State, was the chief Means that brought him to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of France: And the United Provinces had their main Dependance on the Protection and Aſſiſtance that they had from her. So mercifully did GOD deal with this Nation, by removing that Queen, that he had ſet over it in his Wrath, and ſo graciouſly did he watch over the Reformation, that in the very Time, in which the Enemies of that Work, reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raiſed up a glorious Inſtrument, that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender Influence watched over it, and protected it every where.

Of the Beginnings of Queen ELIZABETH's Reign.

NO Prince ever came to the Throne in a more clouded State of Affairs than this Queen did: The Nation was engaged in a War both with France and Scotland. The Queen had no Ally, but King Philip: And though ſhe was ſenſible of her particular Obligations to him, yet being reſolved to make Alterations in Religion, ſhe knew ſhe could depend no longer on him, when once theſe ſhould be begun. The Duke of Feria, then his Ambaſſador in England, took all Occaſions to let her underſtand, that his Maſter was the Catholick King. And that therefore he muſt protect that Religion. The Papiſts whom ſhe found in the Miniſtry, poſſeſſed her with Fears of Rebellions at Home, and of Wars from abroad, if ſhe ſet herſelf to alter Religion. Thoſe ſhe brought into her Councils, in Conjunction with the Papiſts, chiefly Bacon and Cecil had been ſo accuſtomed to comply with what they condemned in Matters of Religion, that they brought themſelves to bear what they did not approve: And they apprehended great Danger if they ſhould proceed too quick in thoſe Matters.

THE Queen's Inclinations to the Reformation were univerſally relied on: Her Education and Knowledge; her bad Uſage during the former Reign; and her Title to the Crown, that was grounded on a Marriage made in Defiance to the Pope, led all People to conclude, that what ſlow Steps ſoever ſhe might make in it ſhe would certainly declare for it, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw ſhe could be ſafe in doing it. Upon this, ſome, whether out of a Forwardneſs of Zeal, or on Deſign to encourage her, began early to pull down Images, and to make Changes: But on the other Hand, the Prieſts apprehending what was like to follow, begun at the ſame Time to alarm the People: Some broke out into ſeditious Words, to animate the People againſt all Changes: And the Pulpits being all in their Hands, they had free Scope there to give the Alarm: Some went further, and called her Title to the Crown in Queſtion; and ſet up the Pretenſions of the Queen of Scotland; of theſe, the induſtrious Mr. Strype has gathered many Inſtances, that ſhewed on the one Hand their ſeditious Tempers; and on the other, the great Mildneſs of the Government, different from the Cruelty of the former Reign. To put a Stop to theſe, ſhe did, by one Proclamation, prohibit all Preaching; and by another, all Alterations by private Hands.

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As her Miniſters adviſed this Caution in Matters of Religion, ſo they perſuaded her to digeſt the Loſs of Calais, and to come into a Peace with France and Scotland.

THEY likewiſe thought of new Alliances. In order to this, Mount was brought into England again; and had ſecret Inſtructions given him by Cecil, to go to all the Princes of Germany, to know how far the Queen might depend on their Aſſiſtance; and to receive the Advices that the Princes offered, with Relation to the Affairs of England, and in particular, concerning a proper Marriage for the Queen. He found them ready to receive the Queen into the ſmalcaldick League; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended, might be made upon their Model. The Match they all propoſed, was with Charles of Auſtria, the Emperor Ferdinand's ſecond Son, Brother to Maximilian, the King of Bohemia and Hungary; who was known to be a Proteſtant; for tho' he complied in the outward Acts of the Popiſh Worſhip, yet he had a Miniſter in his Court, whom he heard frequently preach. Both the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, aſſured Mount, that Charles deſigned, as ſoon as he durſt, for fear of his Father's Diſpleaſure, to declare himſelf of their Religion. He ſaid to one of theſe Princes; "I love the Re-"ligion that my Brother holds, and "approve of it, and will, by the Grace "of GOD, profeſs it openly. He told "him that his Father ſuſpected this; "and had preſſed him to take an Oath, "that he would never change his Re-"ligion. He refuſed that; but ſaid to "his Father, that he believed, as he "did, all that was in the New Teſta-"ment, and in the Orthodox Fathers. "Upon Which, the Emperor ſaid, I "ſee this Son is likewiſe corrupted." They thought this Match would be a great Strengthening of the Queen: It would engage the whole Houſe of Auſtria in the Proteſtant Religion, and unite the whole Empire in an Alliance with the Queen. This was writ to the Queen in the Year 1559.

THE News of the Queen's coming to the Crown no ſooner reach'd Zurick, than all thoſe who had retired thither, reſolved to return to England. They had been entertained there both by the Magiſtrates and the Miniſters, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Geſner, and all the reſt of that Body, with a Tenderneſs and Affection, that engaged them to the End of their Lives, to make the greateſt Acknowledgments poſſible for it. The firſt of theſe was, in all Reſpects, the chief Perſon of that Society, with whom they held the cloſeſt Correſpondence. Peter Martyr was likewiſe there, and was treated by them all with a ſingular Reſpect, even to a Submiſſion. Jewel was firſt formed by him at Oxford, and ſo continued to his Death in a conſtant Commerce of Letters with him, writing always to him by the Title of Father.

Horn and Sands went firſt to England, ſo Jewel, who was following them, writes from Strasburg, on the 26th of January 1559, to Peter Martyr; and adds, "That they were well re-"ceived by the Queen; that many "Biſhopricks were void; Chriſtopher-"ſon was certainly dead: That White "whom Martyr knew well, had "preached the Funeral Sermon, when "Queen Mary was buried: The Text "was, I praiſed the Dead more than "the Living: In which he charged the "Audience, by all Means, not to ſuf-"fer any Change to be made in Reli-"gion. Inveighing againſt the Fugi-"tives, that might perhaps return into "England, he ſaid, whoſoever ſhould "kill them, would do a Deed accep-"table to GOD. Upon this he writes, "that both the Marquis of Wincheſter, "and Heath, Archbiſhop of York, "ſeemed highly diſpleaſed at it. He "adds, that Bonner was obliged to "reſtore to Ridley's Executors, all his "Goods that he had violently ſeized "on, and was confined to his Houſe.

Gualter wrote to one Maſters, who was the Queen's Phyſician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of January. "He congratulate the happy "Change of their Affairs. He wiſhes "that they would not hearken to the "Counſels of thoſe Men; who when "they ſaw that Popery could not be "honeſtly defended, nor entirely re-"tained, would uſe all Artifices, to "have the outward Face of Religion "to remain mixed, incertain and doubt-"ful: So that while an Evangelical "Reformation is pretended, thoſe "Things ſhould be obtruded on the "Church, which will make the Re-"turning back to Popery, to Superſti-"tion, and to Idolatry, very eaſy. I "write not theſe Things to you, he "adds, as knowing that there are any "ſuch among you; but I write from

"a Fear

" a Fear that there may be ſome ſuch. " For we have had the Experience of " this for ſome Years in Germany, " and know what Influence ſuch Per- " ſons may have. Their Councils " ſeem, to a carnal Judgment, to be " full of Modeſty, and well fitted for " carrying on an univerſal Agreement: " And we may well believe, that the " Common Enemy of our Salvation, will " find out proper Inſtruments, by whoſe " Means the Seeds of Popery may " ſtill remain among you. A little " after he writes, that he apprehends " that in the firſt Beginnings, while " Men may ſtudy to avoid the giving " ſome ſmall Offence, many Things " may be ſuffered under this Colour, " that they will be continued but for " a little while; and yet afterwards it " will ſcarce be poſſible by all the " Endeavours that can be uſed to get " them to be removed, at leaſt not " without great Strugglings". Dr. Maſters, in anſwer to this, tells him, he had laid his Letter before the Queen, and that ſhe had read it all. He promiſes to uſe his beſt Endeavours for carrying on a ſound Reformation: This plainly inſinuated their Fears of ſomewhat like what was deſigned by the Interim in Germany.

Francis Earl of Bedford, had gone out of England in Queen Mary's Time, and had ſtaid ſome Time at Zurick: He had expreſſed a true Zeal for the Reformation, and a particular Regard for the Divines there; and upon that they wrote often to him, and preſſed him vehemently to take Care in the firſt Beginnings to have all Things ſettled upon a ſure and ſound Foundation.

ON the 24th of January the Convocation was opened; but the Biſhops, in Obedience to the Queen's Proclamation againſt Preaching, did not think fit to open it with a Sermon. Harpsfield was choſen Prolocutor. He asked, what they had to do, and what was to be done, to preſerve Religion? The Biſhops anſwered, they muſt pray the Queen that no new Burden might be laid on the Clergy in this Parliament. This was to prevent a new Subſidy, the former not being yet paid. In the 7th Seſſion, the Prolocutor offered to the Biſhops the Five Articles mentioned in the former Part of this Hiſtory. Theſe they had drawn up for the Diſcharge of their Conſciences, and they deſired the Biſhops to be their Leaders in this Matter, The Biſhops received their Paper, and promiſed to deliver it to the Houſe of Lords. In the next Seſſion the Prolocutor and Clergy came up, and asked the Biſhops, if they had delivered their Paper to the Houſe of Lords? Bonner anſwered, that they had delivered it to the Lord Keeper, the Mouth of that Houſe; who, to all Appearance, received it kindly, or thankfully (gratanter,) but gave them no Anſwer. The Clergy deſired the Biſhops to get an Anſwer from him, or at leaſt to know his Pleaſure before their next Meeting. In the 9th Seſſion the Biſhops told the Clergy, that they had not yet found a fit Opportunity to obtain an Anſwer from the Houſe of Lords. On the 10th Seſſion, Bonner told the Clergy, that all their Articles, except the laſt, which was, " That the Authority of treating and " defining, in Matters of the Faith, " of the Sacraments, and of Eccle- " ſiaſtical Diſcipline, belonged to the " Paſtors of the Church, and not to " the Laity, were approved by the " two Univerſities". After this came only perpetual Prorogations from Day to Day, without any Buſineſs done, 'till the 9th of May, in which the Convocation was diſſolved: So this was the laſt and feeble Struggle that the Popiſh Clergy made in Convocation.

THE Biſhops ſtood firm in the Houſe of Lords, where there were none of the other Side to anſwer them, few of the Temporal Lords being very learned. They ſeemed to triumph there, and hung ſo upon the Wheels that there was a ſlow Progreſs made. On the 20th of March, Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, " That after a Journey of 51 Days, " from the Time he left Zurick, he " got to London, where he was ama- " zed to find the Pope's Authority " was not yet thrown off: Maſſes " were ſtill ſaid; and the Biſhops con- " tinued ſtill inſolent. Things were " beginning to mend a little. A pub- " lick Diſputation was then reſolved " on: And he adds, that the Queen " ſpoke with great Eſteem of Peter " Martyr. The inferior Sort of the " Populace was both ignorant and " perverſe. He tells him, Brooks, " Biſhop of Gloceſter, whom he calls " an impure Beaſt, was newly dead, " and cry'd out as he was dying, that " he was damned.

Jewel, in a Letter to Bullinger from London, on the 22d of May, 1559, after great Acknowledgments of his Obligations to him, and to all Zurick, "Thanks him for quickening them to "act with Zeal and Courage. There "was need of it; for beſides thoſe who "had been always their Enemies, the "Deſerters, who had left them in the "former Reign, were now their moſt "bitter Enemies. Beſides this, the "Spaniards had corrupted the Morals "of the Nation to a great Degree. "They were doing what they could, "and all Things were coming into a "better State. The Queen did very "ſolemnly refuſe to be called Head "of the Church. She thought that "Title was only due to CHRIST. "The Univerſities were ſtrangely cor-"rupted by Soto, and another Spaniſh "Monk. It was ſcarce credible how "much Miſchief they had done in ſo "little Time. He tells him, that the "Lord Bedford had asked him what "would be the moſt acceptable Pre-"ſent that he could ſend to him and "his Brethren? He anſwered, No-"thing could be ſo acceptable to them "as his expreſſing a Zeal for promo-"ting the Goſpel, and againſt Popery. "That Lord aſſured him he would "do that faithfully, which, as he "writes, he was doing very ſincerely. "He writes alſo, how that ſeveral "Princes were making Addreſſes to "the Queen for her Marriage; but "many ſuſpected her Inclinations lay "to one Pickering, a worthy and pious "Man; and one of a moſt noble Fi-"gure, as to his Perſon. He refers "him for other Things to his Letters "for Peter Martyr". On the 6th of April, Jewel wrote a particular Account of the Diſputation; "He tells "him that Cole treated the Reformers "with many Reproaches and much "Scorn, and called them ſeditious In-"cendiaries. He delivered his Speech "with great Emotion, ſtamping with "his Feet, and putting himſelf as in "Convulſions: He ſaid the Apoſtles "divided their Works into two Pro-"vinces, the Weſtern and Eaſtern: "The firſt, St. Peter and St. Paul had "given to them, where the Worſhip "was to be all in Latin: The Eaſtern "Diviſion fell to the other Apoſtles, "where all was to be performed in "Greek. This he introduced with "Pomp as a Thing certain. He af-"firmed, that it was not fit the People "ſhould underſtand the publick Wor-"ſhip; for Ignorance was the Mother "of Devotion. The Paper prepared "by the Reformers was read gravely "and modeſtly by Horn: So that all "who were preſent, he Names the "Earl of Shrewsbury in particular, "acknowledged the Victory was entirely "on their Side: By this, and by what "happened the ſecond Day, the Po-"piſh Cauſe ſunk much in the Opi-"nion of the People.

ON the 28th of April, in another Letter, he tells Peter Martyr how earn-neſtly the Biſhops contended in the Houſe of Lords. "Fecknam defended "Monaſtick Orders from the Sons of "the Prophets, and the Nazarites a-"mong the Jews, and ſaid CHRIST "and his Apoſtles were Monks. None "ſtruggled more vehemently than "Thurleby. He ſaw a Deſign at "Court of ſeizing on the Biſhops Ma-"nors, and aſſigning Parſonages to them "inſtead of them; but he laments "moſt of all, that no Care was taken "of Schools, or of promoting Learn-"ing; the Univerſities were in a moſt "miſerable Condition. The Earl of "Bedford preſſed the Queen to ſend "for Peter Martyr: She ſaid, ſhe "would do it: But as much as Jewel "deſired to ſee him, he writes, that "he would not adviſe his coming "over, if he was not ſent for with "ſuch an earneſt and honourable In-"vitation as he deſerved to have. He "ſaw many of the Queen's Miniſters "were in hope to enter into the Smal-"caldick League. And one who had "been a Biſhop, poſſeſſed them with "an Opinion, that if Martyr were "brought over, that would obſtruct "the other Deſign: He expreſſes an "ill Opinion of that Perſon, but does "not name him": It muſt have been either Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale; for theſe were all the Biſhops of the Re-formation that were then alive: Cover-dale, as being a Dane, is the likeſt to have been engaged in the Lutheran Opinion: He concludes his Letter, that thoſe who had returned from their Exile, were yet in great Miſery, no Care being taken of them.

HIS next Letter is on the 10th of April, in which he laments the want of Zeal and Induſtry in promoting the Reformation, far ſhort of what the Papiſts ſhewed in Queen Mary's Time.

Cox,

Cox, on the 20th of May, wrote to Weidner, another Divine of Zurick, whom he calls a venerable old Man. He tells him, that they found the ſhort Reign of Queen Mary had ſuch Effects in hardening the Minds of the People in their Superſtition, that it would not be eaſy to change the Nation.

ALL Buſineſs was brought to a good Concluſion in Parliament. The King of France's unlooked for Death, had given ſuch a Change to the Face of Affairs abroad, that the Queen and her Miniſters ſeemed to be animated with more Courage than had appeared hitherto. In the Beginning of Auguſt, it appears, that Preachers were ſent to many different Parts.

MR. Strype, in his Life of Grindal, informs the World, that when he knew he was deſigned to be a Biſhop, he wrote to Peter Martyr, for his Opinion in ſeveral Matters. In his Letter he ſays, "He did not approve of the "Queen's taking away the Eſtates of "the Biſhopricks, and giving them "Parſonages inſtead of them. He "thought this was the Patrimony of "the Inferior Clergy; ſo he did not "ſee how they could be ſupplied, if "theſe were given to the Biſhops. He "had alſo a Doubt concerning the "Popiſh Veſtments: At another Time "he asked his Advice, whether the Po-"piſh Prieſts, upon their changing "again, ſhould be received and con-"tinued in their Functions? Or, whe-"ther ſuch of them as had been con-"cerned in the late Cruelty, ought "not to be proſecuted for that?

To all this Peter Martyr anſwered, "That for the taking away the Biſhops "Eſtates, and giving them Parſonages "for them, they could neither hinder "nor help it: But they ought, out "of them, to ſupport the Clergy that "laboured in thoſe Parſhes: For the "Habits, he confeſſed he did not love "them; for while he was a Canon in "Oxford, he never would uſe the Sur-"plice. He thought they ought to "do what they could to get them to "be laid aſide; but that if that could "not be done, he thought he might "do more Good, even in that Parti-"cular, by ſubmitting to it, and ac-"cepting a Biſhoprick, which might "give him an Intereſt to procure a "Change afterwards. As for the Po-"piſh Prieſts, he adviſed the forgiving "all that was paſt; and the receiving "them according to the Practice of "the Primitive Church, in the Return "of the Arians to the Orthodox Bo-"dy. But they were to watch over "them, and to inſtruct and examine "them with more Care": This An-ſwer came too late; for Grindal was conſecrated before he got it; but it was, no doubt, a great Satisfaction to him, to find that a Perſon whom he eſteem-ed ſo highly, approved of the Reſolu-tion that he had taken: In which it was probable Jewel's Opinion, of whom they had all a high Eſteem, might con-tribute to ſettle him; for though he diſliked the Uſe of thoſe Veſtments, and treats the inſiſting ſo much on it with great Contempt; yet, on the other Hand, he blames thoſe who laid too much Weight upon that Matter, and ſo looked on it as a Thing of more Importance than truly it was.

THEY all rejoiced in the happy Turn of Affairs then in Scotland, the much greater Part of that Nation de-claring themſelves openly and zealouſly againſt Popery.

THE Scottiſh Nation was ſo well diſpoſed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon King James the Vth's Death, which was in December, 1541, there appeared a wonderful Inclination among them to be better informed in Matters of Religion. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this, had got a Will to be forged in the Name of the deceaſed King, conſtituting him Regent. But as that was diſcovered to be a Forgery, ſo the Nobility had no Regard to it, but owned the Earl of Aran to be the ſecond Perſon in the Kingdom; and that he was next to the young Queen, and the Heirs of her Body, the Heir of the Crown. So they took the Oaths of Allegiance to the Queen as their So-vereign; and to the Earl of Aran, as their Governor, 'till the Queen was of perfect Age; and upon that the Cardi-nal was ſecured.

A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in May, 1542, in which the Regency of the Earl of Aran was of new con-firmed on the 13th of May; and all the Subjects were required to obey him in all Things pertaining to that Office, conform to the Acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that Par-liament. They alſo ratified the Oaths that had been taken to him by ſome Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and all who were preſent, were required to confirm theſe Oaths, by ſolemn Oaths in full Parliament; which they all did

by

by the holding up of their right Hands, ſwearing that they would be true and obedient to the Lord Governor, and ſerve him with their Perſons, Kindred, Friends, and Goods, and no other, during the Queen's Nonage.

ON the 15th of May, they ordered an Authentick Publication to be made of all they had done under the Great Seal; and they all affixed their Seals to the Inſtrument made to confirm this Settlement. On the ſame Day a Council was named; ſix of theſe was the Number that was at leaſt neceſſary to concur with the Governor. The Cardinal was not one of them. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who was Lord Chancellor, with the Biſhops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Roſs, and Brichen; and the Abbots of Dunfermlin, and Cowper, were for the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Earls of Angus, Huntley, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marſhall, Caſſilis, and Glencairn; and the Lords Erskin, Ruthuen, Maxwell, Seton and Methuen, for the Nobility; with ſome other Commoners of the Boroughs: After whom the Treaſurer, the Secretary, the Clerk of Regiſter, the Juſtice Clerk, and the Queen's Advocate are named. It ſeems they intended that no Peers ſhould be created, but with the Concurrence of the Parliament: For the Governor, with the Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, made the Lord Stewart of Ochiltry, a Peer, to have Vote and Place in Parliament. In the ſame Record mention is made of the Draught of an Act offered by the Lord Maxwell, to the Lords of the Articles, in theſe Words:

"IT is ſtatute and ordained, that it "ſhall be lawful to all our Sovereign "Lady's Lieges, to have the Holy "Writ of the New Teſtament and "the Old, in the Vulgar Tongue, in "Inglis or Scotts, of a good and tru "Tranſlation; and that they ſhall in"curre no Crime, for the having or "reding of the ſame. Provided always, "that no Man diſpute, or hold Opi"nions, under the Pains contained in "the Acts of Parliament.

THE Lords of Articles found this reaſonable, and thought that the Bible might be uſed among all the Lieges of the Realm, in our Vulgar Tongue, of a good, true, and juſt Tranſlation, becauſe there was no Law ſhewed to the contrary. And therefore they agreed, that none ſhould incur any Crime for having or reading it, nor be accuſed for it; but added the Proviſo that was added to the Draught offered to them.

BUT the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow did, in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Prelates of the Realm that were preſent in Parliament, when the Act came to be read in full Parliament, diſſent (ſimpliciter) to it, as being one of the three Eſtates of the Parliament: And they oppoſed them thereto, unto the Time that a Provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of this Realm, to adviſe and conclude thereupon; if the ſame be neceſſary to be had in the Vulgar Tongue, to be uſed among the Queen's Lieges, or not; and thereafter to ſhew the utter Determination that ſhall be done in that Behalf. Upon this, he demanded an Inſtrument to be made, according to the Forms in that Kingdom. But notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, the Act paſſed. For in the ſame Record there is an Order entred, as ſigned by the Governor, requiring the Clerk of Regiſter to cauſe the Acts paſſed in Parliament to be proclaimed; and in ſpecial, the Act made for having the New Teſtament in the Vulgar Tongue, with certain Additions.

IN the ſame Record the Inſtructions are ſet down that were given to the Ambaſſadors that were ſent to Treat concerning the Queen's Marriage with Edward then Prince of Wales; in which it appears that they thought it neceſſary, if their Sovereign went out of the Kingdom, even after ſhe was of perfect Age, yet that the Governor of the Realm ſhould continue to exerciſe his Authority all the Days of his Life: And that after his Death, the neareſt lawful Perſon of the Blood ſhould ſucceed to the ſaid Office, by a large and ample Commiſſion, of which they order a Form to be deviſed.

THE free Uſe of the Scriptures was a great Step to let the Nation look into the Nature of the Chriſtian Religion: And the Clergy foreſaw well the Conſequences that would naturally follow upon it; ſo it was no Wonder that this was oppoſed ſo zealouſly by them. It was a great Piece of Foreſight to ſecure the Nation, by having a Governor with full Powers ſtill reſiding amongſt them. In the ſubſequent Treaty with France, there was not that Care nor Precaution uſed; but at the Concluſion of the Marriage the French proceeded in ſo perfidious a Manner, as to give a Warning to all who

who in future Times ſhould treat with that Court. For on the 4th of April, 1558, (a Fortnight before the Articles of the Marriage were ſettled, which was on the 19th of April) the young Queen being then but little more than Fifteen, a ſecret Act was paſſed; in which, after ſhe had ſet forth the antient Alliance between the Two Crowns, and the honourable Entertainment that ſhe had received from the preſent King of France.

"SHE, to confirm and eſtabliſh the "Affection between the two King-"doms, and in order to unite the "Kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of "France, in Caſe ſhe ſhould die without "Heirs of her Body, had made ſome "Diſpoſitions in Favour of the Crown "of France, which ſhe intended ſhould "have their full Effect: Yet ſhe, by "a Communication with the Depu-"ties ſent from Scotland, ſaw into "the ſecret Deſigns of ſome, who "were practiſing to the Effect, that "in Default of Heirs of her Body, the "Crown ſhould deſcend to ſome Lords "of the Country; depriving her by "that Means, to her great Regret, of "the Power of diſpoſing of it. Yet "ſince ſhe could not at that Time "openly oppoſe them, for certain juſt "Cauſes of Fear, and conſidering that "ſhe was out of her Kingdom, and "had no ſtrong Places in it at her "own Diſpoſal; and that great Trou-"bles might ariſe, if what ſhe was "then doing ſhould be publickly "known, eſpecially conſidering the "preſent War with the Kingdom of "England: She therefore did proteſt, "that what Conſent or Agreement ſo-"ever ſhe ſhould make to the Articles "and Inſtructions ſent over by the "States of her Kingdom, with Rela-"tion to the Succeſſion, in Caſe ſhe "ſhould die without Heirs of her Bo-"dy; ſhe intended ſtill that the Diſ-"poſition then made in Favour of the "Crown of France, ſhould have its "full and entire Effect, notwithſtand-"ing any Agreement ſhe had made, or "ſhould yet make, conform to theſe "Inſtructions, as a Thing contrary to "her Will and Intention." Upon which ſhe demanded an Act from the Keeper of the Great Seal, Bertrandi, who was made a Cardinal that Year.

THIS Inſtrument was ſigned by her, and by the Dauphin, and is printed in that great Collection of the Treaties of France that was publiſhed ſome Years ago. It opens a Scene of Treachery; that how much ſoever the Deſign was ſuſpected (as will appear by the Paper, of which an Account will be given in the following Relation) yet it was never certainly known, 'till they themſelves have made their own Shame thus known to the World. But at that Time, this was ſo carefully concealed, that Francis the IId. ſent a formal Obligation under his Great Seal; by which he bound himſelf to the Duke of Chatelherault, to maintain his Right of ſucceeding to the Crown of Scotland, in Caſe the Queen ſhould die without Heirs of her own Body. The original Obligation is ſtill preſerved in Hawdton. The Queen's ſecret Act was as ill grounded in Law, as it was Perfidious in itſelf: For certainly what Power ſoever our Princes, with the Concurrence of their Parliaments, have to limit the Succeſſion to the Crown, our Princes themſelves cannot, by any private Act of their own, alter the Succeſſion, or diſpoſe of it at Pleaſure. But to return to that which has led into this Digreſſion:

THE Knowledge of Religion, that the free Uſe of the Scriptures brought the Nation to, had ſuch an Effect that the Reformation was every where deſired; and the Vices and Ignorance of the Popiſh Clergy, gave all People an Averſion to them. This was long connived at even by the Queen's Mother, during her Government: But now that ſhe thought all was ſure, ſhe threw off the Mask, and declared herſelf an open Enemy to thoſe whom ſhe had courted hitherto, and ſeemed to favour. Upon this, there was a great and a ſudden Turn. Popery was the Object of all Men's Hatred: The Churches were purged from Idolatry and Superſtition: The Monaſteries were broke into; and many Acts of hot and irregular Zeal were complained of in all the Corners of the Kingdom.

ONE Thing is not a little to the Honour of Knox and his Followers, in that tumultuary Reformation, that the Multitude was ſo governed, even amidſt all that popular Heat, that no Blood was ſhed, and no Man was kill'd in it: Which being poſitively deliver'd by Leſley Biſhop of Raſſe, that muſt be look'd on as a Teſtimony beyond Exception.

IN ſome original Papers in the Cotton Library there is a Repreſentation drawn up of the Breach of Faith, and

of the Violation of their Laws, during the Government of the Queen Regent of Scotland: At the End of which, there is a Petition to the Queen, signed by the great Lords of that Kingdom, in which both Papiſts and Proteſtants concurred. And in order to obtain that Concurrence, the Matters of Religion are not inſiſted on; but the continued Courſe of a perfidious and illegal Adminiſtration is charged on the Queen Dowager. So that from this it appears that the War was not begun, nor carried on upon the Account of Religion, but upon the Pretence of Publick and National Rights.

UPON ſuſpending the Authority of the Queen Regent, Biſhop Burnet adds a particular Reflection that ſhews what Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Senſe was, when he firſt wrote his Hiſtory of that Tranſlation. He gives an Account of the Opinion that Willock and Knox delivered, when they were called and required to give it, which they did in Favour of that Suſpenſion; for which he Cenſures the Opinion itſelf, in theſe Words: Howbeit the Power of the Magiſtrate be limited, and their Office preſcribed by GOD, and that they may likewiſe fall into great Offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in Queſtion, or to make Inſurrection againſt them. GOD having received the Puniſhment of Princes to himſelf; yet in a fair Manuſcript of that Hiſtory, written with great Care, as for the Preſs, this whole Period was firſt penned quite in another Strain, allowing the States of the Kingdom a Right to reſtrain their Prince, when he breaks through Rules, only cenſuring Clergymens meddling in thoſe Matters: This is ſcored through, but ſo that it is ſtill legible, and Spotſwood interlined, with his own Hand, the Alteration, according to which his Book was printed.

WHEN this Repreſentation and Petition was brought to the Queen, Cecil drew up a State of the Matter, putting this as the Queſtion, Whether it was meet that England ſhould help Scotland to expel the French, or not? For the Negative, "he ſays it was againſt "GOD's Law to aid any Subjects a- "gainſt their natural Prince, or their "Miniſters; it was alſo dangerous to "do it; for an Aid ſecretly given, "would be to no Purpoſe: And an "Aid publickly given, would draw "on a War: And in that Caſe the "French would come to any Compoſition with the Scots to join with "them againſt England; ſince they "will conſent to any Thing rather "than ſuffer Scotland to be united to "the Crown of England. He adds, "it may alſo be apprehended that the "Emperor, the King of Spain, the "Pope and the Duke of Savoy, "with the Potentates of Italy, will "join with the French King rather "than ſuffer theſe two Kingdoms to "be joined in one Manner of Religion; and many within both Kingdoms will not approve of this. But "in Oppoſition to all this, he con- "cludes for aſſiſting the Scots.

"HE lays it down for a Principle, "that it is agreeable to the Laws of "GOD, and of Nature, that every "Prince and State ſhould defend itſelf, "not only from Perils that are ſeen, "but from thoſe that may probably "come after. To which he adds, "that Nature and Reaſon teach every "Perſon, Politick or other, to uſe the "ſame Manner of Defence that the Adverſary uſes of Offence. Upon theſe "Grounds, he concludes that England "might and ought to aſſiſt the Scots "to keep out the French: And ſo "earneſt was that great Stateſman in "this Matter that he proſecutes it very "copiouſly.

HIS firſt Reaſon is that which the Scots would never admit, but he might think it proper to offer it to an Engliſh Council, "That the Crown of "England had a Superiority over "Scotland, ſuch as the Emperor had "over Bohemia or Milan. He next "ſhews that England muſt be in great "Danger from the French, if they "became the abſolute Maſters of Scot- "land. Upon this he runs out to "ſhew that the French had been long "Enemies to England; that they had "been falſe, and double in all their "Treaties with them theſe 700 Years: "And that the laſt Peace was forced "from them by their Poverty. That "France could not be poor above two "Years, nor could it be long without "War; beſide that the Hatred that "the Houſe of Guiſe, who then go- "verned the French Councils, bore "to England. They call in Queſtion "the Queen's Title, and ſet up their "own againſt it; and at the Treaty "of Cambray, they ſet that Preten- "ſion

" ſion on Foot; but it was then ſtopt " by the Wiſdom of the Conſtable; " yet they uſed Means at Rome to get " the Queen to be declared Illegiti- " mate: Upon which the Bull was " brought into France: And at the " Solemnities, in which the King was " killed, the Arms of England and " Ireland were joined with the Queen " of Scot's Arms. The preſent Em- " broilment in Scotland, is the Stop " that now reſtrains them from carry- " ing theſe Pretenſions further; but " as ſoon as they can they will cer- " tainly ſet them on Foot; and the " aſſaulting England by the Way of " Scotland, is ſo eaſy, that it is not " poſſible to avoid it but by ſtopping " the Progreſs of that Conqueſt. A " War, by Way of Scotland, puts " France in no Danger, tho' it ſhould " miſcarry; but England is in the ut- " moſt Danger if it ſhould ſucceed. " He concludes, That as the Matter " was of the laſt Importance, ſo no " Time was to be loſt, ſince the Pre- " judice, if too long delayed, would be " irrecoverable.

WHAT farther Steps were made in the ſecret debating of this Point, does not appear but by the Concluſion of the Matter. For the Queen ſent Forces under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk to the Borders of Scotland; what followed upon that, is ſet out fully in the common Hiſtorians, and from thence in the former Part of this Work.

ON the 2d of November, Jewel being returned from the Circuit which he was ordered to make, wrote, in a Letter to Peter Martyr, " That the " People were much better diſpoſed " to the Goſpel than it was appre- " hended they could be; but he adds, " that Superſtition had made a moſt " extraordinary Progeſs in Queen Ma- " ry's ſhort Reign. The People were " made believe they had in many " Places Pieces of the true Croſs, and " of the Nails with which CHRIST " was crucified; ſo that the Cathe- " dral-Churches were Dens of Rob- " bers; and none were more violent " and obſtinate than thoſe who had " been before of their Body; as if, " by that, they would juſtify their " falling off from them. They had " turned them all out. Harding went " away, and would not change again. " Smith, who had been a violent Op- " poſer of Peter Martyr in Oxford, " fled towards Scotland, but was taken " on the Borders, and brought back; " and had abjured a fifth Time, and " was then become a violent Enemy " to the Papiſts." In another Letter he tells him, " Smith was married, " and that being hated and deſpiſed " by all Sides, he was forced to keep " a Publick-Houſe. Jewel wrote, that " if they had more Hands, Matters " would go well; but it was hard to " make a Cart go without Horſes. He " was glad to hear Peter Martyr was " ſent for; but he owns he had his " Fears ſtill, that though Things were " begun well they would not end ſo " well. He adds, we are Iſlanders in " all Reſpects. Oxford wanted him " extremely. The Queen was then " courted both by the King of Swe- " den and by Charles of Auſtria." It was then given out, that Sweden was full of Mines of Gold, and only wanted Skill and Induſtry to work them; but he writes, " Perhaps the " Queen meant to marry one near- " er at hand:" (He gives no other Hint in that Letter, to let it be underſtood of whom he meant; probably it was Pickering, as appears in another Letter.) He concludes, " That tho' " Religion did make a quick Progreſs " in Scotland, yet that the French did " not deſpair of bringing that Kingdom " back to their Obedience, and of re- " ſtoring their Religion in it.

ON the ſame Day he wrote to Simler, who had congratulated him upon the News they had of his being to be promoted to a Biſhoprick. He wrote, " That there was yet nothing " but a Nomination of him. He adds, " we hope our Biſhops ſhall be Paſtors, " Labourers, and Watchmen. And " that they may be better fitted for " this, the great Riches of Biſhopricks " are to be diminiſhed, and to be re- " duced to a certain Mediocrity; that " ſo being delivered from that King- " like Pomp, and the Noiſineſs of a " Courtly Family, they may live " in greater Tranquillity, and may " have more Leiſure to take Care of " CHRIST's Flock with due At- " tention.

ON the 5th of November he wrote, " That he found Debates raiſed con- " concerning the Veſtments, which he " calls the Habit of the Stage, and " wiſhes they could be freed from it. " He ſays, they were not wanting to " ſo good a Cauſe; but others ſeemed

" to

" to love thoſe Things, and to follow " the Ignorance of ſome Prieſts, who " were ſtupid as Logs of Wood, ha- " ving neither Spirit, Learning, nor " good Life to commend them, but " ſtudied to recommend themſelves by " that comick Habit, and hoped to " ſtrike the Eyes of the People with " Trifles.

ON the 16th of November he wrote, " That the Doctrine was every where " purely preached. There was, in " many Places too much Folly con- " cerning Ceremonies and Masks. The " Crucifix continued ſtill in the " Queen's Chapel. They all ſpoke " freely againſt it, but 'till then with- " out any Effect. There was a ſecret " Piece of worldly Policy in this, " which he did not like. He com- " plains of the uncertain, and Iſland- " like State of their Affairs: All was " looſe at preſent. He did not ſee in " what they would ſettle, and did not " know but he ſhould be obliged to " return back to Zurick again.

IN December and January the Conſecration of the Biſhops came on. But here a Stop lies, our Author ſays, in his Way, the Thread of the Letters he had by him to Zurick, being for ſome Months diſcontinued. At this Time an Ambaſſador came over from Ferdinand the Emperor, with Letters dated the 11th of February, 1560, propoſing a Match between his Son, Archduke Charles, and the Queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow theſe Letters with a formal Embaſſy. The Queen wrote an Anſwer in Form, and ſigned it: But, it ſeems, that was on ſome Conſiderations, not thought fit to be ſent, for the Original is in the Paper Office.

THE Queen wrote, " That examining " her own Sentiments in that Matter " very carefully, ſhe did not perceive " any Inclination to change her ſoli- " litary Life, but found herſelf more " fixed to continue ſtill in it. She " hoped the Emperor would favour- " ably receive, and rightly underſtand " what ſhe wrote to him. It might, " indeed, ſeem ſtrange, conſidering " her and her Circumſtances; but this " was no new Reſolution, nor taken " up on the ſudden, but was the ad- " hereing to an old ſettled Pupoſe. " There had been a Time in which " her accepting ſome Honourable Pro- " poſitions, might have delivered her " out of very great Dangers and Trou- " bles: On which ſhe would make no " other Reflections, but that neither " the Fear of Danger, nor the Deſire " of Liberty, could then move her, " to bring her Mind to hearken to " them. She will not, by a plain " Refuſal, ſeem to offend him; yet " ſhe cannot give Occaſion, by any of " her Words, to make him think, that " ſhe accepts of that, to which ſhe " cannot bring her Mind and Will." Dated the 5th of January, 1559, ſigned your Majeſty's good Siſter and Couſin, Elizabeth. Counterſigned, Roger Aſcham.

THE firſt Letter of Jewel's, after his Conſecration, is on the 4th of February, 1560. He tells Peter Martyr, " They were then engaged in the " Queſtion about the Lawfulneſs of " having Images in Churches (which " he calls Lis Crucularia.) It could " ſcarce be believed to what a Degree " of Folly ſome Men, who were " thought to have a right Judgment " of Things, were carried in that Mat- " ter. There was not one of all thoſe " whom he knew that was drawn to " be of that Mind beſides Cox. There " was to be a Conference concerning " it the Day following. Parker and " Cox on the one Hand, and Grindal " and he on the other, were to de- " bate it in the Hearing of ſome of " the Council; he could not but laugh " within himſelf, when he thought " what grave and ſolid Reaſonings " would be brought out on this Oc- " caſion. He was told, that it was re- " ſolved on to have Crucifixes of Sil- " ver or Tin, ſet up in all Churches; " and that ſuch as would not obey " this would be turned out of their " Biſhopricks: If that was true, he " would be no longer a Biſhop. White, " Biſhop of Wincheſter, Oglethorp, of " Carliſle, Bain, of Coventry and Litch- " field, and Tonſtal of Durham, were " lately dead." In another he writes, " That Bonner was ſent to the Tower, " and that he went to ſee ſome Cri- " minals that were kept there, and " called them his Friends and Neigh- " bours; but one of them anſwered, " Go, you Beaſt, into Hell, and find " your Friends there, for we are none " of them. I killed but one Man up- " on a Provocation, and do truly re- " pent of it; but you have killed " many holy Perſons, of all Sorts, with- " out any Provocation from them, and " are hardened in your Impetinence.

ON

ON the 5th of March he writes, "A Change appeared now more visibly "among the People. Nothing pro- "moted it more than the inviting "them to sing Psalms. That was be- "gun in one Church in London, and "did quickly spread itself not only "through the City, but in the neigh- "bouring Places; sometimes at Paul's "Cross, there will be 6000 People "singing together. This was very "grievous to the Papists: The Chil- "dren began to laugh at the Priests, "as they passed in the Streets, and "the Bishops were called Hangmen "to their Faces. It was said, White "died of Rage. He commends Cecil "much.

Sands, Bishop of Worcester, writes in a Letter on the 1st of April, 1560, "That after he returned from exe- "cuting the Injunctions and Preach- "ing in the North, he was pressed to "accept of the Bishoprick of Wor- "cester; He saw if he absolutely re- "fused it, the Queen would have "been highly offended. He found "it more truly a Burden than an Ho- "nour. The Doctrine of the Sacra- "ment was pure, to which he and "his Brethren were resolved to ad- "here firmly as long as they lived. "There was yet a Question concern- "ing Images: The Queen thought "that was not contrary to the Word "of GOD, and it seemed convenient "to have a Crucifix, with the Blessed "Virgin and St. John, still in her Cha- "pel. Some of them could not bear "this: We had, says he, according to "our Injunctions taken away all the "Images that we found in Churches, "and burned them. We see supersti- "tious People plainly Worship this "Idol: Upon this, he had spoken free- "ly to the Queen, with that she was "so displeased as to threaten to de- "prive him: She was since that Time "more soften'd, and the Images were "removed; but the popish Vestments "were still used, yet he hoped that "should not last long. He laments "much that Peter Martyr was not "sent for. It was easy to guess what "it was that hinder'd it, it was the "Pretence of Unity that gave Occa- "sions to the greatest Divisions.

Parkhurst came into England in the End of the Year 1559. He went to his Church of Cleve in Glocestershire, and kept out of the Way of the Court. He writes, that many Bishops would be glad to change Conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a Bishoprick, but he had dealt earnestly with some great Men to spare him in that: When he came through London, both Parker and a Privy-Counsellor had pressed him to accept of one, but he would not resolve on being miserable.

Sampson had been with the other Divines at Zurick, and was reckoned by them both a pious and a learned Man: While he was coming to Eng- land with the rest, he was informed that a Bishoprick was designed for him, so he wrote while he was on his Jour- ney to Peter Martyr for his Ad- "vice, In this, Whether it was law- "ful to swear to the Queen, as su- "preme Head of the Church under "CHRIST. He thought CHRIST was "the sole Head of the Church, and "no such Expression of any inferior "Head was found in the Scripture. "He thought likewise, that the Want "of Discipline made that a Bishop "could not do his Duty. Many tem- "poral Pressures lay upon Bishops, "such as First-Fruits and Tenths, be- "sides the Expence of their Equipage "and Attendance at Court; so that "little was left for the breeding up "of Youth, for the Relief of the Poor, "and other more necessary Occasions "to make their Ministry acceptable. "The whole Method of electing Bishops "was totally different from the pri- "mitive Institution. The Consent ei- "ther of the Clergy or People, was "not so much as asked. Their super- "stitious Dress seemed likewise unbe- "coming: He wrote all this only to "him, not that he expected that a "Bishoprick should be offered him, "he pray'd GOD that it might never "happen. He was resolved to apply "himself to preach, but to avoid ha- "ving any Share in the Government, "'till he saw a full Reformation made "in all Ecclesiastical Functions, both as "to Doctrine and Discipline, and with "Relation to the Goods of the Church. "He desires his Answer as soon as was "possible.

Peter Martyr answered his Letter on the 1st of November, but what it was, can only be gathered from Sampson's Reply to it. In which he expresses great Concern that a Crucifix was still kept standing, with Lights burning be- fore it in the Queen's Chapel.

ON the 13th of May he wrote again that a Biſhoprick had been offered to him, but that he had refuſed it.

Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr on the 22d of May, that the Church of Salisbury was ſo ſtruck with Thunder, that there was a Clift all down for 60 Feet. He was not got thither, ſo he could not tell whether fooliſh People made Judgments upon this, with Relation to him, or not. He writes that Bonner, Fecknam, Pool, Scory and Watſon, were all put in Priſon for railing at the Changes that were made. The Queen expreſſed great Firmneſs and Courage in maintaining the Eſtabliſhment ſhe had made in Matters of Religion. He tells him, that not only Cecil and Knolls deſired to be kindly remembered to him, but Petre likewiſe, which, perhaps, he did not look for.

ON the 17th of July he writes to him, "That there was a Peace made "in Scotland, and that the French "were ſent away. Scotland was to "be governed by a Council of 12 "Perſons, only all greater Matters were "to be referred to a Parliament. He "writes, that the Duke of Holſtein "was come over to ſee the Queen and "was nobly treated by her, and made "a Knight of the Garter. The King of "Sweden's coming over was ſtill talked of." After Jewel had been ſome Time in his Dioceſe, he wrote to Gualter on the 2d of November, 1560, "That he now felt what a Load "Government was to him, who had "led his Life in the Shade, and at "Study: And had never turned "his Thoughts to Government, but "he would make up in his Diligence "what might be othewiſe wanting: "The Oppoſition he met with from "the Rage of the Papiſts was in-"credible.

ON the 6th of November he wrote that May, Dean of St. Paul's, who was deſigned to be Archbiſhop of York, was dead: It does not appear on what Views that See was ſo long kept void, after the reſt were filled. Parker was much troubled at this, and wrote very earneſtly about it to Cecil, and his Importunity had its Effects; for in February after, Young was removed to York, and Pilkington, a learned and zealous Man, was made Biſhop of Durham. Jewel, in a Letter ſoon after to Peter Martyr, in February, 1560, "wiſhes that all the "Remnants of former Errors, with all "the Rubbiſh, and even the Duſt that "might yet remain, might be taken "away: He wiſhes they could have "obtained it. It ſeems by this, that "their Wiſhes had not prevailed. The "Council of Trent was then to be "opened again, but the Queen was "reſolved to take no Notice of it. He "gives an Account of his Apology that "was then ſet out. This has been ſo "often printed, and is ſo well known "that it is not neceſſary to inlarge "more upon it: As it was one of the "firſt Books publiſhed in this Reign, "ſo it was written with that Strength "and Clearneſs, that it, together "with the Defence of it, is ſtill, to "this Day, reckoned one of our beſt "Books." In that Letter he writes of the Counteſs of Lenox, the Mother to the Lord Darnly, "That ſhe "was a more violent Papiſt than even "Queen Mary herſelf. Her Son was "gone to Scotland, and it was belived "he might marry the Queen of Scot-"land. The Earl of Hartford had a "Son by the Lady Catherine Gray, "ſome called him a Baſtard, but others "affirmed that they were married: If "that was true, then, according to "King Henry's Will, he muſt be the "Heir of the Crown. But he adds, "Ah! unhappy we, that cannot know "under what Prince we are to live. "He complains that Schools are for-"ſaken, and that they were under a "great Want of Preachers. The few "they had were every where received. "He writes in another Letter, that in "Queen Mary's Time, for Want of good "Inſtruction, the Anabaptiſts and Ari-"ans did much increaſe, but now they "diſappeared every where.

THE Popiſh Clergy, when they ſaw no Appearance of any new Change, did generally comply with the Laws then made, but in ſo untoward a Manner, that they made it very viſible that what they did was againſt both their Heart and their Conſcience. This put the Biſhops on receiving many into Orders, that were not thoroughly well qualified, which expoſed them to much Cenſure. They thought in that Neceſſity, Men of good Hearts that loved the Goſpel, though not ſo learned as might be wiſhed for, were to be brought into the Service of the Church: But Pains were taken, and Methods were laid down to breed up a more knowing Race of Men, as ſoon as was poſſible.

THE

THE Biſhop next ſhews how the Affairs of Religion went on, particularly with Relation to Scotland.

THE Diſtraction that France was in, made it not eaſy to them to carry on the War of Scotland, by Reaſon of the Charge, that the ſending Forces to ſo great a Diſtance put them to: Whereas it was but a ſhort March to the Engliſh, to go to the Aſſiſtance of the Lords of Scotland; ſo they were willing to make up Matters the beſt they could by a Treaty. Commiſſioners were appointed to treat on both Sides. In the mean while the Queen-Regent of Scotland died; ſo Cecil and Wotton, who were employed by the Queen in that Treaty, apprehending the French might, upon this Emergent, ſtudy to gain more Time, wrote to the Queen for poſitive Orders.

A Letter was written to them on the 15th of June, ſigned by five Privy-Counſellors, by which it appears, that this Treaty was then a Secret which they ſaw muſt ſoon break out; ſo the Perſons employed in Scotland, adviſed the acquainting King Philip with it, becauſe they looked on it as brought very near a total Agreement. To this the Queen's Council agreed. Thoſe in Scotland apprehended, that perhaps the French would, upon the Regent's Death, go away, and leave the Kingdom, without coming to any Agreement. If they ſhould do ſo, they did order them to adviſe with the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lords of Scotland in League with them, how the French may be forthwith expelled the Kingdom, without any Loſs of Time. For by all the Advertiſements they had, they underſtood that the French intended to gain Time as much as poſſible, if the French deſired to have ſome of their Colleagues in the Town to aſſiſt them in managing the Treaty, that was by no Means to be granted: But if they deſired the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Scottiſh Men as were of their Faction; and if their Friends in Scotland conſented to it, that ſeemed reaſonable. The reſt of the Letter relates to one Parrys, an Iriſhman.

THE Treaty, by Reaſon of the Weakneſs of the French Force, was ſoon brought to a Concluſion. The French were to be ſent away in three Weeks. An Aſſembly of the States was to meet and to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom: It was to be governed by a Council of twelve Perſons; of whom the King and Queen were to name ſeven, and the States to chooſe five: And by theſe all Affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the Parliament. The laſt Article was, "That the King and Queen "ſhould not uſe the Title or Arms of "England and Ireland any more.

THINGS went on purſuant to this Treaty; to which it was not thought the French would have any Regard, when their Affairs ſhould be in a better Condition. The Apprehenſions of that were ſoon at an End. In December, 1560, the Union which that Kingdom had with France, was totally broke by the Death of Francis the IId. ſo that Mary Queen of Scotland had nothing left but her own Strength to depend upon. The Treaty of Leith being in all other Points executed, the Queen ordered both Throckmorton, her ordinary Ambaſſador in France, and the Earl of Bedford, whom ſhe had ſent over extraordinary, to demand Queen Mary's Ratification of that Treaty, upon which Occaſion, that Jealouſy was raiſed between the two Queens, that ended ſo fatally to the one. The Queen of Scots uſed many Shifts to excuſe her not doing it.

IN a Letter of Throckmorton's of the 16th of April, he tells the Queen, "That having preſſed the Queen of "Scots to it; ſhe ſaid, ſhe had not "her Council about her, particularly "the Cardinal of Lorain, her Uncle, "by whom ſhe was adviſed in all her "Affairs: Nor had ſhe heard from her "Council in Scotland. She promiſed "that when ſhe heard from them, and "had adviſed her Council about her, "ſhe would give an Anſwer that "ſhould ſatisfy the Queen. But her "natural Brother, the Lord James, "being come over to her, the Queen "had commanded Throckmorton to "demand again the Confirmation of "the Treaty. Upon which the Am-"baſſador ſent a Gentleman to know "her Pleaſure when he ſhould wait "on her, to receive it from her Hand. "This, as he wrote to her, was deſired "by the Queen, as a Mean to make "them live hereafter in all Love, "Peace and Amity together. And no-"thing could ſo demonſtrate that "Queen's Intention to entertain this, "as the eſtabliſhing that Knot of "Friendſhip between them, for both "their Quiet and Comfort which was "at that Time the only Refuge of "them both.

ON

ON the 1ſt of May, Mr. Somer, whom the Ambaſſador had ſent to Nancy, where the Queen of Scotland was at that Time, came back with her Anſwer: "She writes, ſhe was then leaving that "Place, ſo ſhe ſhould give no Anſwer "'till ſhe came to Rheims, where ſhe "intended to be at the King's Corona-"tion; and ſhe ſays, that Lord James "was only come to do his Duty about "her, as his Sovereign Lady, without "any Charge or Commiſſion whatſo-"ever." This Throckmorton ſent to the Queen, together with a Letter from the Cardinal of Lorain to the ſame Purpoſe, which he alſo ſent her in a Letter, in which he writes, "That "though Somer had uſed the beſt "Means he could, to put the Scottiſh "Queen in Mind of the Promiſe ſhe "had made to the Earl of Bedford, "and to Throckmorton himſelf, yet he "could get no other Anſwer from "her." The Ambaſſador was ordered by the Queen not to be preſent at the Coronation: So he did not know when or where he ſhould ſee her; for it was ſaid, ſhe did not intend for ſome Time to come into the Neighbourhood of Paris: He therefore propoſed to the Queen to ſend a Letter of Credit by Mr. Somer to that Queen, and with it to order him to go and demand her Anſwer. By that Queen's Diſcourſe with Lord James it ſeemed ſhe did not intend to give a plain Anſwer, but ſtill to ſhift it off; but he thought the Queen inſiſting on it by a Perſon ſent Expreſs to ſtay for an Anſwer, ſhe would be able to judge from thence what Meaſures ſhe ought to take. The Queen of Scotland had ſaid to the Ambaſſador, that ſhe intend to give Lord James a Commiſſion, with a Charge to look to the Affairs of Scotland during her Abſence: And he, when he took Leave of her, left one to bring that after him. But that Perſon was come with Letters from that Queen, but with no Commiſſion: And he underſtood by him, that ſhe had changed her Mind, and would give no ſuch Commiſſion 'till ſhe ſhould come to Scotland herſelf; nor would ſhe diſpoſe of any thing 'till then. This was eaſily ſeen to be on deſign to let all Perſons underſtand on what Terms they might expect Benefices, Grants, or other Favours from her.

THE true Reaſon why ſhe would not employ Lord James, was, becauſe ſhe found ſhe could not draw him from his Devotion to the Queen; nor from his Reſolution to obſerve the late Treaty and League between England and Scotland: And it is added, that the Cardinal of Lorain ſaw he could not draw him from his Religion, tho' he uſed great Perſuaſions to prevail on him.

IN a Letter of Jewel's it is ſaid, that the Duke of Guiſe ſent to the Princes of Germany, to divert them from aſſiſting the Prince of Conde, aſſuring them, that he himſelf was very moderate in the Points of Religion, and had very favourable Thoughts of the Ausburg Confeſſion: He ſtudied alſo to perſuade the Queen that the War, which was then breaking out in France, was not for Religion, but was a Conſpiracy againſt the Government; which he hoped ſhe, as a Queen, would not aſſiſt. At the ſame Time the Queen of Scotland ſent the Queen a Preſent of a Diamond of Value, with ſome very fine Verſes made by Buchanan, then in her Court. She alſo, in her Letters, vowed a perpetual Friendſhip with her, and wrote, that ſhe would paſs through England. Yet the Queen ſaw through all this, and was not diverted by it from aſſiſting the Prince of Conde. Upon this the Duke of Guiſe did openly charge all the Diſorders in France on her, as the principal Author of them. By this the Mask was thrown away, and theſe Jealouſies broke out into an open War. Jewel wiſhes the Queen had begun it ſooner, and that the Princes of Germany would follow her Example.

BY that Time the Queen of Scotland had got by Sea into her Kingdom: She alone had her Maſs, which was put down all the Kingdom over.

THERE was this Year an extraordinary bad Seaſon thro' every Quarter of the Year, and perpetual Rains. There was alſo much Talk of many monſtrous Births, both by Women and Beaſts, Hogs, Mares, Cows and Hens: Some Births were without Heads, or Heads of a ſtrange Form; and ſome without Arms or Legs: Very probably Things of that Sort were magnified by thoſe who reported them; and, no doubt, they were made the Preſages of ſome diſmal Events to be looked for; it being ordinary in all great Changes to enlarge, and even to forge Stories of that Sort, on deſign to alarm People with

with the Apprehenſions of ſome ſignal Judgments to follow ſuch unuſual Warnings.

THE firſt Seſſion of the great Convocation that ſettled our Reformation, was on the 13th of January, 1652, Day, Provoſt of Eaton preached: Parker told them they had now in their Hands an Opportunity of reforming all Things in the Church: The Queen did earneſtly deſire it, and ſo did many of the Nobility. He ſent them to chuſe a Prolocutor, and recommended Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, to them; upon which they choſe him, and on the 16th of January, Parker exhorted them to conſider againſt the next Seſſion what Things wanted a Reformation. On the 19th he ſent for the Prolocutor, who came up with ſix of the Clergy. He ſaid they had before them ſome Sheets of Matters to be offered for a Reformation, which were then referred to be conſidered by a Committee. He alſo ſaid, that the Articles ſet forth in a Synod at London, in King Edward's Time, were likewiſe before a Committee to be conſidered, and if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were for the Space of three Hours conſulting ſecretly about thoſe Articles. On the 22d they were again for three Hours conſidering the ſame Matter. On the 25th they were two Hours. And on the 27th three Hours more upon the ſame Matter. And the 29th of January, all in the Upper Houſe agreed unanimouſly in ſettling the Articles of Religion, and they ſubſcribed them.

THE moſt material Difference between theſe Articles and thoſe ſet forth by King Edward, is the leaving out that expreſs Declaration that was made againſt the corporal Preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament; but it does not appear, whether theſe Words were ſuppreſſed by the Conſent of the Convocation, or whether the Queen ordered it to be done, either by a direct Command, or by denying to give her Aſſent to that Part of the Article.

WHEN the great Matter of the Articles was ſettled, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln and Hereford, were appointed to draw Articles of Diſcipline. On the 3d of February, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were in a ſecret Conference for the Space of three Hours. On the 5th of February, a Committee was appointed to examine the Catechiſm. Then the Prolocutor with ſix of the Clergy, brought up the Articles of Religion that had been ſent by the Archbiſhop to the Lower Houſe: Many had already ſubſcribed them, but he propoſed that ſuch as had not yet done it, might be required either to ſubſcribe them in the Lower-Houſe, or to do it in the Preſence of the Biſhops. Upon this the Upper-Houſe ordered, that the Names of thoſe who had not ſubſcribed, might be laid before them next Seſſion: On the 10th the Prolocutor with eight of the Clergy came up and told the Biſhops, that many had ſubſcribed ſince their laſt Meeting; upon that the Biſhops renewed their former Order.

ON the 13th there was ſome Treaty concerning the Subſidy; but on that Day, and it ſeems on ſome Days following, there were very warm Debates in the Lower-Houſe. On the 13th, ſix Articles were offered to the Houſe which follow: Firſt, "That all Holy-"Days, except Sundays, and the Feaſts "that related to CHRIST, ſhould be "abrogated. Second, That in the Com-"mon-Prayer, the Miniſter ſhould al-"ways turn his Face towards the "People, ſo as to be heard by the "People, that they might be edified. "Third, That the Ceremony of the "Croſs in Baptiſm may be omitted, as "tending to Superſtition. Fourth, "That foraſmuch as diverſe Commu-"nicants were not able to kneel, du-"ring the Time of Communion, for "Age, Sickneſs, and other Infirmities; "and ſome alſo do ſuperſtitiouſly "both kneel and knock, that the Or-"der of kneeling may be left to the "Diſcretion of the Ordinary, within "his Juriſdiction. Fifth, That it be "ſufficient for the Miniſter in Time of "ſaying Divine Service, and miniſtring "the Sacraments to uſe a Surplice; "and that no Miniſter ſay Service, or "miniſter the Sacraments, but in a "comely Garment, or Habit. The "ſixth and laſt is, That the Uſe of "Organs be removed.

THERE aroſe great Diſputes concerning theſe Propoſitions; ſome approving, and others rejecting them: And it was propoſed by ſome to refer the Matter to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops. Many proteſted, that they could in no Manner conſent to any one of them, ſince they were contrary to the Book of Common-Prayer, that was ratified by an Act of Parliament: Nor would they admit of any Alteration of the

Orders, Rules, Rites or Regulations, already ſettled by that Book. There were publick Diſputations between learned Men, ſome approving and others condemning the Propoſitions. Thirteen Perſons were named as the Diſputants. In Concluſion, the Houſe was divided, and counted: Forty three voted for the Propoſitions, and forty five voted againſt them, and that no Change ſhould be made in the Book of Common-Prayer then eſtabliſhed. But when the Proxies were counted, thoſe who were for the Propoſitions, were in all fifty eight; and thoſe who were againſt them were fifty nine. So that they were agreed to by a Majority of Eight, of thoſe who were preſent, and thoſe who had heard the Diſputations; yet thoſe were out-voted by a Majority of one Vote, by the Proxy of an abſent Perſon.

THIS Debate in the Lower-Houſe, put a Stop to the Buſineſs of the Convocation for ſix Days, in which they only treated of the Subſidy. On the 19th of February, ſome Articles were communicated to the Lower-Houſe; and they were ordered to bring them back with their Obſervations on them.

ON the 26th a Book of Diſcipline was brought to the Upper-Houſe, by the Prolocutor, with ten of the Clergy; to which, as it was then ſaid, the whole Clergy did unanimouſly conſent. This was referred to the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Chicheſter, Hereford, and Ely. On the 1ſt of March the Prolocutor brought up ſome additional Articles, which they deſired might be added to the Book of Diſcipline that they had formerly brought up. The Archbiſhop gave them the Book back again; and ordered them to bring it back, together with the Additions they had made to it.

ON the 3d of March the Prolocutor brought up the Catechiſm; to which, he ſaid, the Houſe did unanimouſly agree: The conſidering of it was committed to the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Hereford, Lincoln, and Coventry. (This ſeems to be the Catechiſm drawn by Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's.) After that there was a Conference among the Biſhops for the Space of two Hours. On the 5th of March the Prolocutor brought up the Book of Diſcipline, with ſome additional Chapters: One only is named, of Adultery, with an &c. On the 10th there was a Conference among the Biſhops for two Hours; and on the 12th for two Hours more; and on the 16th for other two Hours; and on the 19th for two Hours more. After that nothing is marked, but ſeveral Prorogations, 'till the 10th of April, that the Royal Writ came for the Prorogation. And this is all that remains of this great Convocation.

TO this Account Biſhop Burnet adds ſome other Particulars, that the diligent Mr. Strype has laid together; and refers the Reader, for a more copious Account of them, to his Annals.

"IT was deſigned to have Jewel's "Apology joined to the Articles; "which Archbiſhop Parker intended "ſhould be in all Cathedral and Col-"legiate Churches, and alſo in private "Houſes.

"DEGREES of Puniſhment were "propoſed for all thoſe who ſhould "preach, write, or ſpeak, in Deroga-"tion, or Contempt of this Book, for "the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Offence.

"IT was propoſed, that all Veſt-"ments, Copes and Surplices, ſhould "be taken away; that none but Mi-"niſters ſhould Baptize; that the Ta-"ble for the Sacrament ſhould not "ſtand Altar-wiſe; that Organs and "curious Singing ſhould be removed.

"THAT Godfathers and Godmo-"thers ſhould not Anſwer in the "Child's Name; but ſhould recite the "Creed, and deſire that the Child "may be baptized in that Faith." Here on the Margin, Parker writes, Let this be conſidered.

"THAT none ſhould be married but "after the Banns have been asked for "three Sundays, or Holidays." On the Margin, Parker writes, Prieſts ſolemnizing Matrimony, without Teſtimonial of Banns, to ſuffer grievous Puniſhment.

"THAT the Queen and Parliament be "prayed to renew the Act, for im-"powering thirty two Perſons to ga-"ther Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and to re-"view thoſe appointed in King Ed-"ward's Time.

"THAT all peculiar Juriſdictions "ſhould be extinguiſhed, ſo that the "whole Dioceſe be put under the Ju-"riſdiction of the Biſhop; that no Ap-"peal ſhall lie in Caſes of Correction." On the Margin, Parker writes, Let this be thought on.

"THAT in every Cathedral, a Di-"vinity-Lecture ſhould be read thrice "a Week.

"THAT

"THAT the Appeal of the Clergy "ſhould be uniform; that no Perſon, "not in Prieſt's Orders, ſhall hold "any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity above a "Year, if he does not take Prieſt's Or-"ders." Parker writes, Too much: And let it be thought on.

"THAT none be capable of a Diſpen-"ſation for a Plurality of Benefices "with Cure of Souls, if he is not at "leaſt a Maſter of Arts, and they not "beyond 12 Miles Diſtance." Parker writes, Let it be conſidered, whether this ought to be reſtrained to Degrees.

"THAT if any has two Cures, he "ſhall reſide conſtantly on one, unleſs "at ſome Times to go and preach in "the other, under the Pain of loſing "the greater Benefice." Parker adds, Let this be thought on.

"THAT no Patron ſell or aſſign the "next Advowſon; and that no Grant "be made of any Benefice, 'till it is "void.

"THAT all Incumbents, or Curates, "ſhall, on Sundays in the Afternoon, "offer to teach the Children of the "Pariſh the Catechiſm.

THE next Paper is of Remedies for the Poverty of Miniſters Livings: But the Remedies, how good ſoever, were not found practicable, ſo all this Matter was let fall.

WITH this Convocation, Biſhop Burnet ſays, the Deſign of continuing his Hiſtory of the Reformation is concluded; but the Letters ſent him from Zurick, gave him ſuch a full and particular Account of the firſt unhappy Breach that was made in our Church, with ſo many curious Incidents, that he was invited by theſe to ſet that Matter out in a clear Light.

THERE was a great Variety of Sentiments among our Reformers, on this this Point; whether it was fit to retain an external Face of Things, near to what had been practiſed in the Times of Popery, or not? The doing that made the People come eaſily into the more real Changes that were made in the Doctrines, when they ſaw the outward Appearances ſo little altered: So this Method ſeemed the ſafer, and the readier Way to wean the People, from the Fondneſs they had for a ſplendid Face of Things, by that which was ſtill kept up. But on the other Hand, it was ſaid, that this kept up ſtill the Inclination of the People to the former Practices: They were by theſe made to think, that the Reformed State of the Church did not differ much from them; and that they imitated them; and they apprehended, that this outward Reſemblance made the old Root of Popery to live ſtill in their Thoughts; ſo that if it made them conform at preſent more eaſily to the Change that was now made, it would make it ſtill much the eaſier for them to fall back to Popery: So, for this very Reaſon, they ſtood upon it; and thought it better, to put Matters in as great an Oppoſition to the Practices of Popery, as was poſſible or convenient.

THE Queen had, in her firſt Injunctions, ordered the Clergy to wear ſeemly Garments and ſquare Caps; adding, that it was only for Decency, and not to aſcribe any Worthineſs to the Garments: But when the Act of Uniformity was ſettled, whereas in the Liturgy paſſed in the ſecond Year of King Edward, Copes, and other Garments were ordered to be uſed; but in the ſecond Book, paſſed in the 6th Year of that King, all was laid aſide except the Surplice: Yet the Queen, who loved Magnificence in every Thing, returned back to the Rules in King Edward's firſt Book, 'till other Order ſhould be taken therein by the Queen. There was likewiſe a Clauſe put in the Act of Uniformity, impowering the Queen, to ordain and publiſh ſuch farther Ceremonies and Rites as might be for the Advancement of GOD's Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence of CHRIST's Holy Myſteries and Sacraments.

THE Matter being thus ſettled, there followed a great Diverſity in Practice: Many conforming themſelves in all Points to the Law; while others did not uſe either the Surplice, or ſquare Caps and Hoods, according to their Degree. This viſible Difference began to give great Offence, and to ſtate two Parties in the Church. The People obſerved it, and run into Parties upon it. Many forſook their Churches, of both Sides: Some, becauſe thoſe Habits were uſed, and ſome, beeauſe they were not uſed. It is likewiſe ſuggeſted, that the Papiſts inſulted, upon this Diviſion among the Proteſtants, and ſaid, it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, 'till all returned to come under one abſolute Obedience.

UPON

UPON this the Queen, in January 1564-5, wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, reflecting, not without ſome Acrimony of Stile, on thoſe Diverſities, as if they were the Effect of ſome Remiſſneſs in him, and in the other Biſhops: Upon which, ſome of the Biſhops met and agreed on ſome Rules and Orders meet to be obſerved, not as equivalent to the Word of GOD, nor as Laws that did bind the Conſcience, from the Nature of Things conſidered in themſelves; or, as that they did add any Efficacy, or more Holineſs to the publick Prayers and Sacraments; but as temporary Orders, merely Eccleſiaſtick, and as Rules concerning Decency, Diſtinction, and Order, for the Time.

THEY begun with Articles of Doctrine and Preaching: "That all Preach-
" ers ſhould ſtudy to preach to Edifi-
" cation, and handle Matters of Con-
" troverſy with Sobriety and Diſcre-
" tion; exhorting People to receive
" the Sacrament frequently, and to
" continue in all Obedience to the Laws,
" and to the Queen's Injunctions. All
" former Licences are declared void;
" but are to be renewed to ſuch as the
" Biſhop thought meet for the Office,
" they paying only a Groat for the
" writing. If any ſhould preach un-
" ſound Doctrine they were to be de-
" nounced to the Biſhop, but not to
" be contradicted in the Church. All
" were to be required to preach once in
" three Months, either in Perſon, or
" by one in their Stead. Such as
" were not licenſed to preach, were to
" read the Homilies, or ſuch other
" neceſſary Doctrine as ſhould be pre-
" ſcribed. In the Sacrament the prin-
" cipal Miniſter was to wear a Cope,
" but at all other Prayers only Sur-
" plices. That Deans and Prebenda-
" ries ſhould wear a Hood in the
" Choir, and preach with their Hood:
" All Communicants were to receive
" the Sacrament kneeling: Then fol-
" low Rules about tolling the Bell
" when People die; about the Altar;
" the Font; and who may be God-
" fathers in Baptiſm; that no Shops
" be opened on Sundays, &c.

THE Proceedings here in England are fully collected by Mr. Strype, therefore the Biſhop of Salisbury refers his Readers to the Account given by him, which, he ſays, is both full and impartial, and only gives the Abſtracts of Letters that paſſed in this Matter between our Biſhops and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other Divines in Zurick. Theſe foreign Divines did not officiouſly, nor of their own Motion intermeddle in this Matter. It began in January 1564-5, for then the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop, and in March the Order was ſettled by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops: But when the Biſhops ſaw the Oppoſition that many were making to this, Sampſon and Humphreys being the moſt eminent of thoſe who oppoſed it, who were in great Reputation, particularly in the Univerſity of Oxford, where the one was Dean of Chriſt-Church, and the other was Preſident of Magdalen's, and Divinity Profeſſor: And they were much diſtinguiſhed for their Learning, Piety, and Zeal in Religion: Upon this, Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wrote on the the 16th of July to Gualter, and ſtated the Matter clearly to him.

AFTER he had mentioned ſome of Gualter's Works, he commends thoſe of Zurick for not being impoſed on by the Artifices of the French, in which he hopes thoſe of Bern would follow the Example that they had ſet them, he comes to the Affairs of England, " where they were ſtill in fear of the
" Snares of the Papiſts, who took great
" Advantage of a Queſtion lately raiſed
" about Veſtments, to ſay Proteſtants
" could never agree together. The
" Act of Parliament was made before
" they were in Office, ſo that they
" had no Hand in making it: By it
" the Veſtments were enacted, but
" without any ſuperſtitious Conceit
" about them, the contrary being ex-
" preſsly declared. What was once
" enacted in Parliament could not be
" altered, but by the ſame Authority.
" The Biſhops obeyed the Law, think-
" ing the Matter to be of its Nature in-
" different; and they had Reaſon to
" apprehend that if they had deſerted
" their Stations upon that Account,
" their Enemies might have come into
" their Places. Yet, upon this, there
" was a Diviſion formed among them:
" Some thought they ought to ſuffer
" themſelves to be put from their
" Miniſtry, rather than obey the Law;
" others were of a different Mind.
" He deſires that he would write his
" Opinion of this Matter, as ſoon as
" was poſſible. They were in hopes to
" procure an Alteration of the Act in
" the next Parliament; but he appre-
" hended there would be a great Dif-
" ficulty

" ficulty in obtaining it; by Reaſon " of the Oppoſition the Papiſts would " give them; for they hoped that if " many ſhould leave their Stations, " they might find Occaſions to inſi- " nuate themſelves again into the " Queen's Favour.

IT ſeems he wrote a Letter in the ſame Strain to Bullinger. " He writes, " that he had heard of the Diviſion " among them from others; but not " knowing the whole State of the " Queſtion, he was not forward to " give his Opinion 'till he had his " Letter. He laments this unhappy " Breach among them: He approves " their Zeal, who wiſhed to have the " Church purged from all the Dregs " of Popery: On the other Hand, he " commends their Prudence, who " would not have the Church to be " forſaken becauſe of the Veſtments. " The great End of the Miniſtry was " Edification, and that was not to " be abandoned but upon very good " Grounds; eſpecially when the de- " ſerting their Stations was like to " make Way for much worſe Things: " And that they ſaw either Papiſts or " Lutherans would be put in their " Places, and then Ceremonies would " be out of Meaſure increaſed. No " doubt they had brought many Per- " ſons of all Sorts to love the Purity " of Doctrine; but what a Prejudice " would it be to theſe to open ſuch " a Door, by which Swarms of Abuſes " might creep in among them: This " they ought carefully to prevent: " As for thoſe who firſt made thoſe " Laws, or were zealous Maintainers " of them, he confeſſes he is not plea- " ſed with them. They acted unwiſe- " ly, if they were truly of the Re- " formed Side; but if they were on- " ly diſguiſed Enemies, they were lay- " ing Snares with ill Deſigns: Yet he " thinks every Thing of that Sort " ought to be ſubmitted to, rather than " that they ſhould forſake their Mi- " niſtry: And ſince it was declared " that thoſe Veſtments were to be uſed " without any ſuperſtitious Conceit, " he thinks that ought to ſatisfy Men's " Conſciences. But, in the mean " while, he propoſes to them, to preſs " the Queen and the Nobility to go " on and compleat a Reformation, that " was ſo glorioufly begun. He knew " that in many Places Queſtions were " at that Time moved, concerning the " Extent of the Magiſtrate's Autho- " rity; he wiſhes theſe might be every " where let alone: Certainly Matters " of that Nature ought not to be " meddled with in Sermons: There " may be an Occaſion to debate about " them in Parliament, and it may be " proper to ſpeak to the Queen, and " to her Counſellors in private about " them. Upon the whole Matter he " concludes, that as on the one Hand " he would be tender in dealing with " Men of weak Conſciences; ſo, on " the other Hand, he propoſes St. " Paul's Rule in ſuch Caſes of becoming " all Things to all Men: He circum- " ciſed Timothy, that he might not " give Offence to the Jews, though at " the ſame Time he condemns thoſe " who were impoſing the Yoke of the " Judaical Law, as neceſſary in the " Beginnings of Chriſtianity.

WHEN Sampſon and Humphreys un- derſtood in what a Strain Bullinger and Gualter had written concerning the Veſtments, they wrote on the 16th of February, a copious Account of the Grounds on which they founded their Refuſal to obey theſe Orders. Their Letter came to Bullinger on the 26th of April, and he anſwered them on the 1ſt of May. " He puts them in mind " of Peter Martyr's Opinion in a like " Matter when he was at Oxford; to " which he could add nothing. He " could not approve of any Perſons offi- " ciating at an Altar, on which there " was a Crucifix; and in a Cope, on " the Back of which there was a Cru- " cifix. He tells them how both he " and Gualter had anſwered Horn's " Letter on the Subject; and he ſent " them Copies of theſe Letters. He " would be extreme ſorry, if theſe " did not give them Satisfaction. He " prayed earneſtly to GOD for them. " He had a great Diſlike to all Con- " troverſies of that Sort, and did not " willingly meddle in them: He did " think that Laws might be made pre- " ſcribing decent Habits to the Clergy, " which may be reduced to that Branch " of St. Paul's Character of a Biſhop, " that he ought to be κοσμίον, which may " be rendered decent, as well as we " have it of good Behaviour. Nor was " this the reviving the Levitical Law. " Every Thing is not to be called Le- " vitical, becauſe it was practiſed by " the Jews. The Apoſtles commanded " the Converts to Chriſtianity to ab- " ſtain from Things ſtrangled, and from " Blood. The maintaining the Clergy

" by the Tythes, came from Laws " given to the Jews; and from them " we have the ſinging of Pſalms a- " mong us; ſo Things are not to be " rejected becauſe of ſome Conformity " to the Moſaical Inſtitution. Nor " can this be called a Conformity to " Popery: Nor is every Thing prac- " tiſed among them to be rejected on " that Account; otherwiſe we muſt " not uſe their Churches, nor pro- " nounce the Creed, nor uſe the " LORD's Prayer, ſince all theſe are " uſed by them. It was in this Caſe " expreſſed in the Orders ſet out late- " ly by them, that the Habits were " not enjoined on the ſuperſtitious " Conceits of the Papiſts: They were " only to be uſed in Obedience to " the Law. It ſavours too much of " a Jewiſh, or of a Monaſtick Temper, " to put Religion in ſuch Matters: If " it is pretended that the obeying " Laws in Matters indifferent, was " the giving up our Chriſtian Liberty; " that would go a great Way to the " denying all Obedience, and might " provoke the Magiſtrate to lay yet " heavier Loads on them. Habits pe- " culiar to the Clergy was an anti- " enter Practice than Popery itſelf. " St. John is ſaid to have carried on " his Head ſomewhat like a Mitre: " And mention is made of St. Cypri- " an's having a peculiar Garment cal- " ed a Dalmatica. St. Chryſoſtom " ſpeaks of their white Garments. Ter- " tullian tells us, that the Heathens " converted to Chriſtianity, quitted " their Toga, the Roman upper Gar- " ment, and uſed the Pallium, or " Cloak. He wiſhes there were no " Impoſitions on the Clergy in ſuch " Matters: Yet ſince this was an an- " tient Habit, and was now enjoined " without making it a Matter of Re- " ligion; he wiſhes they would not " ſet too great a Value upon it, but " yield ſomewhat to the preſent Time; " and that they would conſider it as " a Thing indifferent, and not affect " to diſpute too ſubtily about it; but " to behave themſelves modeſtly. They " had put a Queſtion to him, Whe- " ther any Thing may be preſcribed " that is not expreſſed in Scripture: " He did not approve of laying on " a Load of ſuch Things on People's " Necks; but ſome Things might " be appointed for Order and Diſci- " pline. CHRIST kept the Feaſt of " the Dedication, though appointed by " no Law of GOD. If it is ſaid, the " Things commanded are not neceſ- " ſary, and are of no Uſe, yet they " are not for that to be condemned, " nor are Schiſms to be raiſed on that " Account: Many Things are again " repeated in this Letter, that were " in his Letter to Horn.

A Copy of this was ſent to Horn, and both Grindal and he apprehending the good Effect that the Printing it might have, in ſettling the Minds of many that were much ſhaken by the Oppoſition that was made to the Orders that had been ſet out, printed it here.

UPON this, Sampſon and Humphreys wrote over to Zurick, complaining of the printing of their Letter, and carrying their Complaints againſt the Conſtitution of the Church much further than the Matter of the Veſtments: They complain of the Muſick and Organs, of making Sponſars in Baptiſm anſwer in the Child's Name; of the Croſs in Baptiſm; of the Court of Faculties; and the paying for Diſpenſations. " They acknowledge their Let- " ter had not fully ſatisfied them; " they do not think the preſcribing " Habits to the Clergy, meerly a Ci- " vil Thing; they think St. Paul's " κοσμίῳ, belongs to Ornaments of " the Mind. And add, how can that " Habit be thought decent that was " brought in to dreſs up the Theatri- " cal Pomp of Popery? The Papiſts " gloried in this our Imitation of " them. They do approve of ſetting " Rules concerning Order, but that " ought not to be applied to this, that " overturns the Peace and Quiet of the " Church, in Things that are not ei- " ther neceſſary or uſeful; that do not " tend to any Edification, but ſerve to " recommend thoſe Forms, which all " do now abhor. The Papiſts them- " ſelves glory in this, that theſe Ha- " bits were brought in by them, for " which they vouch Otho's Conſtitu- " tion, and the Roman Pontifical: " They were not againſt the Retaining " any thing that was good, becauſe it " had been abuſed in Popery.

" THEY affirm, that in King Ed- " ward's Time, the Surplice was not " univerſally uſed nor preſſed, and the " Copes then taken away, are now " to be reſtored. This is not to ex- " tirpate Popery, but to plant it again, " and inſtead of going forward, is, to " go back. It was known how much

" Virtue

" Virtue and Religion the Papiſts put " in the Surplice; and at this Day " it is held in as great Eſteem as the " Monks Habits were wont to be. The " Uſe of it may, by Degrees, bring " back the ſame Superſtition. They " did not put Religion in Habits; they " only oppoſed thoſe that did; and " they thought that it gave ſome Au- " thority to Servitude, to depart from " their Liberty. They hated Con- " tention, and were ready to enter in- " to friendly Conferences about this " Matter. They do not deſert their " Churches, and leave them expoſed " to Wolves; but, to their great Grief, " they are driven from them. It is " not pretended that there is any " Thing good or expedient in the Ha- " bits. The Habits of the Clergy are " viſible Marks of their Profeſſion, and " theſe ought not to be taken from " their Enemies. The antient Fathers " had their Habits, but not peculiar to " Biſhops, nor diſtinct from the Laity. " The Inſtances of St. John and Cy- " prian, are ſingular. In Tertullian's " Time, the Pallium was the common " Habit of all Chriſtians. Chryſoſtom " ſpeaks of white Garments, but with " no Approbation: He rather finds " fault with them. They had cited " Bucer, but he thought that the Or- " ders concerning Habits, by reaſon " of the Abuſe of them in the Church " of England, ought to be taken away, " for a fuller Declaration of their Ab- " horrence of Antichriſt, for aſſerting " the Chriſtian Liberty, and for re- " moving all Occaſions of Contention. " They were far from any Deſign of " making a Schiſm, or of quarelling. " They will not condemn Things in- " different as unlawful: They wiſh " the Occaſion of the Contention were " removed, that the Remembrance of " it might be for ever buried. They " who condemned the Papal Pride, " could not like a Tyranny in a free " Church. They wiſhed there might " be a free Synod to ſettle this Mat- " ter, &c.

Bullinger and Gualter wrote to them, " That they did not expect that their " Letters ſhould ſatisfy them: They " only wrote their Opinion to them, " becauſe they deſired it. They were " heartily ſorry to find, that they " could not acquieſce in it. They " would engage no farther in that " Matter: They could anſwer their " Arguments, but they would give no " Occaſion to endleſs Diſputations. " They thought it would be more ex- " pedient to ſubmit to thoſe Habits, " and to continue in the Church, than " by refuſing to uſe them, to be forced " to leave their Churches. They went " no farther, and did not approve of " any Popiſh Defilements or Superſti- " tions: Nor did they, in any Sort, " enter into thoſe other Matters, of " which they do now complain, and " of which they knew nothing before. " Theſe were Matters of much greater " Conſequence than either the Sur- " plices, or the Copes: So that it was " to be hoped, that the Letter they " had written about the Habits, could " not be ſtretched to theſe Matters. " There was nothing left to them but " to commend them to GOD, and to " pray that he would quiet this unhap- " py Diſſention among them, and give " his Church the Bleſſings of Peace. " They only deſire them to remember, " that the Miniſters of the Goſpel " ought not only to hold faſt the Truth, " but likewiſe to be prudent Stewards, " having a due Regard to the Times " bearing many Things with Patience " and Charity, and ſo maintain the " Peace of the Church; and not to " prejudice it by an over-eager, or " moroſe Temper, nor think it enough " that they had a good Deſign, but " they muſt purſue it by prudent " Methods.

Bullinger and Gualter, ſeeing the Diviſion like to be carried much far- ther than the Matter of the Veſtments, thought the beſt Office that they could do their Friends, was, to write to the Earl of Bedford, being well aſſured of his Zeal in the Matters of Religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of September, and tell him, " That when " they firſt heard of the Contention " raiſed about the Veſtments, they " were afraid it might have a farther " Progreſs. They, being deſired, did " give their Opinion freely in the Mat- " ter, and thought that for Things of " ſo little Importance it was not fit " for the Clergy to deſert their Sta- " tions, and leave them to be filled, " perhaps, by Wolves and Deceivers. " They were ſorry to find, that their " Fears of the Miſchief that might " follow on this Contention, were but " too well grounded. They hear, " that not only the Veſtments are com- " plained of, but that many other " Things are excepted to, that plainly

" favour

" ſavour of Popery. They are alſo " ſorry that the private Letter which " they wrote, ſhould have been print- " ed; and that their Judgment of the " Veſtments was extended to other " Things, of which they could in no " Sort approve: So that their Opinion " in one Particular is made uſe of, to " caſt a Load on Perſons, for whom " they ſhould rather have Compaſſion " in their Sufferings, than ſtudy to " aggravate them. It gave them a very " ſenſible Grief, to ſee the Church " of England ſcarce got out of the " Hands of their bloody Enemies, now " like to be pulled down by their in- " teſtine Broils. So having an entire " Confidence in his good Affection to " the Goſpel, they pray him to in- " tercede with the Queen and Nobi- " lity, in the Parliament that was ſoon " to meet, for their Brethren that were " then ſuffering, who deſerved that " great Regard ſhould be had to them, " and that their Faults ſhould be for- " given them.

THEY alſo wrote in the ſame Strain to Grindall and Horn, who when they underſtood, that thoſe of Zurick were not pleaſed with printing of their Letter; of which they wrote to them, and ſent with it the Paper, in which were put the Heads of thoſe other Things in the Conſtitution of this Church, to which they excepted; they both jointly wrote an Anſwer to them, in one Letter to Bullinger and Gualter, on the 6th of February.

" THEY tell them they had printed " their Letter, but had ſuppreſſed the " Names of thoſe to whom it was " directed. It had the good Effect that " they expected from it: For it had " ſatisfied and ſettled the Minds of " many, who were upon the Point of " leaving their Churches; and even " the moſt troubleſome were ſo far " wrought on by it, that they were " ſilent, and leſs violent in their Op- " poſition, than they had formerly " been.

THE others ſtill inſiſted, and Sampſon, in a Letter from Oxford, the 9th of February, 1565-6, to Bullinger, reduces the Queſtions concerning the Habits to ſeven Heads: Firſt, If a Habit different in Form and Colour from the Laity, ought to be enjoined to the Clergy? Secondly, If the Moſaical Ceremonies may be brought into the Chriſtian Church? Thirdly, If it is lawful to conform to Papiſts in Habits and outward Rites, and, if it is fitting to borrow Ceremonies from that corrupt Church? Fourthly, If the uſing a peculiar Prieſtly Habit, is meerly a Civil Matter, and if it does not ſavour of Monkery, Popery and Judaiſm? Fifthly, If thoſe who have hitherto uſed their Liberty, may, with a good Conſcience, upon the Account of the Queen's Mandate, involve themſelves and the Church again in a Yoke of Bondage? Sixthly, If the Popiſh Clerical Habit can be called a Thing that is indifferent? And the Seventh is, If they ought to uſe theſe Habits, rather than deſert their Stations? To theſe he begs him to ſend as ſoon as may be, a full and copious Anſwer.

A few Days after this, Jewel wrote to Bullinger, " That he was ſo attacked " by many different Hands, that it " took him wholly up to prepare An- " ſwers to them. He was not in the " Houſe of Lords during the laſt Par- " liament, in which there was great " Heat for a whole Month, concerning " the Succeſſion to the Crown: But " the Queen would ſuffer no Declara- " tion to be made in that Matter, " tho' it was moſt vehemently preſs'd, " there appearing on both Sides a great " deal of Earneſtneſs. The Queen " thought any ſuch Declaration would " turn the Eyes of the Nation too " much towards the riſing Sun. He " ſays the Controverſy about Veſt- " ments had raiſed great Heats. The " Queen was fixed, and could not be " wrought on to let any Change be " made.

IN another Letter of his to Bullinger, he writes, " That he was over- " whelmed with the Books that the " Papiſts had wrote againſt him, and " was, by that Means, engaged in a " profound Courſe of Study. He tells " him how Cardinal Grandvell had " intended to cut off the Intercourſe " between England and the Nether- " lands; hoping by that Means to pro- " voke the Engliſh to break out into " Tumults; but the Deſign turned up- " on himſelf: For the Engliſh reſol- " ving to ſettle their Trade and Staple " at Embden, the People of Flanders " could not bear that. The Pope had " ſent one to Ireland to raiſe a Flame " in that Iſland. But the Pope's A- " gent, who was an Iriſhman, was taken " and ſent over a Priſoner to England. " In Scotland the Queen only had her " Maſs, all the Nation being averſe to it.

By

BY Grindal's and Horn's Letters it appears, that they had no other Zeal in this Matter, but to preſerve the Church in the Qeen's Favour, and in Obedience to the Laws: Yet in Letters that were upon this Occaſion wrote to Zurick, by ſome others that adhered to Sampſon, they let them know, that both Parker the Archbiſhop, and Grindal and Horn were too much ſharpen'd in this Matter: Therefore they pray them to uſe their Endeavours to ſoften them more towards their Brethren: But they acknowledged that Pilkington of Dureſme, Sands of Worceſter, and Parkhurſt of Norwich, had by their Moderation made good all their Promiſes: So they deſerved that Thanks ſhould be given to them: They deſire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get thoſe Dregs of Popery to be removed; and that they would tolerate at leaſt connive at thoſe who did not approve them. Pilkington complains in a Letter to Gualter, "That Diſputes "which began about the Veſtments, "were carried much farther, even to "the whole Conſtitution. Pious Per-"ſons lamented this; Atheiſts laughed "at it; and the Papiſts blew the Coals, "and were full of Hopes upon it. The "Blame of all was caſt on the Biſhops: "He adds, I confeſs we ſuffer many "Things againſt our Hearts, groaning "under them: We cannot take them "away, tho' we were ever ſo much "ſet on it. We are under Authority, "and can innovate nothing without the "Queen; nor can we alter the Laws: "The only Thing that is left to our "Choice is, whether we will bear theſe "Things, or break the Peace of the "Church.

PARKHURST, in one Letter writes, "Many good People are pleaſed with "all that is done; but there are ſome "Things that do not pleaſe me. And "in another he writes, Matters of Re-"ligion go on well: There are but a "very few Things that I dare find "fault with. That which griev'd him "moſt was, that the Lives of thoſe "who profeſſed the Goſpel, were ſo "very contrary to it." The laſt Letter that thoſe of Zurick wrote on this Subject, was on the 26th of Auguſt 1567, directed to the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Norwich. "They "expreſs their Grief that ſome learned "Men were deprived: They hear daily "that ſome of thoſe that had given "good Proofs of themſelves in the Ma-"rian Perſecution, were now not only "turned out, but impriſoned: They "hear that in Ireland, many that have "the ſame Scruples, are yet kept out "of all Trouble by the Queen's Or-"der, upon the Interceſſion of their "Biſhops: Which makes it probable "that the like Favour might be ob-"tained in England, if the Biſhops "would interceed with her Majeſty "for it.

SANDS, in a Letter to Bullinger from Worceſter, dated the 3d of January 1566, writes thus: "The Goſpel is "no more ſhut up, but is freely preach-"ed, and for other Things we need "not be much concerned about them. "There is ſome ſmall Diſpute con-"cerning the Popiſh Veſtments, whe-"ther they ought to be uſed or not? "But GOD will put an End to theſe "Things.

A few Days after that, Jewel, in a Letter dated the 8th of February 1566, to Bullinger, tells him; "That the "Queen ſeemed fixed in her Reſolu-"tion not to marry: He expreſſes his "great Concern that the Heat raiſed "on the Account of the Surplice was "not extinguiſhed: He writes that the "Affairs of Scotland were not in a "quiet State, ſome of the Chief of the "Nobility had retired into England; "others fortified themſelves in their "Caſtles, and were as in a State of "War with the Papiſts. The Queen, "tho' an obſtinate Papiſt, yet does not "ſeem reſolved what Courſe ſhe had "beſt take; for in Matters of Religion "the greateſt Part, both of the Nobi-"lity and People, were againſt her; "and their Number did daily increaſe. "The King of Spain ſent lately an "Italian Abbot thither with Spaniſh "Gold. He was a ſubtle Man, and "did ſo far gain, not only on the "Queen, but on the King, that tho' "he had hitherto gone to Sermons, and "had no Maſs, yet upon the Aſſurance "of a rich Ship that was expected "within a Day, he preſently ordered "Maſs to be ſaid in his Church; while "Knox in the very next Church was "preaching againſt Idolatry, and the "whole Papal Tyranny, with greater "Zeal than ordinary: But the Spaniſh "Ship was furiouſly ſhatter'd by a "Storm, and was caſt on the Coaſt of "England, ſo that weak King would "find what he had gained by his go-"ing to Maſs. Sampſon and Hum-

phreys wrote a long and particular Anſwer to the Letter that Grindal and Horn wrote to Bullinger; but that runs into a tedious Controverſy, with which the Divines of Zurick wrote, that thy would meddle no more in thoſe Matters.

IN Scotland Things were running into great Diſorder. The Queen, as ſhe liked the Perſon of the Lord Darnley, and, perhaps, the better, becauſe he ſeemed to be of a ſoft and gentle Temper, and eaſy to be governed; ſo her faithfulleſt Counſellors concurred in adviſing the Marriage. He was the next Heir to the Crown of England after the Queen; for tho' the Queen Dowager of Scotland that was King Henry the VIIIth's Siſter, having married the Earl of Angus, after King James the IVth was killed; but falling to be in ill Terms with him, either found or ſuborned Witneſſes, (as it was given out) to prove upon him a Precontract in Words of the preſent Time, by which ſhe obtained a Sentence declaring that Marriage diſſolved: The Reaſon given is, becauſe ſhe was born of the Mother's Part, bona fide. Lord Darnley being thus deſcended, and born within the Kingdom of England, might have been a dangerous Competitor for that Crown, eſpecially if he ſhould fortify himſelf by a prudent Marriage, and a good Conduct in England: So it was certainly good Advice given the Queen, ſince ſhe liked his Perſon, to ſecure her Right to that Succeſſion by this Marriage. When ſhe married him ſhe declared him King, and put his Name on the Coin after her own. The Qualities of his Mind did not anſwer the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon: For ſometimes he was in all Things compliant to the Queen, but that laſted not long. She had ſuch an affable and obliging Air, which her Education, in the Court of France had much improved, that it was not eaſy to reſiſt it. At firſt ſhe ſeemed ſo indifferent as to the Matters of Religion, that the Minds of the Nation were much quieted, when they concluded that ſhe continued to be a Papiſt more from Principles of Honour and Intereſt than from her own Perſuaſion.

BUT they came to have other Thoughts of her, when ſhe began to expreſs more Zeal in thoſe Matters. Her Kindred, by her Mother, puſhed her on, and ſhe was animated both from the Court of France and Rome, to reſtore the Popiſh Religion: On theſe Hopes ſhe ſet her Gates open to all that deſired to come to her Maſs, and had many Maſſes every Day in her Chapel. The Body of the Scottiſh Nation did not eaſily bear with the Maſs, which the Queen had at firſt privately in her Court for herſelf; and for a very ſmall Number of Servants, who were of her own Religion: In the Parliament in the Year 1563, a Petition was offered by the Noblemen, and the Superintendents, and Miniſters of the reformed Religion, ſetting forth, That whereas in the laſt Convention of the Kirk that was held at Edinburgh, in June laſt, ſome were ſent to the Queen with certain Articles, to which they deſired Anſwer; and tho' the Queen had anſwered them in Part, yet ſhe referred the farther Anſwer to the preſent Parliament; ſo a full Anſwer was now prayed: And whereas in tae Parliament held in July 1560, it was enacted, That the Maſs and all Papiſtry, ſhould be put out of the Realm, and CHRIST's Religion ſhould be univerſally receeived; and that the Queen by divers Proclamations, has approved CHRIST's Religion, which ſhe found publickly received at her Arrival, in particular, at Dundee, on the 15th of September laſt, in which the King and Queen did both by Act of Council, and by Proclamation, promiſe, that in this preſent Parliament ſhe would eſtabliſh the Religion of CHRIST, and abroliſh all Laws and Conſtitutions contrary to the ſame; upon which they deſired, that the Premiſes might be conſidered; and ſo they laid before the Parliament the Articles which they had laid before the Queen and her Council, together with her Anſwer, and the Reply made to it by the Kirk.

THE Petitions made to the Queen were ſtill put off, and ſhe, by her Practiſe among the Nobility, began to divide them into Factions; and plainly ſaid, when Petitions were read to her, That ſhe would do nothing in Prejudice of the Religion that ſhe profeſſed; and in Wrath told them, ſhe hoped, before a Year was expired, to have the Maſs and the Catholick Religion profeſſed thro' the whole Kingdom. And ſhe managed the Parliament ſo dextrouſly, that neither was the Treaty of Leith, nor the Settlement of Religion made in the Parliament 1560, ſo much as named, much leſs confirmed. In this Parliament ſome ſmall Proviſion was made for the Miniſters; and Acts were made againſt Sorcery and Adultry, that they ſhould be puniſhed by Death. There was indeed an Act of Oblivion paſſed for all that was done from the 6th of March 1558, to the 1ſt of September 1561; but the Parliament of the Year 1560, came to be looked on as an illegal Aſſembly, ſo that upon this a great Alarm was given to the whole Body of the Reformed in that Kingdom; and the Jealouſy was increaſed by the Queen's marrying the Lord Darnley. He had been bred up a ſtrict Papiſt, but now pretended to be a Proteſtant; yet as he was all the while ſuſpected of favouring the Religion he was bred up in, ſo he quickly returned to the open Profeſſion of it.

POPE Pius the Vth, ſent Laurea to be his Nuntio in Scotland, to aſſiſt and encourage the Queen in her Zeal; he ſent by him 20,000 Crowns to her, as an Earneſt of farther Supplies; and wrote to her with his own Hand, recommending his Nuntio to her. Queen Mary in Anſwer to him, acknowledges his Favour and Bounty, adds ſome high Expreſſions of her Senſe of the Pope's Zeal and Piety, and promiſes to treat his Nuntio with all Reſpect and Confidence. She tells him that ſhe had borne a Son; and that ſhe had brought her Nobility, tho' not without much Difficulty, to conſent that he ſhould be publickly baptiſed after the Manner of the Catholick Church. She promiſes

miſes to bring him up in that Religion; and ſhe hoped this ſhould prove a good Beginning of reſtoring the right Uſe of the Sacraments in her Dominions. The Pope ſeemed much pleaſed with this Beginning of his Pontificate; and in his Anſwer congratulates the Birth and Baptiſm of her Son, and prays that it may have a good Effect.

Bp. Burnet, after giving ſome Account of the Lord Darnley's Death, and the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of Bothwel, ſays, That the Scottiſh Nation, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, concurred in the new Settlement, by which the Queen reſigned the Crown to her Son; and during his Infancy, named the Earl of Murray to be Regent, who was then in France; in all that was done in this Affair the Queen of England had ſecretly a great Hand, how much ſoever it was diſguiſed: The Intereſt of State was clearly of her Side; for the Houſe of Guiſe, that began to form great Projects in France, laid a main Part of their Scheme, in the Deſign of advancing the unfortunate Queen of Scotland to the Crown of England; and in the View of that Succeſſion, many Plots were formed, to deſtroy that glorious Queen. They alſo practiſed upon the King, her Son, as ſoon as he was capable of being wrought on, by the Duke of Lenox and others, whom they employed about him, to keep him in a Dependance on them. They aſſured him, he ſhould ſtill be King of Scotland; their Deſign being, that if their Practiſes againſt Q. Elizabeth had ſucceeded, his Mother ſhould have left Scotland to him, when ſhe was advanced to the Crown of England. They did likewiſe engage him to continue unmarried; tho' he, being the only Perſon of his Family, it was otherwiſe very reaſonable to marry him ſoon. Yet they durſt not venture on a Popiſh Match, till their great Deſign on the Crown of France had ſucceeded; and they would by no Means ſuffer him to marry into a Proteſtant Family.

They kept him ſo much in their Management, that the Queen of England, and her wiſe Council, underſtanding all this Practice, raiſed thoſe Jealouſies of his Religion, and made ſuch Diſcoveries of that ſecret Correſpondence he was in with the Houſe of Guiſe, that to this all the Troubles that the Kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The Leaders among them knew, from the Intelligence ſent them by the Court of England, more than they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true Cauſe of all that peeviſh Oppoſition, that he met with from the Miniſters there; which is ſet forth by Archbiſhop Spotſwood: But either he knew not, or did not think fit to ſet that out, as the Effect of the Jealouſy raiſed by the Court of England, on the Account of the Confidence, in which he was engag'd with the Houſe of Guiſe. But as theſe Practices had a fatal Concluſion with Relation to the unfortunate Queen Marry, after her long Impriſonment, ſo when upon the Murder of the Duke of Guiſe, and the Succeſſes in the Beginning of King Henry IV. of France's Reign, all thoſe Projects of that ambitious and perſecuting Houſe, were at an End; the King of Scotland married a Daughter of Denmark, and continued ſtill after that in a Confidence with the Queen of England, which ſecured him the Succeſſion to that Crown.

Bp. Burnet now concludes this Work, in which, he ſays, as he has faithfully ſet out every Thing according to the Materials and Vouchers with which he was furniſhed, ſo he uſed all proper Means, to procure the beſt Information he could; and leaves it to Poſterity, as the authentick Hiſtory of a Series of great Tranſactions, honeſtly, tho' often feebly, conducted with good Intentions and happy Beginnings, tho' not carried on to the Perfection that was deſigned and wiſhed for.

The Proviſo that had paſſed in King Henry the VIII's Time, that continued all the Canon Laws then received in England, till a Code of Eccleſiaſtical Laws was prepared, which tho' attempted and well compoſed, was never ſettled; has fixed among us many groſs Abuſes, beſides the dilatory Forms of thoſe Courts, which make all Proceedings in them both ſlow and chargeable. This has, in a great Meaſure, enervated all Church Diſcipline. A faint Wiſh, that is read on Aſh-Wedneſday, intimates a Deſire of reviving the antient Diſcipline; yet no Progreſs has been made, to render that more effectual.

The Exemptions ſettled by the Papal Authority, do put many Parts of this Church in a very disjointed State; while in ſome Places the Laity, and in many others Preſbyters exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, independent on their Biſhops, in Contradiction to their Principles, while they aſſert a Right Divine for ſettling the Government of the Church in Biſhops, and yet practiſe Epiſcopal Authority in Virtue of an Act of Parliament, that proviſionally confirmed thoſe Papal Invaſions of the Epiſcopal Power; which is plainly that, which by a modern Name, is called Eraſtianiſm, and is ſo ſeverely cenſured by ſome who yet practiſe it, ſince whatſoever is done under the Pretence of Law, againſt the Divine Appointment, can go under no better Name, than the higheſt and worſt Degree of Eraſtianiſm.

The Abbots, with the devouring Monaſteries, had ſwallowed up a great Part of that which was the true Patrimony of the Church: Theſe Houſes being ſuppreſſed, unlimited Grants were made of their Lands, without reſerved Proviſions for the Subſiſtance of thoſe who were to ſerve at the Altar; this has put a great Part of our Clergy under crying Neceſſities; and tho' the noble Bounty of the late Queen Ann has ſettled Funds for their Relief, the good Effect of that comes on but ſlowly; yet it is ſome Comfort to think, that within an Age, there will be an ample Proviſion for all that ſerve in the Church; and upon that Proſpect we may hope that many Abuſes will be then quite aboliſhed.

But with all theſe Defects, we muſt rejoice in this, that our Doctrine is pure and uncorrupted; that our Worſhip is truly a reaſonable Service, freed from Idolatry and Super-

Superſtition; and that the main Lines of our Church Government agree to the firſt Conſtitution of the Churches by the Apoſtles: So that upon the Grounds laid by St. John, all may hold Fellowſhip with us, ſince we hold Fellowſhip with the Father and with the Son JESUS CHRIST.

MAY we all adhere firmly to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and continue in their Fellowſhip, in Sacraments and Prayers, ſuitably to the Rules laid down by them: Contending earneſtly for the Faith delivered by them to the Saints, the firſt Chriſtians; "And "may we all who believe in GOD, be careful to maintain good Works for neceſſary "Uſes; which are both good and profitable "unto Men; avoiding fooliſh Queſtions, "and Contentions, for they are unprofitable "and vain.

MAY we all continue to recommend our Doctrine and Church by a Holy and Exemplary Deportment, "ſhining as Lights and "walking worthy of GOD, who has called "us to his Kingdom and Glory", improving all the Advantages that we have, and bearing with all the Defects that we labour under, uſing our beſt Endeavours to have them redreſſed; yet ſtill keeping the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace; waiting for ſuch a Conjuncture, as may reſtore every Thing among us to a Primitive Purity and Splendor, which GOD may perhaps grant to the Prayers of thoſe who call on him Night and Day for it.

BUT if we never ſee ſo happy a Time upon Earth, we know if we continue watchful, and faithful to the Death, we ſhall arrive, at laſt, at a bleſſed Society of innumerable Companies of Angels, and the Spirits of juſt Men made perfect; of whom is compoſed the General Aſſembly and Church of the Firſt-born, who are written in Heaven, who ſee and enjoy GOD for ever.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

FINIS.